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JOURNAL
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AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(MEMBERS PLEASE READ THIS CIRCULAR LETTER.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, cooperative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to all wars in which Illinois has taken part, especially the collection of material relating to the great World war and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works, newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire—

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great rebellion, or other wars; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets, or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods,

or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governor's messages and reports of State Officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery, paintings, portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings; portraits, engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

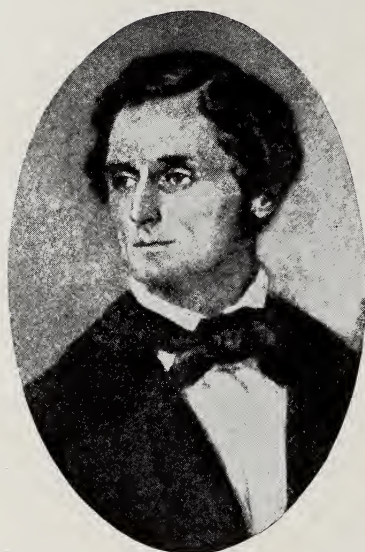
It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Your attention is called to the important duty of collecting and preserving everything relating to the part taken by the State of Illinois in the late great World War.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(MRS.) JESSIE PALMER WEBER.



JEFERSON DAVIS. SUPPOSED PICTURE
OF JEFFERSON DAVIS IN EARLY
MANHOOD.

THE NORTHWESTERN CAREER OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By M. M. QUAlFE.

To the career of Jefferson Davis, leader of the Confederacy in the greatest Civil War the world has yet witnessed, much study has been given, and it might reasonably be supposed that little information concerning his life remains to be disclosed. Yet his numerous biographers have all passed lightly over one important period, covering half a dozen years of his early manhood, and the little they have set down is of questionable validity. To this lost chapter in his career my paper is devoted.

The reason for the lost chapter's existence is simple enough. Davis was born in Kentucky, his mature life was passed as a citizen of Mississippi, and he is commonly remembered as the leader of his section in the war for the destruction of the Union. In short, his career seems wholly identified with the south, and all of his biographers have been southern men. That he spent five years following his graduation from West Point in the Northwest, chiefly at the army posts of Fort Crawford and Fort Winnebago, is, of course, well known to them. But written records pertaining to this period of his life are few and scattered; while the biographers, far removed from the scene, have been ignorant alike of the local geography and the local lore which has been handed down. Thus handicapped, they have passed lightly over this period in Davis' life, contenting themselves for the most part with a more or less accurate repetition of the narrative recorded by Mrs. Davis in her two-volume *Memoir* of her husband.

My own study promises no novel or startling revelations. From the vantage point of familiarity with the local geography and access to the local sources of information, however, I have endeavored to assemble and correlate critically what is yet to be known of Davis' life in the Northwest—with what success, must be left to the judgment of my readers.

Over the life of Davis prior to his advent in the Northwest we may pass with but few words. He was born in Christian,

now Todd County, Kentucky in June, 1808; three years later his family removed to southwestern Mississippi, and until he was sixteen years of age young Davis lived alternately in these two states. Several of these years were spent in school in his native state, the last two or three as a student of Transylvania University at Lexington. In the summer of 1824, which may be taken as marking the close of his boyhood, Davis was appointed to a cadetship at West Point. Thereupon he left unfinished his course at Transylvania and went to the military academy, where he graduated in the spring of 1828. After a vacation of several months, spent in Mississippi, the young soldier repaired to Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis, then the western headquarters of the United States Army, and from here he was shortly ordered to Fort Crawford, Michigan Territory, whose site is better known to the present generation as Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

The principal reliance of Davis' biographers for the period of his northwestern career which was thus initiated has been the material set forth by Mrs. Davis in the first 160 pages of her *Memoir*. Since I shall have much to say about this work, it will be well to take some account of it here. For that portion of her husband's life on which she wrote from personal knowledge, the author was fitted, presumably, to speak with authority. She first became acquainted with Davis in December, 1843,¹ over ten years after the termination of his northwestern career, at the beginning of which in 1828 she had been but an infant. For the period of his life before her marriage,² therefore, Mrs. Davis drew upon various writings left by her husband, on the recollections of certain of his old-time friends, and on her own remembrance of things she had heard him relate during their years together. The numerous gaps in the story which still remained she endeavored to fill in as best she might by resort to various printed sources of information.

The work produced by these methods is of uneven value and highly inaccurate and confusing.³ The portions of it which

¹ The author, who was the second wife of Davis, was seventeen years of age at their time of this first meeting.

² They were married in February, 1845, when Davis was almost thirty-seven years of age, and the bride eighteen.

³ My remarks are applied only to the early portion of the *Memoir* covering the years prior to Mrs. Davis' personal acquaintance with her husband. Even the more scholarly of his biographers (of whom Professor Dodd is the chief ex-

reproduce the writings of Davis himself are, of course, of prime importance, but even these have been handled in such fashion that the reader is frequently at a loss to know what to make of them. As for the author's contribution, she had little knowledge of the geography involved and less, if possible, of the sequence of events. Events of 1832 are jumbled indifferently with those which actually occurred in 1827, and the author's pen wanders from the forests of Wisconsin to the parched prairies of the Southwest and back again without even knowing, oftentimes, that such a seven-league journey has been taken. Mrs. Davis was, indeed, aware to some extent of the shortcomings of this portion of her work, and on one occasion she conscientiously apologizes for it, characterizing it as "very mixed and at times nearly unintelligible;" pleading, in extenuation, that with the meager sources of information at her command she could do no better.⁴ To subject such a narrative to critical analysis is as needless as it would be ungracious;⁵ but unfortunately those who have since assumed to write of Davis' career have been less mindful of the defects of the *Memoir* than was Mrs. Davis herself; in the general absence of other sources it has been made the quarry even of trained historians, and hence has become a fruitful source of error about the early years of the man whose career it was written to memorialize.

We will have occasion to return to Mrs. Davis' narrative, but having gained some conception of its character we may endeavor to consider in due order the events of Davis' north-western career. The Prairie du Chien to which he came near the close of 1828 was a straggling village, already of considerable antiquity, with a nondescript population in which were represented all degrees of social development from sheer savagery to a highly cultured civilization. Fort Crawford, built in 1816 and abandoned for a period of several months during 1827 and 1828, but regarrisoned following the Winnebago War of the latter year, was a decaying structure of logs commanded

ample) have failed to take account of the scholarly tenuousness of this portion of the *Memoir*, and of the difference in authority with which Mrs. Davis writes of these early years as compared with the later ones. In making these observations I purposely waive the question, which I think might fairly be raised of the extent to which the *Memoir* is actually the product of Mrs. Davis' pen, rather than that of some unnamed collaborator.

⁴ *Memoir*, I, 143-44.

⁵ For the evidence in support of my general characterization of it, I refer the reader to the first 160 pages of the *Memoir* itself.

by Colonel Willoughby Morgan of the First U. S. Infantry. From time immemorial Prairie du Chien had been a natural center for trade and intercourse among the red men, and between them and the whites. It was, therefore, a place of considerable commercial and governmental importance. In the summer of 1829 it was the scene of a notable Indian treaty, to conclude which hundreds of white and red skins assembled, for the second gathering of its kind within the space of four years. These things aside, it was a veritable frontier of civilization, the life at which for the cultivated West Point officers must have been dull to the point of distraction.

Caleb Atwater, who visited Prairie du Chien in 1829 as one of the commissioners to negotiate the treaty of that year, protests feelingly against the practice of the War Department of keeping officers continuously on the frontier. All, he thought, who had been there ten years or longer ought instantly to be relieved. For them and their wives, who reared families and maintained the processes of civilization in these isolated posts under every conceivable discouragement, Atwater has only words of warmest praise and admiration. The testimony of Latrobe, the English traveler, and Charles Fenno Hoffman, the New York author and editor, both of whom visited Fort Crawford about the close of Davis' stay there, is of similar purport to that of Atwater. That Davis did his part during his first sojourn at Fort Crawford in upholding this reputation of the officers' circle for social cheer and charm may safely be taken for granted; that he performed creditably the duties which fell to him as a junior officer of the garrison may also be presumed. But his stay at Fort Crawford was soon interrupted, and saving certain stories of a reminiscent character which were handed down as family tradition and found their way into print at various times subsequent to the Civil War, we have practically nothing concerning him that certainly pertains to this period.

The Winnebago outbreak of 1827 had opened the eyes of the authorities at Washington to the fact that the existing garrisons in the Northwest (Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, Fort Snelling, near modern St. Paul, and Fort Howard at Green Bay) were inadequate to control the vast extent of

country west of Lake Michigan and north of St. Louis. The forts at Chicago and Prairie du Chien were regarrisoned, therefore, and it was determined in addition to build a new fort at the Fox-Wisconsin portage in the heart of the Winnebago country. Accordingly, in September, 1828, Major David E. Twiggs led three companies of troops from Green Bay to the Portage, and began the erection of temporary quarters.⁶ We learn from a letter written by this officer on December 29, following that nothing had as yet been done toward erecting the permanent quarters, although considerable lumber and other material had been gotten out. Presumably the work of construction was prosecuted the following season, for Major Twiggs, in the letter alluded to, expressed confidence in his ability to complete the work in November, 1829, and Mrs. Kinzie, who came to the fort to reside in the autumn of 1830, seems to have found the structure complete.⁷

To Fort Winnebago late in 1829, according to Mrs. Davis and Professor Dodd,⁸ came Jefferson Davis for a stay which extended until some time in the year 1831. In several of the biographies Davis is represented as the builder of the fort, and this is cited as an evidence of his ability, and of its early recognition by his commanding officer. The fact is clear, however, that whatever credit attaches to the building of Fort Winnebago belongs to Major Twiggs, who was in command of the post from the beginning. Equally clear is the part taken by Davis in the enterprise. A subordinate officer of the garrison (he was a brevet lieutenant at the time) he had the immediate oversight of a party of soldiers which was sent out to procure logs for the work. Davis himself in 1872, in response to an

⁶ A convenient summary of the history of Fort Winnebago is given by Andrew J. Turner in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 65-102.

⁷ Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau Bun, The Early Day in the Northwest* (New York, 1856).

⁸ Other evidence points to a somewhat earlier date for Davis' transfer to Fort Winnebago. General David Hunter in 1881 told John Wentworth that he first saw Davis at Chicago in October, 1829, the latter having come from Fort Winnebago in search of deserters. *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 16, 28. Davis himself says in a letter to James D. Butler in 1885, preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library: "Fort Winnebago had been occupied but a short time before my arrival there and I think nothing was known to the garrison about the Four Lakes before I saw them." In the same letter he fixes this date as "the summer of 1829." Both Hunter and Davis, speaking after the lapse of half a century, may easily have been mistaken in such a matter as a date; but in line with their recollection is the clear testimony (to be noted later) that Davis aided in getting out logs for the construction of the Fort, and this work seems to have been carried out in the season of 1829.

inquiry from his old-time friend, Senator George W. Jones of Dubuque, wrote a clear and interesting account of his share in the work, in a letter which seems to have eluded the search of all his biographers.⁹ "In 1829," it states, "I went to Fort Winnebago and was put in charge of the working parties to obtain material for the construction of blockhouses, barracks and stores. Gen. (then Capt.) W. S. Harney was sent with his company to the pine forest high up the Wisconsin River, another party was sent to the maple, ash, and oak forest on the Baraboo River, both parties used the whip saw, and being among wild Indians were, doubtless, objects of wonder. When the timber procured on the Wisconsin was brought down to the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox, the former river was so full that its waters overflowed its banks, and ran in a broad sheet into the Fox River. Taking advantage of the fact, we made rafts suited to the depth of the water and floated the lumber across to the site of the fort, on the east bank of the Fox River."

Of the life at Fort Winnebago during the years Davis was stationed there many records have been preserved. The garrison circle numbered during the next two years a surprisingly large proportion of men who like Davis won distinction in after years. Buried in this obscure wilderness post they little foresaw as they raised their voices in the chorus of Benny Havens, the old West Point melody,

In the army there's sobriety,
Promotion's very slow

the opportunities for promotion and fame that the Mexican and Civil Wars would open to them.

Perhaps the most interesting description of life at Fort Winnebago in this period is the one contained in Mrs. Kinzie's book, *Wau Bun*. The author, a talented New England woman, came as a bride to the place in 1830 and the contents of her book, which was published a quarter of a century later, chiefly pertain to her three years' residence here. But little is said by Mrs. Kinzie which directly concerns Davis; one interesting

⁹ This letter, written January 5, 1872 I have found printed in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of February 3, 1891 and there credited to the *Le Mars (Iowa) Sentinel*. The editorial introduction states that about twenty years before, an article had appeared in the *Dubuque Times* entitled "Jeff Davis the first lumberman in Wisconsin," Jones evidently sent a copy of this to Davis with the request that he comment on its accuracy, and the letter before us is his response to this request. The remainder of its contents will be noted farther on in this article.

item, however, describes the furniture which had been fashioned under his direction for the rooms of the officers' quarters. In the sleeping room was a huge bedstead, "of proportions amply sufficient to have accommodated Og, the king of Bashan, with Mrs. Og and the children into the bargain." More interesting still was a three-compartment structure of marvelous architecture which had been designed to supply the absence of clothespress, china closet, and storeroom. In honor of its projector this was christened by those who used it a "Davis."

A question of some interest, in view of the character of certain stories set afloat in Wisconsin thirty years later, pertains to Davis' personal habits and conduct. "There was some drinking and much gambling "at Fort Winnebago" writes Mrs. Davis, "but Mr. Davis never did either." If Davis actually told his young wife this, the recording angel, let us hope, has long since forgiven him. More to the point is the statement of Turner, the historian of the fort:¹⁰ "I have heard it remarked by those who knew him here that he had no liking for the amusements to which officers, as well as private soldiers, resort to relieve the tedium of camp life; but that he was ever engaged, when not in active service, in some commendable occupation."

More interesting still is a suggestion contained in the diary of Rev. Cutting Marsh,¹¹ the missionary to the Stockbridge Indians "Wrote to Lieut. Davis Fort Winnebago. Contents of t(he) letter: First, t(he) bill of the Bibs &c. Secnd. urged t(he) importance of his inquiring whether he could not do something for t(he) moral renovation of t(he) soldiers at t(he) Ft. Love & gratitude to t(he) Sav(ior) sh(oul)d induce it immediately. Although alone, he sh(oul)d not feel a sufficient excuse for declining to make an effort. David went alone against his foe, & t(he) defier of the army of Israel, but in t(th) name of t(he) Ld. of hosts, & he conquered. God has something without doubt for you to do in thus bringing you, as you hope, to t(he) knowledge & to t(he) acknowledgement of t(he) truth as it is in Jesus. It was but a few years ago when Christians began to make t(he) inquiry respecting sea-

¹⁰ Wisconsin Historical Collections, XIV, 75.

¹¹ This diary is preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library at Madison.

men as a very few do now reſpecting our military poſts, and behold t(he) reſults!"

The reply of Davis to this Macedonian call is not a matter of record, but Mrs. Kinzie makes it clear that of religious intereſt or obſervance at Fort Winnebago there was very little. Recently from the Eaſt and an enthuſiaſtic church-woman, ſhe vainly endeavored to perſuade the inmates of the garrifon to aſſemble on Sunday for religious ſervice. "I approached the ſubject cautiously," ſhe writes, "with an inquiry to this effect: 'Are there none among the officers who are religiously diſpoſed?'

'Oh, yes,' replied the one whom I addreſſed, 'there is S—— when he is half tipsy he takes his Bible and Newton's Works, and goes to bed and cries over them; he thinks in this way he is exceſſively pious.'

From Fort Winnebago Davis made numerous journeys to ſurrounding points. One of the firſt of theſe was the logging aſſignment up the Wiſconſin, in connection with which a local tradition ſtill perſiſts that he rode one of the firſt rafts of logs ever piloted through the ſurging waters of the famous dells of the Wiſconſin. One Wiſconſin pioneer recalled in old age that Davis made many journeys to Dodgeville to attend ſocial gatherings and aſſerted that for nearly half a century he was well-remembered by the older reſidents of the place.¹² An excursion that is better authenticated led him to Chicago in the autumn of 1829. In after years Davis looked upon himſelf as the diſcoverer of the Four-Lakes Country, and believed that his was the firſt overland journey to be made by white men between the Fox-Wiſconſin portage and Chicago.¹³ A member of the Fort Dearborn garrifon at this time was Lieutenant David Hunter. Looking out from the fort one morning in 1829 where now ſwirls the greateſt tide of humanity borne by any bridge in the world, Hunter perceived on the north ſide of the river a white man. Wondering who the ſtranger could be, he entered a ſmall canoc, intended for but a ſingle perſon, and paddled acroſs to interview him. It proved to be Davis, and inviting him to lie down in the bottom of the canoe Hunter ferried him acroſs to the poſt. The paſſage of time was to

¹² John Wentworth in *Fergus Historical Series* No. 7, 26.

¹³ Letter to James D. Butler, cited above.

work a strange transformation in the relations between the occupants of that little boat in this voyage across the placid Chicago. In May, 1862, Hunter, now a Major-general in command of the Department of the South, issued an order emancipating the slaves in the states of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and he followed this up by organizing the first negro regiment for service in the Civil War. Davis, as president of the Confederacy, responded with a proclamation of outlawry against Hunter, threatening in the event of his capture by the Confederate forces to put him to death as a felon. Again the hand of time moved on, and the spring of 1865 witnessed the spectacle of Davis manacled in a dungeon, charged with instigating the assassination of President Lincoln, while Hunter served as president of the military commission which sat in judgement on the Lincoln conspirators.

Precisely when Davis' stay at Fort Winnebago terminated and his second sojourn at Fort Crawford began, seems impossible certainly to determine. The clearest evidence I have found on this point is supplied by Davis himself in the letter of 1872 to his friend George W. Jones of Dubuque which has already been alluded to. In this he states that at the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1831 he joined the command of General Gaines at Rock Island, and after the treaty of that year was ordered to Prairie du Chien. The campaign referred to occurred in June, 1831, when General Gaines with ten companies of regular compelled Black Hawk's band to abandon their village at the mouth of Rock River and agree to withdraw permanently to the west side of the Mississippi. The campaign ended with the signing of the treaty on the last day of June, yet the diary of Cutting Marsh, from which we have quoted above, places Davis at Fort Winnebago on July 25 of this year. A possible explanation of the conflicting evidence would be that after the close of Gaines' brief campaign Davis returned to Fort Winnebago for a short time before being transferred to Fort Crawford.¹⁴

Subsequent to the campaign with Gaines, apparently in the summer or autumn of 1831,¹⁵ Davis was dispatched by

¹⁴ Another explanation is possible—that Marsh, who was not himself at Fort Winnebago wrote to Davis in ignorance of the fact that he had been called into active service and was, therefore, no longer at the fort.

¹⁵ It is possible that the episode I am about to describe should be assigned to the autumn of 1832 rather than 1831; I have found nothing which conclusively fixes the date.

Colonel Taylor to the lead mines at Dubuque to take charge of a difficult situation. A large number of miners had crossed to the west side of the river and in defiance of the prohibition of the government had staked out many claims while the land still belonged to the Indians. Another officer, Lieut. George Wilson, had been sent down with a squad of soldiers to evict the trespassers but the latter were numerous and determined and the officer was compelled to retire without accomplishing anything. In this posture of affairs Davis was dispatched with a larger body of soldiers to eject the miners from the country. Although Davis had the requisite force at his command, he chose to employ persuasion. In the first public address of his life, according to Mrs. Davis he informed the miners that the command must be obeyed. He explained, however, that their eviction was but temporary, and as soon as the requisite arrangements could be made for the extinction of the Indian title they would be free to return. Meanwhile, he volunteered to secure to each man the lead or claim he had staked out, by exerting his influence to this end with Captain Legate, the United States superintendent of the lead mines. This sensible program met the approval of the squatters, who withdrew peaceably to the east side of the river.¹⁶ Davis remained at Dubuque for some time, watching over the miners and the Indians. In a conversation with Charles Aldrich of the Iowa Historical Society, almost at the close of life, he recalled by name many of the early settlers of Dubuque and related various interesting incidents connected with his service there.

With the spring of 1832 Davis secured a furlough from his regiment for the purpose of paying a somewhat extended visit to his former home and relatives in Mississippi. Before he had time to depart, however, the invasion of Illinois by Black Hawk began; the garrison at Fort Crawford was called into the field, of course, and Davis was with it throughout the campaign, serving in the capacity of adjutant to Colonel Taylor. Pushing up Rock River, the regulars reached Dixon about the middle of May, whence Davis was despatched to Galena to assist in bringing order out of the confusion which had been precipitated

¹⁶ For this account I have drawn on Davis' own statements as presented in Mrs. Davis' *Memoir*, and on those made by George W. Jones in the *Davis Memorial Volume* (Richmond, 1890), 48-49.

there in connection with the efforts of militia officers to organize the miners for military service. Returning to Dixon from this service, Davis remained there with his command until June 27, when the northward advance of the army was resumed. The followers of Black Hawk, outnumbered and famishing, were now only seeking to escape their pursuers; the retreat led over the present site of Madison, across the beautiful University grounds, and on to the Wisconsin River on the western border of Dane County. Here the warriors were overtaken and Black Hawk fought a rear-guard engagement, known as the battle of Wisconsin Heights. Although but a small affair, it was the first engagement Davis ever witnessed, and the generalship displayed by the red leader made a great impression upon his mind. Over half a century later, with his mind stored with the experiences of the Mexican and Civil Wars, he described it as "the most brilliant exhibition of military tactics that I ever witnessed—a feat of most consummate management and bravery, in the face of an enemy of greatly superior numbers." "Had it been performed by white men," he continued, "it would have been immortalized as one of the most splendid achievements in military history".¹⁷ This characterization more than confirms the modest claim of Black Hawk, made in writing his biography, that "whatever the sentiments of the white people in relation to this battle, my nation, though fallen, will award to me the reputation of a great brave in conducting it."

The pursuers again caught up with their quarry on the bank of the Mississippi. This time an armed steamboat lay in the river to prevent the Indians from crossing and in the battle of Bad Axe, fought on August 2, Black Hawk's band was practically annihilated. This action ended the war, and the next day the regulars descended the river to Prairie du Chien. Here Black Hawk was shortly delivered to Colonel Taylor by some Winnebago Indians, in whose country he had sought refuge after the overthrow at Bad Axe. The task of conveying the prisoner to Jefferson Barracks was committed by Colonel Taylor to Davis. At Galena a crowd of sightseers boarded the boat, intent on gloating over the fallen foe. But Davis interposed to protect him from this humiliation, winning

¹⁷ Interview with Charles Alrich, reported in *Midland Monthly*, V, 408-9.

thereby a dignified tribute of gratitude from Black Hawk when he composed his autobiography a year or two later.

At Jefferson Barracks Black Hawk was committed to prison for a brief time, and then taken on an extended tour of the East, in the course of which he seems to have become something of a social lion. Davis returned to Fort Crawford, whence, at some time during the autumn, apparently he was sent to Yellow River, a few miles away, to assume control of a detachment of soldiers engaged in getting out lumber for use at Fort Crawford. This assignment and the one of 1829 at Fort Winnebago comprise the sum of Davis' lumbering experiences in the Northwest, concerning which many inaccurate and extravagant statements have been made. Their general tenor is conveniently summarized in the statements made on the subject by Mrs. Davis in the *Memoir*. Of the first experience, she says that in the spring of 1829 her husband was sent from Fort Crawford to the vicinity of modern Menominee on the Red Cedar River,¹⁸ to cut logs for repairing the fort. Amid many perils the work was prosecuted throughout the winter. At one time the men took to headlong flight when an Indian war party swept into view. One canoe landed, and a warrior came within 12 feet of the spot where Davis lay concealed. Thus, in constant peril, with the threat of death hurtling forth from behind every tree or bush,¹⁹ the work was carried on. When the raft was made, the oxen and outfit were placed upon it for the descent to Prairie du Chien; but the swift stream sucked the raft into a side current of the Chippewa, where it was broken up and several of the oxen were drowned. Hence the place gained the name of "Beef Slough," famous in the logging annals of Wisconsin at a later day. For a portion of the narrative Mrs. Davis cites a newspaper clipping by "a western historian whose name was not revealed".²⁰

¹⁸ The Red Cedar is a tributary of the Chippewa; Menominee is upwards of 300 miles above Prairie du Chien.

¹⁹ The extreme peril of living on the northwestern frontier is a pronounced obsession with Mrs. Davis. Wandering Indians, even in times of peace, would occasionally commit acts of violence against whites; but the chief danger to travelers proceeded not from the Indians but from the physical obstacles encountered. The visitor to the Chicago loop is probably in at least as great danger at the hands of gunmen as was the traveler in the Northwest a century ago from the Indians.

²⁰ Mrs. Davis' account agrees fairly closely with several preserved in Wisconsin local histories, and appears, indeed, to be based upon these.

The second lumbering exploit is attributed to the Yellow River, whither Davis was sent in 1831 to superintend the building of a sawmill to be used in getting out timber for the further work of construction at Fort Crawford. He built a "rough little fort," and conciliated the neighboring red men to such an extent that he was adopted into their tribe and given the name of Little Chief. The winter was extremely cold, and Davis was often wet to the skin for hours. The exposure brought on pneumonia, and for months he lay at this isolated place, directing the work as best he might, while emaciated by disease to such an extent that Pemberton, his negro slave, would carry him like a child from the bed to the window.

Such, briefly summarized is Mrs. Davis' account of her husband's career as a lumberman in the Northwest. It has been accepted without question by Dodd, who in certain respects has ventured to elaborate upon it.²¹ Despite these respectable authorities, however, it may be confidently stated that Davis' actual lumbering career bore but slight resemblance to the one described by them. It is to be observed that Mrs. Davis describes two distinct experiences, one on the Red Cedar River in 1829, the other on Yellow River in 1831. Davis himself, in his letter to George W. Jones in 1872, has likewise described two lumbering experiences. The first of these on the Wisconsin River in 1829, getting out logs from Fort Winnebago—we have already noted. Of the second experience he says; "after the treaty of that year (1831) (I) was ordered to Prairie du Chien and subsequently up the Yellow River, where we (the government) had a sawmill to cut lumber at (for) Fort Crawford. Pine logs were obtained on the Chippewa and rafted to the mill on Yellow River; oak logs were cut around the mill and the lumber of both kinds rafted and boated to the landing at Prairie du Chien. To this extent was I a "lumberman" in Wisconsin, being then in the U. S. army, and stationed so far beyond the populous regions; the soldiers were the operators, and as an officer my duties were to direct their labor and exercise the other functions belonging to our relation to each other."

²¹ Others have not hesitated to claim far more. In an address before the National Wholesale Lumber Dealers' Association in Chicago in 1902, R. L. McCormick, a lumberman and president of the Wisconsin Historical Society, described Davis as "the first lumberman on the Mississippi."

This recital is sufficiently clear-cut except for one somewhat puzzling detail. The designation Yellow, as applied by the pioneers to a river, is not very distinctive. Wisconsin boasts no less than three streams of this name, while a fourth enters the Mississippi from the west a few miles above Prairie du Chien. On what Yellow River did Davis pursue the lumberman's calling? Of the three Wisconsin streams, one flows into the Wisconsin about fifty miles above Portage; one into the Chippewa a considerable distance above the Red Cedar; and one into the St. Croix, far into the Northwest. With the last of these Davis has never been associated by any one, and it may therefore be eliminated from our problem. Mrs. Davis' ignorance of the geography of the region spared her the trouble of identifying the stream her husband made famous, and she merely speaks of it as "Yellow River;" while Dodd, drawing from her narrative a fairly obvious inference, identifies it as the tributary of the Chippewa. A. G. Turner, the historian of Fort Winnebago, on the other hand, identifies it as the tributary of the Wisconsin. More recently than any of these, Mr. C. E. Freeman, a careful local historian of Menominee, comes forward with the assertion that it was neither Chippewa nor Wisconsin tributary, but the Iowa stream near Prairie du Chien.²²

The implications from Freeman's conclusion (which to me seems convincing) are fairly obvious. Davis was never on the Chippewa, nor its tributary, the Red Cedar. Mythical therefore become the many statements concerning the ardousness and dangers of his logging exploits in this region. The adoption into the tribe, the danger of massacre, the pulmonary attack and the nursing of faithful Pemberton, if not equally mythical, must all alike be ascribed to some other time and place than the Yellow River, for Davis was here but a scant half dozen miles away from the sheltering walls of Fort Crawford. If these things were ever in fact related by Davis to his wife, she has failed to state correctly the place and occasion of their occurrence.

The lumbering detail on Yellow River in the autumn and winter of 1832-33 was, so far as our present knowledge goes,

²² See his careful study, "Two Local Questions," in the *Menominee Dunn County News*, October 14, 1909.



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF THREE STREAMS CALLED
"YELLOW RIVER."

Davis' last assignment at Fort Crawford. On March 2, 1833, Congress passed a bill which provided for the organization of a dragoon regiment for service on the western frontier: two days later Davis was commissioned a captain in the new regiment and he shortly set out for Kentucky to recruit a company. On the completion of this mission he repaired to Jefferson Barracks, the appointed rendezvous of the regiment, whose headquarters were presently established at Fort Gibson in modern Muskogee County, Oklahoma. The colonel of the regiment, it is of interest to note, was Henry Dodge of Wisconsin, one of the popular heroes of the Black Hawk War. By him Davis was appointed to the responsible post of adjutant of the regiment. After a year and a half of service, nominally at Fort Gibson but much of the time in the field,²³ Davis resigned his commission to marry and take up the life of a planter in Mississippi. His intended bride was Sarah, the second daughter of Colonel Taylor, whose heart he had won while stationed at Fort Crawford.

Over this courtship and marriage the tongue of gossip has hardly yet ceased to wag. Although Davis would seem from every point of view to have been an eligible suitor for Miss Taylor's hand, her father, for some reason now unknown, sternly opposed their union.²⁴ The lovers persisted in their intentions, however, and when in June, 1835, Davis left the service he journeyed to Louisville, where Miss Taylor was visiting, and there at the home of her aunt, Colonel Taylor's sister, the two lovers were married.

The sequel of the union proved tragic enough. The young couple journeyed to Mississippi where on land adjoining his older brother's estate Davis had planned to make his home. Both were soon seized with fever, however, and on September 15, while the husband lay desperately ill, the bride passed

²³ The history of the Dragoon Regiment is told by Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917).

²⁴ Various explanations of this attitude have been advanced, none of them adequate. A more plausible surmise, as it seems to me, is that some now forgotten garrison intrigue was responsible for it. Such discords between the officers of the frontier posts were painfully common; Davis, himself, though honored by Dodge with the appointment to the post of adjutant of the Dragoon Regiment, was soon on such terms with his colonel that the latter was eager to fight a duel with him. Letter to George W. Jones quoted by Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons*, 28.

away, singing in her last delirium snatches of a favorite song which she had learned in happier days. Her body rests in a neglected tomb a few miles from Baton Rouge, Louisiana; in the outskirts of Louisville, not far from the scene of her marriage, in a rude tomb in an unkempt, lonely cemetery, rest the bones of her distinguished father; while far removed from both the bride he loved and the father he estranged the body of Davis reposes at beautiful Hollywood in Richmond, in the capital of the Confederacy he labored so enthusiastically to establish.

The circumstances of Davis' marriage, taken in conjunction with his later career as head of the southern Confederacy, were such as to give rise in the Northwest to an infinity of rumor and tradition concerning the union. Practically all of this body of tradition reflects severely upon Davis' honor, the charges and innuendoes ranging from tales of mere elopement to cowardly libertinism and home-wrecking.²⁵ That all of these stories originated after the events of 1861 is a fairly safe generalization. That they may one and all be relegated to the realm of myth is a generalization equally safe. Miss Taylor married Davis with the knowledge, though without the approval, of her father, at the home of his sister and in the presence of his brother and other close relatives. In a letter to her mother, written on the morning of her wedding day, the bride thanks her father "for the liberal supply of money sent me," and acknowledges his "kind and affectionate" letter. Two months later, in the last letter ever written to her mother, the "best respects" of Mr. Davis are proffered. The bride was a woman of legal age, and however painful may have been the situation created by her father's attitude toward Davis there

²⁵ As illustrative of this type of accusation may be noted the story of Judge Joseph T. Mills in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Nov. 10, 1885. Mills came to Fort Crawford to serve as tutor in Colonel Taylor's family about the year 1834. "More unfortunate than Lord Ullen," he says of Colonel Taylor, "when he saw the wild water run over his child, and he was left lamenting, the heart-broken father knew Lieut. Davis as a professional libertine, unprincipled and incapable of sincere affection for Knox unless he counted the money to which she was an heir presumptive." Mills weaves a narrative, wholly fanciful, of the elopement from Prairie du Chien under the guise of Miss Taylor's going on an innocent fishing excursion to Cassville. Of Mrs. Taylor he adds: "I do not know that she ever saw her daughter again, in whom her happiness and life were wrapped up. She mourned as Mother Ceres did for Prosperine and Jefferson Davis in her view was just as villainous and malignant as the 'gloomy Dis.'"

was nothing in it of dishonor to the latter. Mythical, therefore, are all the stories of homewrecking and elopement, told even yet in Wisconsin;²⁶ even as the stories from the same period of southern soldiers sending Yankee fingers and toes home to their sweethearts as souvenirs, or those of more recent vintage of German soldiers cutting off the hands of Belgian children are mythical.

In this connection the moment seems opportune to deny once for all the entire crop of stories and legends concerning the supposed infamous conduct of Davis during his years as an army officer in the Northwest. The scandalous tales that are even yet occasionally retailed, particularly in Wisconsin,²⁷ about him are all alike of the stuff of which dreams are composed. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain their origin. The answer is not far to seek. They are all a consequence of the passions and distorted judgements bred in four years of bitter warfare, in which Davis was the leader of the section against which the Northwest found itself aligned. In the recent World War governments engaged systematically in the business of propagating misinformation and to this branch of the service is assigned by some enthusiasts the major credit for the outcome of the conflict. The American Civil War witnessed no such systematic organization of propaganda; but since the dawn of history war has ever been the prolific parent of untruth, and to this unhappy condition our Civil War afforded no exception.²⁸ Whatever may be our judgement with respect to the political views and public acts of Davis, there is no room for doubt that in the matter of private character

²⁶ Within a year or so I have listened to an old resident of Prairie du Chien relate how the window at Fort Crawford through which Miss Taylor climbed on the night of her elopement with Davis had often been pointed out to him in boyhood by his parents and others of the generation preceding his own.

²⁷ I allude to such stories as the one recorded in N. Matson's *Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Ill.) (Princeton, 1872), 110-15. Similar recitals are found in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* Nov. 10, 1895, and Nov. 8, 1869, as well as here and there in various Wisconsin local histories.

²⁸ Even today the character of President Lincoln is depicted to southern school children as little short of infamous. See, for example, the sketch of his life prepared expressly for their use by Mildred L. Rutherford, Historian General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, entitled *Jefferson Davis the President of the Confederate States and Abraham Lincoln the President of the United States, 1861-1865* (n. p. 1916).

and personal conduct he was a high-minded and chivalrous gentleman.²⁹

It remains to note one final act in the tragedy of Davis' life wherein the Northwest played a leading role. The Civil War came on in 1861, due as much to his influence as that of any other living man, and the pioneer region whose first civilized beginnings he had witnessed three decades before poured a host of blue-clad soldiers into the Southland to render abortive his dream of a new nation which should spring from the disruption of the United States. In the spring of 1865 the desperate struggle drew to its dreary close, and the president of the Confederacy fled southward, a fugitive in the land of his birth. The pursuit of the fleeing ruler was led by a detachment of the First Wisconsin cavalry, whose colonel came from Madison, Wisconsin, whose site Davis believed himself to have discovered in 1829. A detachment of Michigan men

²⁹ While preparing this paper my attention was called to the following contribution to the point in question among the Morgan L. Martin papers in the Wisconsin Historical Library. Undated and unsigned, the manuscript is in Mr. Martin's hand, and it seems apparent from the contents was written about the year 1880. The writer was for a generation one of the leading citizens of Green Bay and Wisconsin:

"It has become so common to read newspaper articles abusive of the private character of Jefferson Davis, that one who has known him well for a period covering his brief service in the United States Army and his subsequent career as a civilian, desires to correct some of the mis-statements which seem to have gained credence. The more semblance of authenticity is given to some of these articles, because for a time in his early manhood Davis was a resident of Wisconsin, where at that time he was well known—a brief statement of fact may help to dispel that illusion.

"Jefferson Davis graduated at West Point and joined the 1st Regiment of U. S. Infantry, a portion of which was stationed at Fort Winnebago, in 1828. The notorious Twiggs was in command and many of the officers were Southern men, who, with him embraced the heresies of the Calhoun school of politicians. Davis had just then attained majority and remained at that post, where his private character was unexceptionable, until transferred to the new Regiment of Dragoons under Col. Dodge. Zachary Taylor was at the time in command at Prairie du Chien and there the marriage of Davis and Miss Jefferson (Sarah) Taylor took place against the remonstrance and without the previous consent of the lady's father. Many years afterwards, when the veteran Taylor and his son-in-law were thrown together on the battle field of Mexico, each displaying distinguished gallantry in sustaining the honor of our National flag, they became reconciled and were thenceforth warm friends.

"Jefferson Davis was never stationed at Green Bay and was never here, except on a brief visit to his West Point friends and associates of the 5th U. S. Infantry, during the winter of 1829. He was always regarded as a generous, high-toned, brave, and chivalrous gentleman. A brilliant political career, as member of both branches of Congress, and as Secretary of War, after acquiring distinction as a soldier during the Mexican War, should at least relieve him from the base charge of being considered a common thief.

"The writer of this article, though condemning unqualifiedly the heresies of Southern Politicians, which claimed the sovereignty of the States, denied the unity of our nation and culminated in rebellion against its authority, cannot refuse to admit the unblemished private character of the rebel chief, whom he has known and admired as soldier and citizen for the past fifty years until the estrangements resulting from the late Civil War."

shared in the final capture, all alike hailing from that region which had been known during the years of his residence in it as Michigan Territory, and all obeying the orders of the silent man from Galena to whom, next to President Lincoln, was due the preservation of the Union. This closing scene in the drama of the Confederacy possesses a broad historical significance. Davis' presidential career was terminated by soldiery from a section of the new Northwest which thirty years earlier he had known as an empty wilderness; so, too, it was the exuberant vigor and determination of this new Northwest, the creation almost wholly of Davis' mature lifetime, which, thrown into the military scale of the Civil War, doomed the Confederacy and rendered the hopes and schemes of its founders an evanescent dream.

**A COLLECTION OF LETTERS FROM LYMAN TRUMBULL
TO JOHN M. PALMER, 1854-1858.**

Compiled and Edited by GEORGE THOMAS PALMER, M. D., a
Grandson of John M. Palmer.

I.

Alton, Nov. 23, 1854.

My Dear Sir:

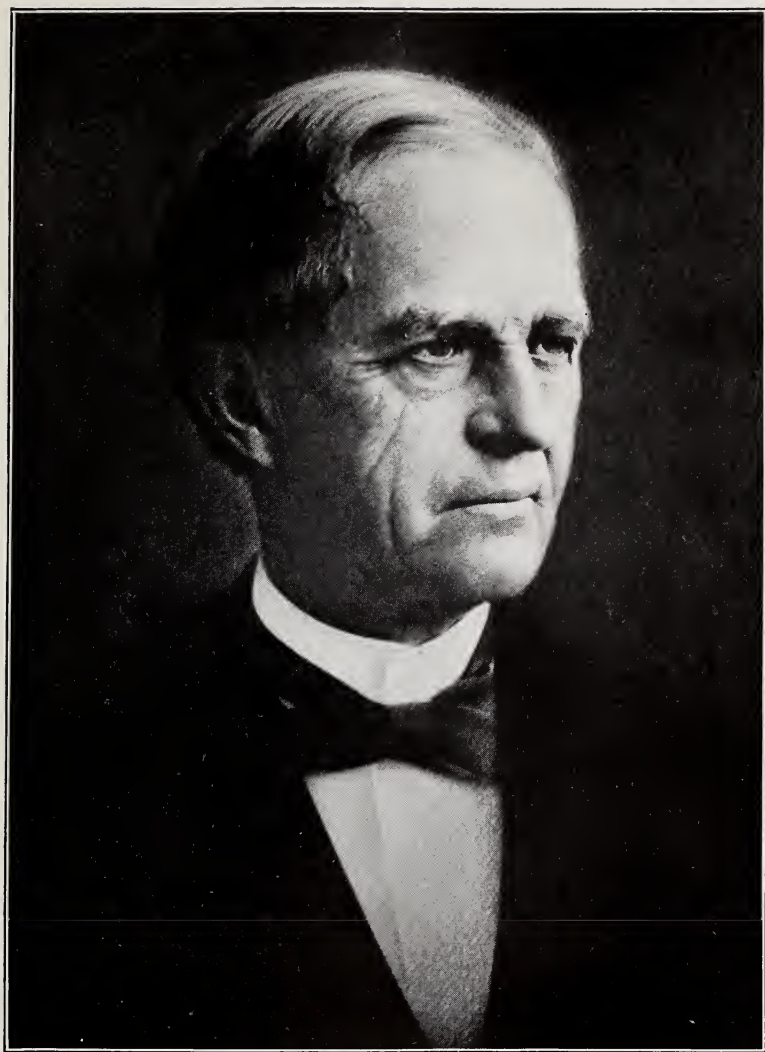
I have just returned from Mt. Vernon where the Sup. Court is in session and was glad to find here yours of the 17th. We have mutual cause for rejoicing at the result of the recent election,¹ at least so far as our individual interests were at stake; but I fear that the great triumph which the cause of truth and right has gained will be lost unless great prudence and discretion are observed for the future.

At Mt. Vernon I met with a good many lawyers and a number of members of the Legislature from the South part of the State, and I was sorry to find that they seem to be filled with the most *vindictive* feelings towards all who do not endorse the Nebraska bill and submit to the Nebraska test.² I was surprised at the bitterness manifested by some of these village politicians from below. They would, some of them, sooner vote for a Whig than an Anti-Nebraska Democrat.

For part of the information used in the footnotes I am indebted to Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber and Theodore C. Pease of the Illinois State Historical Library. G. T. P.

¹ John M. Palmer had first been elected State Senator for an unexpired term in 1851. He came up for reelection in 1854 in the fourteenth district composed of Greene, Macoupin, and Jersey counties, and ran on the Anti-Nebraska issue, beating Beatty J. Burke, the regular Democratic candidate 2896 to 2715. Trumbull had in the same issue been elected to Congress from the eighth, or Belleville, district by a decisive majority over Philip B. Fouke. Lincoln, in a letter to Joseph Gillespie, under date of December 1, 1854, says: "We have the Legislature clearly enough on joint ballot, but the Senate is very close, and Cullom told me today that the Nebraska men will stave off the election if they can. Even if we get into joint vote we shall have difficulty to unite our forces." Lincoln asks "whether Trumbull intends to make a push."

² The Kansas-Nebraska Act, passed in 1854 under Douglas' sponsorship, provided for the organization of Kansas and Nebraska territories with a proviso repealing the Missouri Compromise that had forever excluded slavery from the territory. The passage of the act had made confusion in Illinois politics. The extreme anti-slavery men formed the Republican party; the Anti-Nebraska Democrats split off from their party; the Whigs divided more slowly, one group drifting into the know-nothing or Democratic parties, the other finally uniting with a portion of the Anti-Nebraska Democrats in the Republican party.



LYMAN TRUMBULL.

There is no making terms or getting along in harmony with such men. They would be quite willing to use Anti-Nebraska Democrats to help them carry out their purposes when they have not sufficient strength without them; but I do not believe they would go into caucus with them unless quite sure to have the control when there. If the feeling of the Nebraskaites as exhibited at Mt. Vernon is to prevail, we are to have war to the knife, and every Anti-Nebraska Democrat is to be crushed if they have the power to do it.

The Anti-Nebraska men will have a majority in the Legislature, but can they be brought to act together, that is the important question. The Nebraskaites are united and will act in concert, and as you most truly say, "Concert will be of indispensable importance" among their opponents. How this is to be brought about I scarcely know. If all Anti-Nebraska men could be fully persuaded as I am, that we are to receive no quarter from Douglas and his friends, a common sense of danger would, I think, bring us to act in concert; but some of those who agree with us in principle and ought to act openly with us, are I fear inclined to cooperate with the Nebraska men in carrying out their views with reference both to men and measures under the delusive idea that by so doing they can maintain their own former good standing with Nebraska men. I am informed but hope it is not true, that Osgood,³ Cook⁴ and Graham⁵ are all for Shields.⁶ How men of their discernment and good sense can be so blind to their own interest as not to see that the re-election of Shields will be a perfect triumph of their deadliest foes is strange to me.

I have some very warm friends in the South part of the State. Some of them who are Nebraska men, have been re-

³ Uri Osgood was a holdover Senator whose district gave an Anti-Nebraska majority in the election of 1854. Osgood was given a large amount of State patronage by the Whigs to conciliate him; Osgood voted for Shields.

⁴ Trumbull misjudged Burton C. Cook, of Ottawa, a holdover Democratic State Senator, who had refused to follow Douglas. Cook was one of the five legislators who voted for Trumbull on the first ballot and was one who, with Palmer and Judd, was charged with Lincoln's defeat and Trumbull's election. Also member State Central Com. (Rep.), 1856.

⁵ Senator Benjamin Graham made the speech nominating James Shields for reelection as United States Senator.

⁶ James Shields, a native of Ireland, who had commanded the Illinois contingent in the Mexican War, served as Democratic United States Senator from Illinois from 1849 to 1855. Upon his defeat in 1855, he removed to Minnesota, which state returned him to the United States Senate in 1858. In 1879 he served a few days as Senator from Missouri,—the third state to be represented by him in the United States Senate.

turned to the Legislature, but such is now their feeling towards me politically that I do not believe they would vote for me for constable. I am really astonished at their bitterness. They have cried out *abolition* so much that if I was really a Garrison or a Phillips they could not think worse of me than they do.

My impression is, that there is no middle ground for Anti-Nebraska Democrats to occupy, and that they must either go down themselves or put their *intolerant* adversaries down. We now have the power, once gone we may never be able to regain it. If our Northern friends will only stop at the proper point without urging us too far, I think a plan may be fallen upon which will succeed. The Legislature ought to pass resolutions of some sort.⁷ Those of last session must at all events be rescinded.

Now will it be possible for the Anti-Nebraska men to agree upon a series of resolutions? This is a most important question. If this can be done, all else will go well, for we can then have concerted action. If the proper steps are taken in time so that the members fully understand each other, and appreciate the importance of concession and concerted action to save themselves from utter defeat, I have great hopes that Nebraskiaism may be routed in the Legislature.

As for the Senate I am for any good Anti-Nebraska Democrat. There are many reasons why I wish to see Shields defeated and I would be for almost any man as against him. My own position, having just been elected to the lower House, is such that I think it would be exceedingly impolitic for me to think of being a candidate. It would not do for me to be a candidate for every office in the land. That very fact, if nothing else, would defeat me; but I am willing to do all that in me lies in an honorable way to elect an Anti-Nebraska Democrat in Shields place and I will not be particular about the man? How will Koerner⁸ do?

In order to succeed will we not have to keep out of caucus? At the start, when the Legislature first meets, is the important

⁷ The resolutions endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Thirteen Democratic members of the House and Senate including Palmer, Cook, Judd, Osgood, and Campbell had voted against them, and thirteen more Democrats had refrained from voting. Cole, *Era of the Civil War*, p. 121.

⁸ Gustavus Koerner was president of the Republican State Convention in 1858. He lived in Belleville and was Lieutenant-Governor at this time (1853-1857).

time and if the Anti-Nebraska Democrats will keep out of caucus the Nebraskaites must⁹ necessarily be defeated in the election of officers for the two houses. To accomplish this would be a great point gained as it would break the enemies power at the start. Already they have their candidates for the various offices in the gift of the two Houses at work writing letters to different members and if they are elected they will be an active corps about the Legislature through its whole session, to do their master's bidding. If possible, all this small fry must be whipped out.

Yourself, Judd¹⁰ and Cook could control this matter in the Senate and in the House I do not think there is much danger.

Are not your relations with these gentlemen and perhaps some other Anti-Nebraska Senators such that you could correspond with and obtain their views? I cannot believe that Cook has gone over to the enemy.

I have written very hastily and thrown out suggestions just as they occurred to me. May be in error in some of my views. Our zeal often misleads us, but I have a sincere desire to pursue the most politic course consistent with truth and right to attain the end we all have in view, the triumph of *Freedom over Slavery*.

Your sincere friend,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

If you learn anything of the views of Anti-Nebraska Senators from the North about going into caucus or their views of the proper course of action please let me know.

I should also like to know your views fully. Write me freely about the course to be pursued when the Legislature meets. It is an important crisis with both you and me. I

⁹ As Trumbull suggested Judd, Palmer, Cook, and Osgood refused to caucus.

¹⁰ The Nebraska members of the General Assembly alleged that Trumbull's election was illegal inasmuch as the Constitution of 1848 (Article V, Section 11) prohibited the election of any supreme or circuit judge to any office, state or federal, until one year after the expiration of his term. Trumbull had been a judge of the Supreme Court, elected in 1845, reelected in 1852, and resigned in 1853. There was little doubt, however, that the state could not impose on the United States Senate obedience to this rule in determining the qualifications of its members. Governor Matteson had written a communication to the Senate raising the point as to whether Trumbull was duly elected.

believe in my heart we are right and the right surely ought to prevail.¹¹

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Alton, Feb. 24, 1855.

My dear Sir,

Am much obliged for your kind favor of the 20th. It contained the first and only intelligence I have had of the action of the Nebraska members by way of protest. I presume the question will be made at Washington and every obstacle thrown in the way of my taking a seat which malice and spleen can invent. This however cannot effect the right at all only exposes how mean some men are. Have you seen the article of an "Able Lawyer" in the Register of the 21st? Who is probably the author? I surmised Harris¹² but it is mere conjecture. It does not strike me as a very strong article and the dishonesty and insincerity of the author is apparent. Wonder if the con-

¹¹ In the interval between this and the next letter, Lyman Trumbull had been elected United States Senator over Abraham Lincoln, James Shields and Joel A. Matteson, then Governor of the State. Trumbull was placed in nomination by John M. Palmer as an Anti-Nebraska Democrat; Lincoln was nominated by Representative Stephen T. Logan as the selection of a caucus of Whigs and Free-Soilers, while Shields was nominated by Benjamin Graham as a Nebraskaiter. There were 100 members, 25 in the Senate and 75 in the House.

The first ballot gave Lincoln 45; Shields 41; Trumbull 5, and 8 scattering.

After seven ballots, the Nebraskaites swung to Governor Matteson;—a movement which Lincoln had anticipated, but which he could not head off. The vote on the seventh ballot stood: Matteson 44; Lincoln 38; Trumbull 9 and 7 scattering.

By the ninth ballot the result stood: Matteson, 47; Trumbull 35 and Lincoln 15.

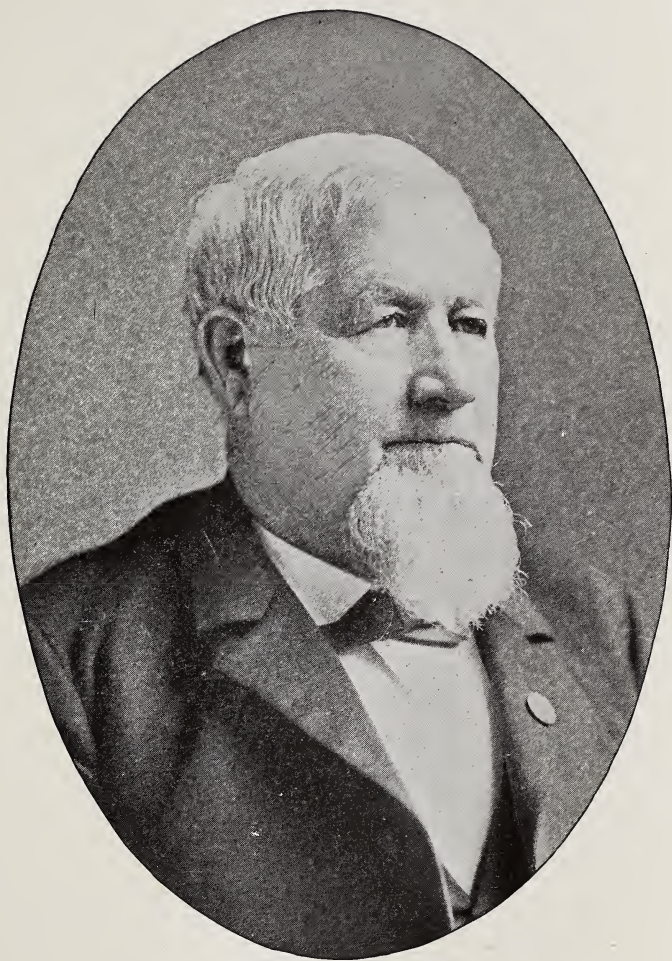
At this point, Lincoln urged his Whig followers to vote for Trumbull and, on the tenth ballot, Trumbull received 51 votes and Matteson 47.

According to Horace White: "The result astounded the Democrats. They were more disappointed by it than they would have been by the election of Lincoln. They regarded Trumbull as an arch traitor. That he and his fellow traitors, Palmer, Judd and Cook, should have carried off the great prize was an unexpected and most bitter pill, but they did not know how bitter it was until Trumbull took his seat in the Senate and opened fire on the Nebraska iniquity."

Lincoln, in writing of his defeat to Elihu B. Washburne, says: "I regret my defeat moderately, but am not nervous about it. I could have headed off every combination and been elected had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected."

Horace White adds: "And so it seems to me now. Lincoln's defeat was my first great disappointment in politics, and I was slow in forgiving Palmer, Judd and Cook for their share in bringing it about. But before the campaign of 1858 came on I was able to see that they had acted wisely and well. They had not only satisfied their own constituents, and led many of them into the new Republican organization, but they had given a powerful reinforcement to the party of freedom in the nation at large, in the person of Lyman Trumbull, whose high abilities and noble career in the Senate paved the way for thousands of recruits from the ranks of the Democratic party."

¹² Thomas L. Harris, warm friend of Charles H. Lanphier, editor of "The Register" just elected for Congress against Richard Yates.



JOHN M. PALMER.

sciences of the forty-seven who voted for Matteson are any quieter than of the fifty-one who were for me? I doubt the propriety of entering into an extended argument through the newspapers on this subject, but think it may be well enough to expose the hypocrisy of "Able Lawyer" and state briefly the positions assumed by those who regard the State Constitutional provision as invalid.

Shields is off the track for Congress as you have probably seen. The valiant General thought discretion the better part of valor in this case. Am sorry for it. Would rather have met him than Smith,¹³ who is to be the Nebraska candidate. We can, however, beat Smith with Underwood if he will only consent to run which I have reason to suppose he may be induced to do. Some few of the Nebraskaites, not the masses I think, the more they think of my election, the madder they get. Let them fret, it will do them good I trust.

Your sincere friend,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

III.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Alton, May 7, 1855.

Dr Sir,

Are you going to Cairo and if so when do you start? Please answer so that I will get yours by to-night's mail.

I have some idea of going and if I do, thought of joining the excursion at Decatur where I suppose it will be Wednesday morning.

No one speaks of going from here except myself. Baker¹⁴ thinks he will not go. Have not heard from Gillespie¹⁵ or Allen.¹⁶ Hope you may be going. Unless some friends are along I shall not care to go myself.

Yours truly,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

¹³ Robert Smith of Alton, Ill. See foot note 55.

¹⁴ Henry S. Baker, of Alton, a representative who was among the five voting for Trumbull on the first ballot.

¹⁵ Joseph Gillespie, a personal friend of Lincoln. See note on page 1.

¹⁶ G. T. Allen, representative from Madison County who voted for Trumbull on the first ballot.

IV.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington City, Dec. 3, 1855.

My Dear Sir,

I was sworn in and took my seat this morning without objection, so you see Matteson after all has gained nothing by his meanness. Gen. Cass,¹⁷ at the instance of Richardson¹⁸ and Harris, presented the protest of the members of the Legislature against my right to a seat and said he would at the proper time move its reference to the appropriate committee. It will not amount to anything.

You will see the protest in the *Globe* of to-morrow which I will send you. Although R. and H. got Gen. C. to present a protest against me in the Senate, they did not think proper to make any objections against Marshall¹⁹ in the House. Was not this consistent?

Yours truly,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

V.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, Jany. 2, 1856.

J. M. Palmer, Esq.,

Dr. Sir:

The message is pro-slavery enough. That part of it treating the slavery question would scarcely pass for a good stump speech and is disgraceful in a president. It is full of misrepresentation and false reasoning but I think it will do good in the North by showing the people clearly whither the government is tending. The discussion in the House clearly shows that squatter sovereignty has no place in the Nebraska Act. Even

¹⁷ Lewis Cass, candidate for the Presidency in 1848 and defeated by General Taylor. At this time United States Senator from Michigan and a powerful figure.

¹⁸ William A. Richardson, Democratic member of Congress, from Quincy district, elected to the United States Senate in 1863 to fill out Douglas term.

¹⁹ Samuel S. Marshall, of McLeansboro, elected to Congress as a Democrat. As he had been a circuit judge in the 12th circuit, resigning in 1854, the same constitutional objections applied to him.

Jones of Pa, a leader among the Nebraskans admitted when pressed by the South, that there was no power in the territorial legislature to exclude slavery. The doctrine now contended for is that there is no power either in Congress or in the territories while in a territorial condition to exclude slavery. Pierce does not quite avow this doctrine in his present message, but the way he is going on he will in the next one.

The issue is to be distinctly made whether slavery shall spread over all the territories even in defiance of the action of the territorial Legislatures, or whether it shall be kept out of them by the action of Congress and an executive disposed to carry out that action. The action of the Democrats who favored the repeal of the Missouri Compromise both here and in Illinois clearly shows that an endorsement of that measure, which now means the opening of all territories to the introduction of slavery, is to be made a test question.

For one I cannot and will not act with any party having such a creed and I think the better course for all our friends will be to keep out of the conventions both State and National. We must adopt the course suggested by the New York Evening Post if we do not mean to submit to any terms which the Slaveocrats may think proper to impose. I would say keep clear of all conventions called by the Nebraskaites.

I do not apprehend any serious difficulty about my seat. The more that matter is stirred the worse it will be for those doing it. Douglas is not here, nor can I learn when he will be. The message took us all by surprise. No one unless some particular favorite had any notice that it was to be sent in. The House refused to let it be read and some in our body think we should have pursued the same course. No speaker yet²⁰ and the prospect looks as gloomy as ever. I reckon the opposition can stand it to do without a Congress if Pierce can. I set it down as a fixed fact that an organization will be affected somehow but when or how no one can tell.

Yours truly,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

²⁰ N. P. Banks, Jr., of Massachusetts, was chosen speaker in February, after 133 ballots. He was a former Know Nothing.

Your letter did not contain any list of names. You speak of sending one. What have you done that some of the papers are complaining of the weakness of your backbone?

VI.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, Jany. 24, 1856.

Dear Palmer,

I am sorry you should think of supporting the candidate of the Cincinnati Convention²¹ under any circumstances. The nominee of that Convention, be he who he may, will be pledged to the Nebraska matter and you know what that means. The general Government is now under the control of the slave interest and if the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention succeeds it is to continue so. The general government is prostituted to slavery and all its powers and patronage is now expected to extend it into free territory. The President would no more appoint a man Governor of Kansas who was in favor of making it a free state man than he would cut his finger off and if he did appoint such a man the Senate would instantly reject him.

Not only is this so, but even in the free state of Illinois there is no officer of the United States so insignificant that he would not be instantly removed if he was known to be opposed to the Kansas Act. Every opponent of that measure is shut out from all participation in the administration of the government, so far as it is in the power of the so-called Democracy to accomplish it. Neither a party nor any of its candidates which makes slavery extension the fundamental article of its creed can have my support.

I do not apprehend that we will be forced to choose between the candidate of the Nebraskaites and such men as Seward,²² Fillmore,²³ or Lane.²⁴ In such an event I should feel com-

²¹ The Democratic National Convention was held in Cincinnati, June 2nd, and endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. James Buchanan was nominated for the Presidency.

²² William H. Seward, at that time in the U. S. Senate from New York, a former Whig and supposed to be strongly anti-slavery.

²³ Millard Fillmore, who succeeded to Presidency in 1850, on the death of Taylor. He ran on the Know Nothing Ticket that year.

²⁴ Henry Smith Lane, of Indiana, made permanent president of the Republican Party at the National Convention in June, 1856.

pelled to follow a masterly inactivity. But I hope better things and trust that a Democrat opposed both to slavery extension and abolition may be run. There will probably be three candidates: 1st, the candidate of the Nebraskaites; 2. The candidate of the Know Nothings, who will most likely be Crittenden.²⁵ The candidate of the so-called Republicans, who possibly may be Fremont²⁶ or Judge McLean²⁷ * * *.

When I speak of the Republicans I do not mean such as have assumed that name in Illinois and who oppose the fugitive slave law, the admission of any more slave states under any circumstances, but I mean all these who on the slavery question simply make this issue, opposition to its spread into free territory. The Republicans will I think be willing to abandon their altruisms and stand upon this one position so far as slavery is concerned, and on that issue with fair candidates it is my opinion that every Northern State can be carried. Know Nothingism I am glad to see is becoming almost wholly a southern element. Let the South take it and keep it. Shall be glad to get rid of it in the north.

No speaker yet. Richardson²⁸ has declined and his supporters to-day voted for Orr.²⁹ Fuller³⁰ has also withdrawn.

The President to-day sent us a message on Kansas affairs as full of perversion and false assumptions as his annual message. The Administration is getting anxious for an organization—think we will have it before long. There is no trouble about my seat. McConnel & Co are having all this trouble for nought. How it does grieve their righteous souls to have me here. Hope they may survive it. Let me hear from you often.

Yours truly,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

²⁵ John Jordan Crittenden, of Kentucky, attorney general under President's Harrison and Fillmore, Senator from Kentucky 1817-19, 1835-41, 1842-48, 1855-61, author of the Crittenden Compromise.

²⁶ John C. Fremont, Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1856.

²⁷ John McLean, received 196 votes against Fremont's 359 in the Republican Convention; Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court 1829-1861.

²⁸ See note 19.

²⁹ James Lawrence Orr, of South Carolina, who deprecated the agitation of the slavery question but was a devoted friend of the Union. He was made Speaker in 1857.

³⁰ Henry M. Fuller of Pennsylvania.

VII.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Senate Chamber, May 21, 1856.

Dear Palmer,

I have just recd a letter from Springfield from a Gentleman high in the counsels of the Know Nothings saying that you would receive all their votes for Congress provided you did not *abuse* them. This of course you would not do, as it is not your nature to abuse anybody. They are anxious for you to be elected, knowing as I presume they do, that one of their own men would stand no chance. I am told that you would receive all the votes that Yates³¹ got, if it were clearly known and understood that you stood upon Anti-Nebraska ground and I am quite sure you would get votes enough which Yates did not receive to render your election quite sure.

My correspondent suggests that it would place you all right before the District if you were to attend the Bloomington Convention³² and suggests whether it would be well for you to do so. The suggestion strikes me favorably. That convention is evidently going to be a very respectable one. It will nominate Bissell³³ for Governor and I presume take conservative measures avoiding all altruisms. I think we can carry the State. The news which I have received from Illinois within the last two weeks both by letters and local papers, very many of which are sent to me, is more encouraging than at any previous period.

Judd writes me very encouragingly. Alfred Kitchell,³⁴ of Richland, has made a speech recently denouncing Douglas & Co. He is a valuable man in that locality. Koerner will I think be with us. That he is privately so I know, but whether he will come out publicly I am not advised.

I am anxious that you should be in position to be the candidate for Congress against Harris and if you are I count *sure* on your election.

Very truly yours,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

³¹ Richard Yates, of Jacksonville, a member of the Thirty-second and Thirty-third Congresses and defeated for reëlection by Thomas L. Harris, of Petersburg. Later War Governor of Illinois.

³² The Republican State Convention was held at Bloomington on May 29, 1856. John M. Palmer was elected Chairman of the Convention.

³³ William H. Bissell was elected Governor in 1856 to succeed Matteson.

³⁴ Alfred Kitchell, of Richland, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1847 and was Commissioned Circuit Judge of the Twenty-fifth District in 1859.

VIII.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Senate Chamber, July 31, 1856.

Hon. J. M. Palmer,

Dr. Sir.

Why do you not write. Have been anxious to hear from you and know what the Filmore movement at Springfield means. Is it possible that the Know Nothings can suffer themselves to be made tools of by Douglas & Co. They of course are aging on the movement.

Richardson has just returned and I am told brags largely on Illinois. Am told he says the Know Nothings³⁵ are acting secretly and intend giving the Republicans a terrible stab at the election by polling a very heavy vote. Douglas, I hear, now says there will be no doubt about Illinois. Will the Americans support you or are they going to get out a candidate of their own. Harris told Woodworth that Fremont would not get two hundred votes in Sangamon County and Richardson told him that Buchanan would carry the State by 20,000 and that he would even carry his, Woodworth's,³⁶ District. He went so far as to advise W. to keep out of the fight. He told Woodworth that B. S. Morris³⁷ was to run for Governor as the Filmore candidate. This all shows that the Nebraskaites are acting in concert with the Know Nothings but it is all gammon about Filmore having any strength in Woodworth's district and I trust it is equally so as to other parts of the State. You see what the Nebraskaites are expecting. We must head them.

Are you making any arrangements for the canvass in your District?³⁸ I will be home early in September and attend meetings wherever I can be of service. I have directed a large number of documents to you for distribution. You know I will be on hand to do what I can to promote your election. Am send-

³⁵ The Know Nothings a secret organization, took the name of "The American Party."

³⁶ James H. Woodworth, Republican Congressman from Chicago.

³⁷ Buckner S. Morris, candidate for Governor in 1856, polling a very small vote.

³⁸ July 29, 1856. W. H. Herndon wrote Trumbull that Palmer's chances for Congress were not good because the old line Whigs objected to so many former Democratic candidates. August 11 he wrote saying that sentiment was turning strongly to Palmer, but that he refused to run. *Trumbull Manuscripts*, Library of Congress. See also *State Register*, August 14, 1856.

ing documents pretty extensively into the District but from some counties I have very few names. Green, Scott, Morgan, Cass and Menard I know but little about and have but few names in either of them.

Yours truly,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

IX.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, Aug. 3, 1856.

Dear Palmer,

I see our Nebraska friends have advertised a series of meetings in different parts of the State and I think we ought to imitate their example. Richardson has returned here professing to be very much elated. He and Douglas are evidently hoping for salvation through the Know Nothings.

It is my expectation to be in Springfield by September 11th and should a meeting be held there that week, I would endeavor to be present and address it, if thought advisable. I would also attend any other meetings in your Congressional District to the extent of three or four, immediately after the Springfield meeting and which you might think advisable for me to be at.

I have accepted a number of engagements to speak before returning to Illinois which will prevent my reaching Chicago before the second week of September.

We ought it seems to me to endeavor to get up a large meeting at Springfield. That is headquarters. From there my own notion would be to go to the South and endeavor to make a rally in Southern Illinois. We can and must carry the State for Fremont. Where is our executive committee that they do not get up a series of meetings in the right localities.

Please let me know immediately that I may get the letter before leaving, in case you give notice for meetings which you would like to have me attend. Write me at New York, Box 3077, care of H. Trumbull after adjournment of Congress and till September 1st.

You will of course speak in every county in your District and I am with you wherever I can be of service without neglecting too much some other localities.

Truly your friend,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

Since writing the within I have concluded to write J. C. Conkling Esq.,³⁹ and N. B. Judd Esq., two members of the central committee, suggesting to them the propriety of calling a series of Fremont meetings. Suppose you see Conkling, Lincoln, Herndon⁴⁰ and other friends on this subject.

X.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Alton, Oct. 17, 1856.

Dear Palmer,

Can you go to Shelbyville and supply their wants? Hope you may be able to do so. The inclosed letter will explain itself. Am about to start for Belleville.

The news from Iowa and Pennsylvania is so contradictory that one knows hardly what to believe. My opinion is we have carried both states.⁴¹ The Nebraskaites are so given to lying that I take it for granted they are not telling the truth about the election returns.

Truly yours,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

XI.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, Dec. 2, 1856.

Dear Palmer,

I arrived here Saturday night and find our Republican friends in great spirits for a defeated party. They are bold, confident and united, ready for another fight and feel that they will certainly win next time.

The Buchaniers on the other hand are alarmed. Kansas still gives them trouble. The northern ones evidently feel that

³⁹ James Cook Conkling, of Springfield, had been a law partner of James Shields and was a warm personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. At this time was a member of the Republican State Central Committee and was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions at the Bloomington Convention.

⁴⁰ William H. Herndon, of Springfield, law partner of Abraham Lincoln, and active in politics.

⁴¹ The Democrats carried Pennsylvania by a small majority and lost Iowa.

their political salvation depends on making Kansas a free State. It is whispered about that the opportunity of a successor to Marshall Donaldson who has resigned is causing trouble. The Pierce dynasty doubtless want to sustain Gen. Geary's⁴² position, but this the South will not tolerate. Geary's position in my opinion is untenable, but I am for letting those who control him manage the matter.

Our friends in the House have taken the bull by the horns and refused to allow Whitfield⁴³ to be sworn in as member by a majority of seven. An effort will be made to reconsider but I trust it will not succeed. Don. Morrison⁴⁴ is here voting to admit him as a matter of course.

I spent a few days in Springfield before leaving Illinois and found our Nebraska friends about the State House wonderfully bitter. Gov. Moore⁴⁵ says he does not like being kicked out and that it is no use to disguise it. Douglas is still North on his bridal tour.⁴⁶ I trust that our friends will have a meeting at Springfield this winter and organize for future operations. How sorry I am you are not in the Senate. It was sensible in you to resign, but a thing which none of our opponents under like circumstances would have done. Please write me often and if I can serve you in any way here, you know it will give me pleasure to do it.

Your sincere friend,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

XII.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, Dec. 14, 1857.

Hon. J. M. Palmer.

My Dear Sir,

You have of course observed the new position of things here with regard to Kansas and which are destined as it seems

⁴² John White Geary, of Pennsylvania, appointed territorial governor of Kansas in 1856.

⁴³ John W. Whitfield, the Democratic slavery delegate from Kansas.

⁴⁴ J. L. D. Morrison, of Belleville, elected to Congress to succeed Trumbull. Elected as old line Whig, by 1860 he was a Douglas Democrat.

⁴⁵ John Moore, of McLean County, had been Lieutenant Governor 1842-1846 and State Treasurer 1848-1857.

⁴⁶ Stephen A. Douglas was married November 20, 1856, to Adele, daughter of James Madison Cutts, of Washington.

to me to have a good deal of influence upon the future politics of your State. Douglas does not mean, I presume, to join the Republicans; but he will evidently be in disfavor with the African Democracy for the future. His political associates from our State will probably all go with him and being clearly right in the issue he has made with the administration, most of the party in Illinois will doubtless go with them; but they will not be recognized as part of the National Democracy and Douglas' prospects for a nomination at Charleston⁴⁷ are gone. Can he keep up the issue between the Republicans and Anti-Buchanan Democrats in Illinois so as to maintain his position in the Senate from our State? He certainly cannot if the Administration has any considerable strength there. Should Douglas be driven out of the African Democracy, as I think he will be, and really join us, what are we to do with him? You know "the man who won the elephant" found it troublesome to dispose of him.

The administration would doubtless be glad to take up Matteson or any other such man and beat Douglas with him; but Matteson as you know, fights slyly and is not the man to meet Douglas. McClelland has the pluck but not much strength. How many Republicans can Douglas take with him if he stops where he is, merely differing with the administration as to the propriety of submitting the whole Constitution. His strength in the Senate is not sufficient in my opinion with all the aid the Republicans can give him to prevent the passage of the administration measure through that body.

I expect Southern Senators to be pretty severe upon Douglas in debate. He made them mad. You know his manner is offensive. Rumor says there is a settled purpose to insult him, compel him to fight or disgrace him. This I do not credit, but is it not really ludicrous to think that Douglas will now be compelled to sit and bear the jibes and insults in his own person which he has so often heaped upon Seward, Sumner and others. Wish you was here to enjoy the fun.

I do not believe it possible for the Administration to force the Lecompton Constitution⁴⁸ on the people of Kansas against

⁴⁷ The meeting of the Democratic National Convention in 1860 was already scheduled for Charleston, South Carolina.

⁴⁸ A Pro-Slavery Convention, sitting at Lecompton, Kansas, framed a Constitution and it was submitted to the people to vote for "The Constitution with slavery" or "The Constitution without slavery," in either event voting *for* the Constitution.

their will. It could only be done in blood. But it has the force to carry a bill for that purpose through the Senate as I think and fear through the House also. Please write me fully what you think about political matters in our state. How much of a party can the administration keep there? Will it be greater than was Captain Tyler's?⁴⁹ I suppose that you have seen that Douglas followed in his speech the path I had blazed out the day before, as far as I went. We will not stop to inquire as to his consistency in decrying the legitimacy of the Lecompton Convention after such a speech as he made at Springfield. "While the lamp holds out to burn"—you know the rest. It was really refreshing to listen to Douglas reading from the same authorities I had read the day before to show that a territorial legislature had no power to initiate a convention. This morning's or rather Saturday's Union has a four-column article on Douglas which I have sent you.

Truly your friend,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

XIII.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Senate Chamber, May 20, 1858.

My Dear Sir,

It seems strange that I should not have heard from you this session, since I have written you, I know not how many times, but certainly once.

What are you doing politically? Trust you are not so dumfounded by the course of Douglas & Co., as to have lost your reckoning. Harris seems to be the boldest man here among the Anti-Lecompton Democrats against the Administration and the pro-slavery party. Whatever others may do I do not see how he can get back and I think he must certainly be with us.

There seems to be a sort of truce between the President and Douglas just now. No removals are being made in our state of late though the expectants who are here have been daily looking for them for months.

⁴⁹ Trumbull alludes to the handful of followers, the so-called "corporal's guard" that followed President John Tyler after his break with the Whigs in 1841.

There can never be any good feeling between B. and D.⁵⁰ but their friends are no doubt at work to bring about a reconciliation and in that event the Buchanan convention for June 8th would either be abandoned or adopt the nominees of the Douglas convention. A few days will probably determine the course of the Administration in regard to Douglas and that determination will of course govern to a great extent the action of the factions in Illinois.

I see some of the pro-slavery papers in our state are assailing me for opposing the admission of Oregon on a false statement of the grounds of my opposition. My only object in saying anything on the question was to disavow the objection, that of negro extension, in which some of our Republican friends founded their opposition.

I knew very well that such a position could not be maintained in our State and strange to say, I am falsely charged with advocating the very objection which I disavowed, I know not how this false report was started. No telegraph report which I ever saw so represented me, though some of my own friends seem to have been misled by the false report. The correction has probably reached the Republican papers before this and I trust they will set me right in the matter.

The bill was up again day before yesterday and passed the Senate as it probably will the House also. I cannot understand the policy of our friends who voted to admit Oregon with the certain knowledge that it will introduce into the Senate two more pro-slavery Senators.

The idea that it was a free state seems to have been all-powerful with some; but a free state which like California till the present session votes uniformly with the slave power cannot surely be of much service to freedom. No delegation from any state worked more efficiently than that of California to force slavery into Kansas and now we will have two senators from Oregon who will not be behind any others in their zeal to force upon the country the doctrines of the Dred Scott decision. Besides, it puts it hopelessly out of our power to have control of the Senate in 1860, when, should we carry the President, the pro-slavery party will have it in their power to check

⁵⁰ Buchanan and Douglas.

all our measures of reform by their majority in the Senate for at least the two first years of the new administration.

These are considerations of policy, but a substantial objection to the admission is a want of the requisite population, which I do not suppose exceeds fifty thousand at the outside.

I made some additional remarks on the question of admission which appeared in yesterday's *Globe* and which you will probably see.

Is it the understanding to run J. H. Matheny for Congress in the 6th Dist. and can anything be gained by doing so?⁵¹ He must have changed since the last election or his position is more adverse to us than that of Harris now is. I do not wish to interfere at all with what our friends may deem best in the 6th District, but the past course of Matheny does not recommend him to me.

If Congress adjourns on the 7th of June, I shall expect to be in Springfield on the 16th.

Your friend,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

Do not understand me as recommending the taking up of Harris. I would like to see a good Republican elected in his place.

XIV.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, June 19, 1858.

My Dear Sir,

I should long ago have answered yours of May 25th but I expected to have met you at the Convention.⁵² The Senate did not adjourn till Wednesday, the day the Convention met and as I did not like to leave till the final adjournment I had to forego being at Springfield.

I see by the telegraph report that the convention was numerously attended and I trust all went off well. There is no escaping a direct conflict with Douglas. His effort will be

⁵¹ James H. Matheny, prominent lawyer of Springfield, member Constitutional Convention, 1847.

⁵² The State convention of June 16 that nominated Lincoln for the Senate.

to secure a re-election in spite of the Republican party. His plan as indicated in his last speech in the Senate is to create the impression that there is an alliance between a few Lecompton office holders and the leading Republicans to defeat him, the former opposing him because he would not consent to force a constitution on the people of Kansas and the latter from personal considerations. He will claim great credit for independence and for having defeated the Lecompton Constitution and appeal to the masses of all parties to sustain him for the great good he has done and is capable of doing. Will be especially severe on Dr. Leib⁵³ and a few other office holders whom he thinks assailable and unpopular and will seek to create a sympathy among our friends by charging that he is being persecuted by the Lecomptonites. It would seem to me that such a game could not win and if the Administration has any positive strength it certainly cannot. What I fear is, that all so-called Democrats may act together in the election of members of the Legislature and leave the question as to who is to be Senator to be settled by them after the election. I think some of the Cabinet regretted to see that the Buchanan convention had made district nominations.

Crittenden came to me after I had said a word the other day to repel the charge of Douglas that the Republicans and office holders were acting in concert and said that I ought to have no controversy with Douglas, that he was opposing the Administration, etc. I mention this to show it is not unlikely an effort may be made to carry the Americans of Illinois for Douglas. I do not understand Douglas to be opposed to the Administration. He is at war with Mr. Buchanan personally and that is the extent of his opposition. Since the English bill passed, he no longer consults with or seems to cultivate the good will of Republican Senators and his votes on all questions are of late with the Administration. Had Douglas cut loose from the pro-slavery party and come out against the doctrines of the Dred Scott case, it would have embarrassed the Republicans very much to have opposed him, but now we ought to be able to present an undivided front against him.

⁵³ Dr. Charles Leib one of the Buchanan leaders in Illinois.

I fully appreciate the considerations you suggest in regard to Mr. Lincoln and feel more deeply than anyone else the obligations we are under to him.⁵⁴ I certainly feel it a duty and shall take pleasure in standing by him to the utmost of my ability in the coming contest.

Do you intend running again for the Senate and can I do anything for you? It is not my intention to return to Illinois for some weeks unless political considerations make it necessary. Suppose the canvass will not begin before some time in August, but when it does begin I shall be ready to take part wherever it is supposed I can do any good. It looks to me as if our prospects were good for carrying the State. I am a little afraid about Madison County. The American element is so strong in that county that we are in danger of losing it.

Harris I suppose will be a candidate for re-election and he has behaved so well this last session that it will be difficult to defeat him unless the Administration element in the district is much stronger than I suppose.

Hon. Robert Smith⁵⁵ wants to be returned and situated as things are in that district I fear he cannot be beat. He and the whole delegation, unless it be Harris, will fall into the pro-slavery camp and be again in full communion if they are re-elected unless I am greatly mistaken.

I have no expectation that any of them will go with the Republicans, unless a state of things should arise which makes it necessary for them to rely on Republican support for a re-election.

I shall be glad to hear from you frequently. I see by the papers that the Americans in Macoupin still keep up their organization. What nonsense it is for them to undertake to maintain their district organization.

Yours truly,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

⁵⁴ Palmer had written Trumbull May 25, urging on Trumbull his moral obligation to promote Lincoln's election in view of what had happened in 1854. *Trumbull Manuscripts*, Library of Congress. The Democrats alleged that in 1854 Trumbull had violated a triple bargain by which he was to be elected to Congress, the radical anti-slavery men were to have the General Assembly offices, and Lincoln the senatorship. *Ottawa Free Trader*, September 25, 1858; *Our Constitution*, October 23, 1858; *Rushville Times*, August 27, 1856.

⁵⁵ Robert Smith of Alton, member of Congress 1843-1849, 1857-1859. He was not re-elected 1858 but was succeeded by Philip B. Fouke of Belleville.

XV.

TRUMBULL TO PALMER.

Washington, Dec. 19, 1858.

John M. Palmer, Esq.

My Dear Sir,

I shall be rejoiced to see you here and hope nothing may occur to prevent your coming. Do not, I beg of you, let the election of a Congressman go by default. Our friends ought to bring out a candidate and use the greatest activity to give him as large a vote as possible. I have no doubt the vote given to Matheny would elect and with a united effort it might be given. At all events Harris majority could be reduced and that would help us next time.

I wish very much it were possible to set an active Republican committee at work in every county in the District from now till the day of election. Such an effort would accomplish wonders at this special election.

Douglas stock has fallen wonderfully since his decapitation by his senatorial colleagues of the pro-slavery order. Suppose he will hardly reach here before the Legislature acts on his case.

The Buchananites of our State, a good part of whom are in Washington, still talk about defeating D's election. I hope they may accomplish it, but have not faith in all they say.

I think the great contest of this session will be on the bill to organize Arizona. Do not expect any serious attempt to carry out the President's recommendations as to foreign matters.

Truly yours,

LYMAN TRUMBULL.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN SPRINGFIELD.

By JOHN H. PIPER.

The most casual inquiry into the history of Congregationalism in Illinois would be misleading that did not credit its foundation to the inspiration of the Home Missionary Society of Connecticut, which carried on most of the work in this State prior to the formation of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826.

As early as 1801 the Societies of New England and New York had agreed upon a "Plan of Union" under which missionary work should be done, with the understanding that each local church should be free to adopt its own form of organization. Conforming to this Plan of Union many ministers trained in New England congregationalism, worked most of their lives as pastors of Presbyterian churches and Congregational laymen, moving into new settlements, allied themselves with Presbyterian Churches, so that from its inception in 1826 to its abrogation in 1852, during the formative years of Illinois, the work of these two denominations is so interwoven that it is now impossible to separate the results or to ascribe them to either body as a definite source.

Prior to the foundation of the American Home Missionary Society, most of the missionaries sent out had been itinerants but thereafter men were appointed to definite places and a more stable work.

In the years immediately following, Solomon Hardy of Andover, was assigned to Shoal Creek, John Matthews to Kaskaskia; Cyrus Watson of Connecticut, to Edwardsville; Aratus Kent, also of Connecticut, to Galena and in 1830 J. G. Bergen of New Jersey, to Springfield.

He had come as an itinerant in November, 1828, and found here a hamlet of about thirty-five log cabins and two or three small frame houses, with no place of worship other than a log school house which had just been built at the intersection

of Adams and Second streets. It was built "in the street"—(he said) "because the town authorities and the owners of lots were too penurious to donate the land."

A Presbyterian church had been organized January 30, 1828, by the Rev. John M. Ellis, a missionary from the Southern part of the State. Of this Mr. Bergen took charge and on the second sabbath after his arrival, at the service held in the little log school house, he gave notice to the church and to the people generally that he had come to Springfield "not to make an experiment, but to live, labor and die on the field with his armor on" and then he said "Come, let us rise up and build a house of God." The result of his appeal was a substantial brick church which was built on the east side of Third Street between Washington and Adams, the first in central Illinois for any protestant denomination. He preached here as stated supply until 1835, when he received a formal call and was installed November 15th. He resigned in 1848 and thereafter devoted much time to writing for the religious and secular press over the signature "Old Man of the Prairies."

When he came to Springfield there were but eight Presbyterian ministers in the State. At the time of his demise, January 17, 1872, including both branches of the church, Presbyterian and Congregational, there were six hundred ministers and eight hundred churches, among them the First Congregational Church of Springfield, Illinois, organized in 1867, which had grown out of this mission.

His letters, especially those written shortly after his arrival, are vivid and illuminating word-pictures of primitive conditions in Illinois as well as convincing evidence of his wonderful vision, of his knowledge of human nature and of the zeal with which he labored in the cause of education and religion. Witness the following, written in the latter part of 1829: "It has appeared to me after a year's observation of climate, soil production, great water privileges * * * and the inexhaustible mines, * * * that here are held out the brightest and richest prospects of abundance, usefulness and comfort to thousands in the eastern and middle states * * * a thorough conviction on these points * * * together with a full belief that our population in the West was outgrowing the institutions of religion, science, and common learning, in-

duced me with my little family to lay down our many endearments in the East and to take up our stand here."

Again he writes "One never beheld a fairer or more inviting region * * to which a tide of emigration rolls with unexampled rapidity", "We must have pious laymen. Let such consider well and they will find the appeal is strong to their interest and *duty*, for the present and the future, for themselves and for the generations which are to come".

A vision of the promised land, flowing with milk and honey, an appeal to self-interest, if you will, but a clear call to duty, to the present and to future generations.

They are to sow and reap rich harvests, they are to work the inexhaustible mines, they are to use for such purposes as they will, the great water ways but they also are to establish the institutions of common learning and of religion. Enterprise is to be the result as well as the harbinger of religion.

FIRST CHURCH.

On the eleventh day of December, 1866, a meeting was held "of those favorable to the formation of a Congregational Church in this city".

"It was found, upon a comparison of views that there was a unanimity of conviction that the present is the opportune time to move for the formation of a church in this city, based on the gospel principal of the brotherhood of its members". "That such a movement, begun and carried on in the Christian spirit, will succeed" and "that so far from weakening the bond of christian union so happily existing here, or impairing the power for good of any existing church, it would both strengthen that bond of union and enlarge the sphere of christian usefulness".

The foregoing is quoted from the minutes of the meeting held on the day named, and the record continues. "In order that a larger number of those known to be in sympathy with us may be brought together for consultation" the meeting adjourned to the evening of December, eighteenth. At this and subsequent meetings in December and January, committees were appointed "to procure pledges of money, to secure a minister, to obtain a suitable meeting place and to prepare a formula for the perfected organization".

The action of these committees was so instant, so definite and so conclusive that on January, the twenty-eighth, 1867, an informal organization was effected, a constitution, articles of faith and a covenant were adopted and a committee appointed to arrange for the convening of an ecclesiastical council "to assist in completing the organization of the church".

Immediately following the transaction of this purely routine business, the first official act of the church, was the appointment of a "committee on text books, course of study and government of the Sunday school", in other words, a committee on religious education and, at a meeting held shortly thereafter, "It was voted that money to the amount of one dollar per scholar be expended for the benefit of the Sunday school".

Is it not significant that the first ideal enunciated by the church should have been that of the brotherhood of man and its first recognized duty, the religious education of its children.

Early in January, letters missive had been sent to the First Congregational Churches of Beardstown, Galesburg and Jacksonville, to the church at Normal and to Trinity Congregational Church of St. Louis, Mo., inviting them by pastor and delegate, to sit in ecclesiastical council to complete the organization of the church. The Rev. Julian Sturtevant, D.D., the Rev. E. Jenny, the Rev. J. E. Roy and the Rev. T. T. Waterman were also invited.

The council met February 6, 1867, "all invited being present", the Rev. Dr. Edward Beecher, of the Galesburg church was chosen moderator; the constitution, articles of faith and covenant presented, were approved and the Council unanimously advised the completion of the organization of the church.

In the evening the following dedicatory service was held: Invocation and reading of the scriptures—

Rev. T. T. Waterman, D. D.

Prayer—Rev. J. E. Roy, D. D.

Sermon—Rev. T. M. Post, D. D.

Constituting prayer—Rev. Edward Beecher, D. D.

Address to Church—President Sturtevant, D. D., of Illinois College.

Fellowship offered by the Churches—Rev. W. A. Chamberlain.

Fellowship accepted by the Church—Rev. William M. Baker.

In a sermon delivered on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the church, the Rev. Roswell O. Post, then its minister, referring to the above service, said: "Thus was our Church christened and never had other ecclesiastical infant nobler sponsors. The books of five of the seven, stand on the library shelves of two continents, and all, whether known or unknown to fame, were alike loving and lovable".

The Church formally organized with a membership of seventy-five, fifty-five of whom brought letters from the Second Presbyterian Church of this city. These were not malcontent Presbyterians, seceding from a church with which they had become dissatisfied, but Congregationalists, who had affiliated with the Presbyterian church because there was none here of their own denomination.

But the old church had outgrown its habitation and its well beloved pastor, the Rev. Albert Hale, was about to leave its active charge, so "the time seeming opportune", true to their Pilgrim heritage, these went forth to form a new church, which should be based upon what they conceived to be the scriptural ideal, having only love for the fellowship left behind and receiving from them only fraternal farewells and benedictions. In evidence of this, stands the significant fact that "Father Hale" (as he was affectionately and universally called) not only sat as a member of the council but offered the dedicatory prayer at the installation of the first minister, and, two years later, when its house of worship had been completed, offered the prayer of dedication.

The church was organized and its first meetings were held at Bryant, Stratton and Bell's Business College, in Capitol Hall over Bunn's Bank, which was then situated at the southwest corner of Fifth and Adams streets, the present site of the First National Bank, but shortly thereafter the use of the House of Representatives in the old Capitol building, now the Circuit Court room in the County Court House, was obtained and the church worshiped there from May 16, 1867 until it took possession of its present home December, tenth, 1868.

The Rev. Dr. Waterman, pastor of the Congregational Church at Monroe, Connecticut, was the first occupant of its pulpit—loaned to us by his own congregation: “A rare illustration of church courtesy”, so characterized by Dr. Post in his anniversary sermon above referred to. and, he continued “our gratitude to them is still living and our loving affection for him is now made holy by his benediction from the courts above”.

On May 6, 1867, the Rev. John Knox McLean was chosen its first pastor, of whom it has been said “he was the one man ordained of God for the new church. It needed a leader; he was a born leader of men. It needed an organizer; his executive ability has rarely been equalled in any calling. It needed a strong expounder of the Congregational idea; his bold and independent utterances, ever discriminating and just, won the respect of all accustomed to think for themselves. It needed consecrated zeal; his tireless energy called forth every latent activity and his fervor evoked fervent prayer. Around him clustered every hope of the new church and the trust reposed in him was grandly kept.”

He served as its pastor until Feb. 14, 1872, when he accepted a call to the First Congregational Church of Oakland, California. At the time of his death Feb. 16, 1914, he was President Emeritus of Pomona Theological Seminary, at Claremont, California.

At a meeting held April 20, 1868, it was unanimously resolved “That we will build a house of worship this summer”. Subscription lists were circulated, \$9,100 was subscribed and a committee was appointed “to look up a lot”. On May 15th the Committee was instructed to purchase the lot at the southeast corner of Fifth and Edwards Streets which is its present site. On June 1st, a plan for a building was presented and adopted and on the evening of Dec. 10th, 1868, the completed building was formally dedicated.

At the first annual meeting, Dec. 30th, 1868, provision was made for raising the current expenses for the ensuing year and a resolution was passed providing that all subscriptions should be payable to the Treasurer monthly in advance—a virtual adoption of the budget system now so generally in use.

April 12th, 1872, a call was extended to John H. Barrows, a theological student but twenty-five years of age. About a year later he was ordained but was soon obliged to temporarily retire from the ministry on account of ill health. After traveling extensively in Europe and the Holy Land, he spent seven years preaching in New England, when he accepted a call to the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago, to which he ministered for fifteen years. In 1893 he was selected as President of the Parliament of Religions which met at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Later he was chosen President of Oberlin College, where he remained until his death on June 6, 1904 at the age of fifty-seven.

In all, fifteen men have ministered to the church as pastors. In a sketch of this character it is not possible to make adequate mention of them all but no history of the church, however brief, would be complete without mention of the following:

The Rev. Robert E. Nourse, who served from Sept. 1877 to Sept. 1880, was no less than a genius, his mind brilliant and versatile, his manner democratic and persuasive; his theme mattered not, his hearers were held spell-bound by his eloquence. His strongest appeal was to men and, especially during the sessions of the legislature, his audiences frequently taxed the capacity of the church. He resigned to accept a call to La Crosse, Wisconsin, but shortly thereafter removed to Falls Church, Virginia, a suburb of Washington City, where he made his home until his death. Besides serving a Washington paper in an editorial capacity, he was an accredited lecturer of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau.

The Rev. Roswell O. Post, pastor from April 3, 1881 to Sept. 5, 1890, of whom it may truthfully be said that his own life was the best exponent of his highest teaching.

The Rev. J. Francis Davies, than whom no more accomplished, scholarly or broad-minded man ever occupied a Springfield pulpit.

And the Rev. William J. Johnson (a second Father Hale) who was pastor for the thirteen years, from Oct. 6, 1903 to Oct. 11, 1916 and who, though several years past three score and ten, is still pastor of the church at Oroville, California, and who had served the church and community so acceptably that when at the end of his first year, he spoke of retiring a

mass meeting of citizens, participated in by the civic authorities, united with his church—requesting that he remain.

On the roll of its lay-members are the names of two whose distinctive services make them out-standing figures.

Frank W. Tracy, one of its charter members, who was most active in its organization and most generous in its endowment, of whom it is written in a memorial presented by the Board of Trustees and adopted by the church on November 15, 1903, just after his decease "that to him Congregationalism in this city and state, owes a debt of gratitude which can only be repaid in part as we live out and extend the polity and principles of that church for which he labored so unceasingly, so lovingly and so aggressively."

And George A. Sanders, who served as choir master, gratuitously for thirty-eight years and under whose direction the choir became not only a vital factor in the worship of the church but a veritable school of music in which many of the prominent singers of the city received most valuable training.

The first house of worship was built in 1868 on the southeast corner of Fifth and Edwards streets, the site of the present edifice. In 1887 the building containing the church school and social rooms was added and in 1901, when the building of a new church was discussed, on account of its perfect acoustics, it was decided not to disturb the auditorium but to veneer it with stone, adding only a vestibule to the original structure. So that the church still worships in the auditorium built for it in 1868, no other changes having been made except that it has been redecorated and repaired from time to time.

It is of interest that the beautiful art glass windows were designed by that versatile artist and author, Francis Davis Millet, who in 1873 was secretary of the Massachusetts Commission to the World's Fair in Vienna, in 1878 served as a member of the International Jury of Fine Arts at the Paris Exposition and in 1893 was Director of Decoration and of Publicity for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

It is also worthy of note that the detail drawings of the vestibule (the work of the well-known local architect, Mr. George H. Helmle), on account of their excellence of design and beauty of ornamentation, have been given a place in the School of Architecture of the University of Illinois, to whom,

at the request of the Faculty, they were presented by the late General James S. Culver.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH.

In the summer of 1887 some of the more ardent Christians of Springfield, realizing the special need for religious work in certain parts of the city, organized by the appointment of the following committee: the Rev. Roswell O. Post, minister of the First Congregational Church, the Rev. David S. Johnson, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Francis Springer, a retired Lutheran preacher, the Hon. Christopher C. Brown and Messrs. Thomas C. Smith and Edwin A. Wilson, prominent Presbyterian laymen. Funds were solicited, a tent purchased and meetings held in various neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city under the leadership of W. F. Bischoff, a well known evangelist, who afterwards served the local Y. M. C. A. for many years as its secretary.

During the month of August the tent occupied the present site of Plymouth Church at the northwest corner of Sixteenth Street and South Grand Avenue.

Here the meetings were more than usually successful and a number professed conversion.

The need was so strongly felt that one hundred and seven persons joined in a petition asking that a church be established in that community. This was put into the hands of R. O. Post, C. C. Brown and Edwin A. Wilson.

Upon examination it was found that a large majority of the petitioners were more or less closely allied to the Presbyterian and Methodist churches while none was of Congregational antecedents and as four of the six members of the committee, that had been active in the promotion of the meetings, were Presbyterians it seemed advisable and the petition was submitted to that denomination but resulted in no favorable action.

It was then referred to the Methodists, who after having the matter under advisement for a considerable time decided that "for financial reasons" they could not then entertain the application.

The petitioners, thereupon, turned to the Congregationalists who promised to assist in every way possible, and Dr. Post

immediately wrote the Secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, who responded by sending its State Evangelist, the Rev. George R. Wallace to investigate the situation and in his discretion to organize and establish a church.

Six or seven weeks had been spent in negotiations with the other denominations before their definite refusal, the tent had been moved to another neighborhood and the general interest had somewhat waned but upon his arrival on September 24th Dr. Wallace was given the names of nineteen who desired to organize a church.

The weather had grown too cold for tent meetings and there being no hall in the neighborhood, or any vacant building more suitable for the purpose Mr. George White, donated the use of his carpenter shop at the corner of Fourteenth Street and Douglas (now Lawrence Avenue). It was seated with old pews, taken from the First church and on Tuesday evening, October 4th, Mr. Wallace began his work with an audience of less than fifty.

In a short time the shop was crowded to its capacity, conversions were numerous and the interest grew so rapidly that on October 23rd, just nineteen days later, the Second Congregational Church of Springfield, Illinois, was organized with a charter membership of forty-four, twenty-eight of whom joined on confession of faith.

The dedicatory services were in charge of the Rev. James Thompkins, Superintendent of the Congregational Home Missionary Society of Illinois, assisted by the Rev. George R. Wallace and the Rev. Roswell O. Post. The interest of First Church was further evidenced by the participation of its choir and a large number of its most active and influential members.

Immediately after the church was organized a subscription list was opened and Dr. Post, the Rev. Wallace and Mr. D. A. De-Vares, a member of the new church who had been active in its organization, spent months soliciting funds to be used in the purchase of a site and the erection of a house of worship.

When sufficient funds had been subscribed to warrant action the two lots at the northwest corner of Sixteenth and South Grand Avenue were purchased, plans for a building

were prepared and on November 24th the contract for its erection was let.

In the meantime the church had grown until the carpenter-shop would no longer accommodate its meetings and through the kindness of Mr. Frank W. Tracy and Mr. Howard K. Weber the use of a portion of the Plow Factory at the southwest corner of Ninth Street and South Grand Avenue was donated for the purpose and arrangements made for its heating and lighting.

The following, quoted from the Illinois State Journal of Nov. 1, 1887, is evidence of the rapid growth of the Church and of its generally recognized value not alone to the community in which it is located but to the entire city. "The Second Congregational Church had a difficult task last Sabbath afternoon. The building in which the services are at present held, seats at most 100 but at three o'clock 115 presented themselves to organize a Sunday-school. Some had to stand during the entire hour occupied in effecting the organization. Of those who presented themselves as members but twelve had attended other schools.

"If a suitable building could be secured the membership would double very soon. The need of a suitable church building in the southeast is becoming more pressing every day and presents a loud call for practical sympathy from all those interested in the moral welfare of that district of our city. A church building must be erected there before the winter stops outside labor".

The Illinois Home Missionary Society, realizing the importance of the work done and still to be done, consented that Mr. Wallace should remain in charge at the Society's expense until April 1st.

The new church was dedicated March 4, 1888. It was unpretentious but handsome and commodious, with an auditorium and two Sunday-school rooms so arranged that opened together, they would seat about 400 persons.

The exact cash outlay had been \$5,015.25 of which \$500 was donated by the American Congregational Union, who also made a loan on the property of one thousand dollars to be repaid in ten equal annual installments, without interest. One

thousand was given by members of First Church (which, by the way, was then \$20,000 in debt on account of the remodeling of its own building), and \$1,075.50 had been raised by general subscription, leaving but \$424.50 still unpaid. The congregation present at the dedicatory services were asked to make up this amount and responded by pledging \$503.61 so that (aside from the mortgage above mentioned) the church was dedicated not only free of debt but with a balance of \$76.00 in its treasury.

Besides these cash contributions the church was the recipient of many tokens of good will from various sources: The communion service was presented by the Sunday School of First Church, the pulpit bible, by its Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the communion linen and pulpit hymn book were the gifts of the Rev. R. O. Post.

A handsome memorial window was the offering of the girl-hood friends of Mrs. Nellie Tracy Ryan whose beautiful character and charming personality had endeared her, not alone to the membership of the First Church but to all whose privilege it was to know her, and Mr. Tingley Wood made the homely but useful gift of a furnace.

But the story would be incomplete that did not record the sacrifices made and the hours of labor contributed by the men and women who were members of the new church, whose faith, energy and preserverence made possible the building of so valuable a plant at so small a cost, the more especially when it is taken into consideration that but one of them was the owner of his own home.

On the day of its dedication the church had a membership of eighty and a Sunday-school of one hundred and fifty.

On Sunday, December 1st, 1889, just nine months after its dedication it was destroyed by fire, everything being consumed but the organ and a few seats. Just as the minister was announcing the first hymn of the morning service, a lady who was passing by, saw the blaze and entering the church gave warning so quietly that all were out without accident before the seriousness of the situation was realized.

A meeting of the Board, held on the following Monday, took steps preliminary to its rebuilding and the church at a general meeting on Tuesday evening ratified its action.

Again Dr. Post lent his able assistance and again the First Church came to its aid with a generous donation. It is of interest that the first contribution came from Mr. H. S. Dickerman, a member of First Church then on a business trip in Leadville, Colorado, who read a newspaper account of the disaster and immediately sent Dr. Post his check for one hundred and seventy-five dollars.

It is of no less interest that a small boy, a member of its Sunday School gave the pastor a dollar he had been saving for Christmas, saying that the church needed it more than he did.

During the re-building of the church, services were held in the Presbyterian mission at the corner of Fourteenth and Douglas (now Lawrence Avenue).

The restored church was re-dedicated April 13, 1890. Again the Rev. James Thompkins Superintendent of the Congregational Home Missionary Society of Illinois, preached the dedicatory sermon.

At its close, the statement was made that three thousand dollars insurance had been collected and \$1,000 donated by First Church; that many of the men and women of the Church had given their time and labor; that the restored building was worth at least \$1,000 more than the former structure, that all bills had been paid and that the only debt owed by the church was \$875, being the amount still unpaid on the note held by the American Congregational Union, \$100. of which was then due. Subscriptions to the amount of \$332. were taken and the church was again dedicated, practically free of incumbrance and with a balance of \$232 in its treasury.

At a meeting held Nov. 16, 1894, at the suggestion of the Rev. F. E. Hall, then its Pastor, the name of the church was changed from Second to the much more appropriate and euphonious "Plymouth Congregational Church" which it retained until 1916. In May of that year the Rev. Frank Merithew became pastor and at a meeting held August 1st his proposal was adopted that the name be again changed and an effort made to raise \$60,000 with which to erect a new church to be called the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church, in honor of the martyred president.

This idea, born of over enthusiasm and an entire lack of any psychological understanding of the community, was not

only predestined to failure but the inevitable reaction was so discouraging that at a meeting held Sept. 23, 1917, a motion was entertained to close the church and discontinue its services but, fortunately, this motion did not prevail. At the same meeting Mr. Merrithew presented his resignation which was accepted and became effective November first.

During the years from its organization in 1887 to 1920 fourteen pastors had occupied its pulpit. Of these one served but two months, one three, one four and one eleven months, four others less than one year each and there were eight periods, ranging in duration from two to eight months, amounting in all to three years, when the church was without leadership. Under such circumstances it is not strange that there were periods of great depression but the latent vitality of the church is strongly evidenced by the fact that at various times during these interims, classes numbering as high as fifteen and sixteen were received into its membership.

During these recurring periods of depression overtures for the purchase of the Church property by other denominations had several times been declined and at a meeting, July 23, 1919, the church directed its board of trustees to deed its property to the Congregational Conference of Illinois. This should have definitely settled the matter but the question was again revived by certain disaffected members of its Board of Trustees nor was it definitely settled until Nov. 8, 1920.

At a meeting held May 5, 1920 the Church petitioned the Congregational Conference, through its Superintendent, the Rev. George T. McCollum, who was present at the meeting, for his aid in the selection of a pastor, the maintenance of an uninterrupted pastorate and in securing funds to make needed improvements of its property and he was authorized to appoint a committee to inquire into the condition and needs of the church, the findings of which committee the church pledged itself to accept as final.

This Committee: (the Rev. Walter Spooner, acting Superintendent of the state conference, the Rev. H. Irving Parrott, minister of First Church, Springfield, and member of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees of the State Conference and W. Ernest Collins, Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Springfield Association), was present at a

called meeting of the church held Oct. 27, 1920, at which Mr. John H. Piper, a member of First Church, who chanced to be present was unanimously chosen to preside. Mr. Spooner stated that the committee was present at the invitation of the church to confer with it concerning the possible settlement of a pastor; but that he had in his possession overtures from the Christian and the Methodist churches for the purchase of its property, which should first be definitely and finally disposed of. After frank and full discussion Messrs. Collins, Parrott and Piper were requested to prepare recommendations to be submitted to the church at an early date for its action "as to whether the church is to proceed as a Congregational Church or negotiate with one of the other denominations which have made overtures to it". The Committee reported that it considered that the very overtures in question emphasized the fact that the position of Plymouth Church in the city and community is strategic; that it believed if the whole force of the church was marshalled, its differences and difficulties might easily be overcome and advised the church to decline these overtures and proceed in its present denominational affiliations—reminding them that it is Congregational as well as American usage that the minority should always bow to the will of the majority. It was ordered that a meeting be called for November 8, 1920 to consider these recommendations. At the meeting held in pursuance of this call the Committee's report and recommendations were adopted. Thereupon seventeen persons, the representatives of six families (the back-bone of the disturbing element) at their own request were granted letters of dismissal. Thus came to an end the long controversy and on May 1st, 1921, the Rev. J. W. MacCallum, who came recommended by the state conference, entered upon his ministry.

Money was advanced by the building society to assist in making necessary improvements to the church property and on October 23, 1921, the thirty-fourth anniversary of its founding, the remodeled church was dedicated.

The chronicler takes pleasure in again calling attention to the vitality of the church as evidenced by the fact that although seven months had intervened between the pastorate of Mr. MacCallum and that of his predecessor and the further fact of the resignation of the seventeen members at the November

meeting, the official reports to the annual meeting held December 31st showed a net gain in membership of twenty-nine; a small balance in the treasury and an increased attendance in the Sunday school.

ITS PASTORS.

Its first pastor, the Rev. George R. Wallace came first to the church, as the State Evangelist of the Congregational Conference of Illinois but was afterwards regularly elected and the church, which had organized with a charter membership of forty-four had more than doubled at the close of his ministry. Mr. Wallace, after serving for seven years as assistant to Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus, minister of Central Church, Chicago, became pastor of the First Congregational Church of Toledo, Ohio.

The Rev. John C. Gibson, was pastor at the time the church burned and during its rebuilding. It has been said by one who knew him well and who is well able to judge of his ability and worth, that he was "an Englishman, without an "h" in his system but superlatively the right man in the right place".

The Rev. F. E. Hall was pastor from November 1, 1891 to Dec. 31, 1894, but three years and four months, yet during his ministry one hundred and seventy-six persons were added to the membership of the church, and the official record of the meeting, at which his resignation was accepted, testifies that "through his efforts the church has been placed on a solid financial basis and in a healthy spiritual and growing condition". In the last publication of the Congregational year Book his address is given as Sylvia, Kansas.

The Rev. E. E. Frame who at the request of the Illinois Home Missionary Society resigned to accept the pastorate of Plymouth Congregational Church at Champaign had served eight years. The longest ministry in the history of the church.

During his stay one hundred and forty-two names were added to its rolls and extensive improvements were made to its property.

The material for this sketch was gleaned from many sources: From the well kept records of First and Plymouth churches; a sermon by the Rev. R. O. Post, D. D., delivered on the Twentieth Anniversary of the founding of First Church; the history of Sangamon County, by Joseph Wallace, M. A., until his death an honored member of the Sangamon County Bar; from Power's history of Sangamon County and from the files of the Illinois State Journal and the Illinois State Register, in the Illinois State Historical Library.

NEW YORK AND THE FUSION MOVEMENT OF 1860.

By LOUIS MARTIN SEARS, Purdue University

The gravity of the political situation in 1860 subordinated personalities to issues. With the Union in peril, its friends, however various their opinion on other points, found a common ground for action. Thus Douglas men and Bell-Everett men had more in common than in opposition, and if fusion of their forces here and there could insure victory for Union, that fusion was a logical development. Such a movement in New York, details of which are preserved among the Bell Papers, constitutes, in fact, one of the striking features of the campaign.

Among the letters illustrative of this fusion, a communication from August Belmont, one of the Douglas managers in New York, to Blanton Duncan, a Bell man of Louisville, speaking with warmest approval of a similar movement in Kentucky, adds that "I was particularly delighted to see the 'entente cordiale' of your friends & ours, and I have no doubt but what every effort will be made by the Douglas men in our State, in order to bring about a complete union with the Bell & Everett men in our State. My impression is that this will be carried into effect and that by only running *one* ticket we shall be able to carry the State for Douglas."

Continuing, Belmont presents his correspondent with a sketch of New York politics at the moment. There is a discouraging apathy among merchants not yet awake to the dangers threatened by Lincoln's election. Feeling is improving, however, with good hope of success Up State and in the west. But funds are still needed to combat office-holders and merchants in the southern part of the State, and help from outside would be most welcome, for "This State must be the battle ground of the Presidential campaign——If we can carry New York the defeat of Lincoln is certain, and either your ticket or ours must be successful.——I for my part shall be

satisfied with either result. *Every Union man throughout the extent of our Republic* must be deeply interested in the success of the Douglas ticket in our State and should contribute largely to that result."¹

So far as the Bell Papers are concerned, the Douglas share in the fusion is attested by the solitary epistle just cited. On the Bell-Everett side the record is more voluminous, but is all from the pen of one correspondent, Washington Hunt, a New York congressman devoted to the cause. The party chief is warned as early as May 24th that affairs are moving badly. Much to the chagrin of the Whigs, the "Buffalo Commercial Advertiser" has just gone over to Lincoln, apparently without consultation with its former friends. And the blow was the more severe because of a dearth of presses still supporting the Bell ticket. "We have but one or two remaining (& those obscure weeklies) West of the Hudson River. We had an organ at Albany but it has been bought by the Republicans. In New York City we have nothing but the Express, which at last is coming into the field with some spirit." Nor can compensation for these losses be anticipated from Seward men, for while they are undeniably disgruntled by the choice at Chicago they will support Lincoln in the expectation of controlling his Administration. It is a dark picture but "We have realities to deal with and must look them in the face, as they are."²

So far there is discouragement but no hint of fusion. But the difficulties in the way of a third party proved so great that some way of escape seemed imperative, and early in June the situation was presented to Bell as one requiring careful examination. "When the right time comes we must consider whether it is best to join terms with the democrats in this State, on a joint Electoral ticket. It is a delicate matter. Before coming to any decision in my own mind I intend to lay the whole ground before you and ask your opinion in perfect confidence. My instincts are rather in favor of doing whatever is fair and honorable to carry the election to the House of Representatives, and we may need to consider the question and decide with reference to that problem.

¹ John Bell Papers, Library of Congress. August Belmont to Blanton Duncan. New York, August 9, 1860.

² Ibid. Washington Hunt to John Bell. Lockport, N. Y., May 24, 1860.

"If New York could give you a part of her electoral vote that would at least defeat the Chicago nominations."³

Some such agreement being indispensable if Bell were to secure any votes whatever from New York, his managers consented to an arrangement which Hunt describes in a letter of considerable interest.

"Our friends insisted that I must be in the neighborhood to aid in forming an Union Electoral ticket in this State. You will have seen what was done. We had some difficulties on incidental points of detail, but they were happily overcome. We had united on one ticket containing 10 steadfast friends of B. & E. and 25 friends of Douglas. We would have had (sic) 12 or 13 of our men, but it was found impossible to get rid of the personal claims of democratic candidates, resolutely urged by their delegates. But the ticket as made was finally agreed to on both sides with intense enthusiasm and satisfaction. I was strongly urged all round to consent to serve on the ticket as one of the electors at large. But on full reflection I decided that I can render better service in my present position as an outside volunteer or if you please a 'high private' in the ranks. Our friends feel confident (sic) of our ability to elect this ticket. *We mean to do it.* Of course it is to be a tremendous and trying contest. My own condition during the fight will not be an enviable one. It seems to be ordained that I must face 'wild beasts' on every side. But for the sake of the cause I am prepared to meet them in the spirit of bold and knightly defiance.

"Matters are in good train for bringing in the bulk of the Breckinridge interest. If we succeed in covering this exposed point, we will feel invincible.

"Some of the leading Douglas men have said to me in confidence that if we succeed, & it shall appear that the whole College of N. Y. is necessary & sufficient to elect you their men will vote for you rather than send the election to the H. of Reps. In reply, I have said to them in confidence that they ought to do it, and in that event that you will not fail to appreciate their patriotism and to exhibit your proverbial sense of justice. I deem it my duty to inform you of these things at this early stage. You need make no answer to the suggestion,

³ John Bell Papers, Library of Congress. Washington Hunt to John Bell. Lockport, N. Y., June 7, 1860.

but in the course of human events I may have to ask you to remember it.

"The Douglas leaders here well understand & assert that instead of our 'selling' you to them they are helping us, & really supporting your election, which they greatly prefer either to Lincoln or Breckinridge.

"At Jersey City, I met friends from all parts of N. J. They have a perfect understanding with the democrats, to be demonstrated in the sequel, & you may put it down as a sure State *anti Lincoln*."⁴

The final communication of the series is a post mortem. In the first shock of defeat, Hunt was too heavy of heart to write. But before the month was ended he summed up his impressions. "I hoped for a more favorable termination of the contest, but from the first I felt that there was much danger of the precise result which has happened. It appeared to me that the last and only possible chance for preventing a purely sectional triumph was to be found in an union of the national men, of all shades, here in New York. We tried the experiment under many difficulties and disadvantages. It proved unavailing. I might weary you with a detail of the causes of our failure, but it would be an unnecessary infliction. The divisions and distractions in the democratic party were a source of serious difficulty.

"Then a portion of the old Whigs, who are still inclined to be national could not be induced to cooperate heartily with the democrats. They could not be made to realize the full dangers to the country from a sectional election. But the great and controlling cause must be found in the fact that a majority of our people in the interior have become thoroughly dis-tempered with an anti-slavery and sectional fanaticism. This slavery question has taken complete possession of their minds to the exclusion of all those rational and enlarged considerations which dictate the cultivation of harmony and union between the sections. We made every possible effort, and while the majority against us in the State is nearly 50,000, you will see that the Union ticket received over 300,000 votes."

⁴ John Bell Papers, Library of Congress. Washington Hunt to John Bell. Newburgh, Aug. 19, 1860.

The remainder of the letter breathes the anxieties of a patriot facing "strife, enmity, and anarchy if not disunion" as the inevitable aftermath of the election. The great problem of statesmanship is to reconcile the warring sections. And in its solution Bell can be of much assistance, for he possesses the hearts of a majority of his countrymen, Republican victory being that of a minority. Amid the apprehensions stirred by developments at the South, the sting of individual disappointment is slight. "I am very sure that you will regard personal defeat as of no account, in comparison with the dangers which threaten the stability of the republic. We have the consolation of feeling that we are not responsible for these calamities, but have made an honest effort to avert them. This reflection is far more valuable than all the trophies of victory."⁵

Among the peace projects and resolutions hurriedly evolved on the eve of the Civil War, this effort of the Bell-Everett and Douglas leaders to agree on a common program for the control of New York and its pivotal vote should rank as not the least important. The idea rested on patriotism and good politics, a third party being manifestly a detriment to the fundamental ideals of either candidate. The stars in their courses willed otherwise. But the attempt should stand, as Hunt himself declared, to the credit of its authors.

⁵ John Bell Papers, Library of Congress. Washington Hunt to John Bell. Lockport, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1860.

HIRAM ROUNTREE.

By A. T. STRANGE.

The early history of Montgomery county, Illinois, is practically a record of the work and activities of Hiram Rountree. The Judge, as he was commonly called, had more to do with the establishment, and early history of this county, than any other man.

He was born in Rutherford county, North Carolina, December 22d, 1794. His parents were Dr. John Rountree and Nancy Hawkins Rountree. From Mrs. George T. Barrett of Grove City, Illinois, who was Lura A. Rountree, a daughter of Bereroyal Rountree, brother of Hiram, we have this data as to his ancestry; "Hiram Rountree was the second child, and the oldest son, of Dr. John and Nancy Hawkins Rountree. The family of Dr. Rountree consisted of Nancy, Hiram, Jesse, Thomas, Lucinthia Cynthiana, John Hawkins, Rebecca Hawkins, Bereroyal Hawkins, Lucy Anderson, Rutherford Harrison, and Louisana Perry in the order as given. The father of Dr. Rountree, Thomas Rountree, was born in Goochland County, Virginia, and the Mother, Letitia was born in Rutherford county, N. C. Thomas Rountree lived in Virginia until a short time before his marriage. The Rountrees claimed to be of Scotch-Irish ancestry. The name was at an early day spelled Rowantree, but before the days of Hiram the "a" was dropped. The Kentucky branch and the family to which Mrs. Barrett belongs, continue to spell it Rowntree, but the Illinois branch changed the "w" to u. and have for a century spelled it Rountree."

Shortly after the birth of Hiram the Doctor removed to Kentucky, locating in the growing town of Bowling Green in Green County.

Here Hiram grew to young manhood, and with the encouragement of his parents secured a first class education. Just how he was able to acquire a good knowledge of Greek,

Latin, Mathematics, including Surveying and the study of Law, can only be accounted for by his wonderful ambition to learn, and his ability to acquire knowledge, for at the early age of eighteen the War of 1812 coming on, in compliance with the call of Governor Shelby of that state, he enlisted and was elected an Ensign, and with the troops under General Shelby marched against the British and Indian foes. Here I quote from Hiram Rountree's son, A. H. H. Rountree, "They crossed the Wilderness of Ohio to lake Erie and there embarked on Commodore Perry's fleet and sailed for Canada. After landing, they went in pursuit of the enemy. They soon over took the Brittitish and their Indian allies on the river Thames and gave them battle, winning a remarkable victory, capturing General Proctor and his whole army. This great victory together with the death of Tecumseh led to the dispersion of the British forces, and ultimately, to the close of the war".

"On father's return to Kentucky he clerked several terms of Court, thus laying the foundation for his subsequent efficient work in the organization of Montgomery county. He also became a member of city Council of Bowling Green, where more valuable experience was his." From Bowling Green in 1817 he removed to Illinois, locating in Edwardsville, then the location of the Government Land Office, where he obtained employment. He also engaged in teaching school, teaching mainly the higher branches, or as his son says, "The Classics". Aaron continues "Here he taught school and on March 29th, 1818, he married one of his pupils, Miss Nancy B. Wright. Here also was born, his first child, now Mrs. E. R. A. Shumway of Taylorville, Illinois." Mr. Chandler was then the Land Commissioner, and while in his employ he formed the acquaintance of Joel Wright and John Tillson, both from Boston, Mass., with whom he was intimately associated during the adventurous days of Montgomery county's formative period.

Here we quote from Mrs. John Tillson's *Reminiscences of her Four Years in Montgomery County*. "Mr. Tillson's first business on reaching Illinois, was with the Recorder of Deeds in Edwardsville, where he arrived in 1819. I think he left his papers with Mr. Randall, and went to Missouri, on land business. When he returned the office was so much crowded that nothing could be done for him. Mr. Randall proposed that he

enter the office as clerk and write until his deeds were recorded, which offer he accepted. Mr. Randall had two other young men employed as clerks, Hiram Rountree, now of Hillsboro, and Joel Wright now of Canton, Illinois.

While they were working in the office during the winter of 1819-20, two or three young men called on Mr. Randall to see if he would buy their land claims. They were specimens of the many disappointed Yankees who had "gone West," spent all the money they had for land, and had not the means to get back to commence the world anew. The three young clerks, from compassion for the three young fellows, each bought a quarter section of land, paid them, and sent them home to their mammas rejoicing. The land was in territory, then in Bond County, some forty miles northeast of Edwardsville. Towards spring, there being a little ease of business in the office, they started in pursuit of their new possessions. They expected to make the distance in a day, but getting lost in a large prairie, they were obliged to camp, and were several days in finding the tracts, which were afterwards to be their homes. Mr. Rountree and Mr. Wright found their tracts just as nature made them, but Mr. Tillson found that there was a "Squatter" holding down his tract, and had to be bought off."

After their return to Edwardsville in 1820 Mr. Rountree, to get near to his tract, took his family to an old fort that was located somewhere in the northern part of Bond County.

Here, it was thought they could be safe, until such time as they could locate on their newly acquired homestead. Later Mr. Rountree removed to a cabin in the Hurricane settlement near what was afterwards, the county line, between Bond and Montgomery County. During their stay here Mr. Rountree was necessarily much away from home, and Mrs. Rountree much alone. It was a trying time for her, with Indians frequently slipping into the cabin to steal or beg; and with wild animals, to be frequently seen and heard. Her son Aaron says, that on one occasion his mother caught an Indian trying to get away with a roll of sole leather, and she overtook him and made him return it to the cabin. Again he says that he had heard his father say that he had stood in his doorway and seen as many as four cub bears from his door.

It was while living here that the second child was born, Moses W. This child died soon after they located in Hillsboro and his grave was the first one dug in the Hillsboro settlement.

Here again we quote from Mrs. Tillson, "The next winter 1820-21 he, Mr. Tillson, with Hiram Rountree, Isreal Seward, and Eleaser Townsend went with a petition to the Legislature, then in session, asking that a new county be formed from Bond and Fayette counties, (their lands being in the territory proposed to be in the new county), and the proposition was received favorably by the Legislature and the petition granted. Mr. Rountree was appointed to be temporary clerk of the county. Mr. Seward to be probate judge, Mr. Tillson to be county post master and Mr. Wright to be sheriff.

Mrs. Tillson continues, "The three men, Rountree, Tillson and Wright, began the building of a fairly good cabin on the Tillson tract, where there was already a cabin sufficient for shelter, and here the three batched for awhile. After getting the place in fairly good condition Mr. Tillson went back to Mass, telling Mr. Rountree that he would bring back with him a wife and a brother of hers, Mr. Rountree was asked to build a kitchen on to the house during his absence. This was done, and then Mr. Rountree went to his own tract.

Here we may say, that from such information as we have, Mr. and Mrs. Rountree had quite a number of children but only two lived to be grown, Mrs. Shumway already mentioned, and Aaron H. H. who became a banker of Hillsboro, and lived to a fairly old age, and who is succeeded by two children, Prof. H. P. Rountree of Chicago and Mrs. Etta Stubblefield of Hillsboro, Ill.

Judge Rountree was not a man to speak of his own deeds, he was a worker, but not a propagandist. He was a natural leader, by his forceful personality, and his efficient manner of taking the lead, thus impelling a following. His son Aaron H. H. became in later years the recorder in some slight degree of his father acts and activities, in the publication of a series of reminiscent articles in the Hillsboro papers, and from these we get our information largely. Here we quote from him, "Montgomery County with its broad expanse of timber and prairie land, drained by the three branches of Shoal Creek, previous to 1816 was inhabited only by the the red man. Robin Briggs,

during that year, built a cabin and raised a crop near the south western part of the county. In 1818 John Tillson came from Boston, Mass., and built a cabin on what is now known as the Sawyer farm some three miles southwest of Hillsboro." Even A. H. H. was too modest to mention the fact that his father came with Mr. Tillson and was associated with him in all his local activities. We may add also, that the above extract alone may confuse the reader as the cabin was not built till 1820.

Mr. Rountree states substantially, with reference to the first historic events of the county; On October 15th, 1821, the first term of court, or what we would now call Circuit Court, was held in the county. Judge Reynolds, then of the supreme bench, as judge, and Samuel D. Lockwood, then attorney general, acting as states attorney. The court was held in a house belonging to Mr. McAdams and occupied at the time, by Mr. Rountree. During the courts session, Mrs. Rountree with her children retired to the other room. The judge's bench was a bed of Mrs. Rountree, on which the judge sat; The records were kept by Mr. Rountree on a table made with punchions the flat side smoothed and the smooth side up. The pen used by Mr. Rountree was made by himself of a goose quill. The grand jury, after hearing the matters presented, retired to the woods near by, to deliberate. The petit jury also retired to the friendly shade of a tree to make up their verdicts. The legal and court proceedings, were then quite limited as we find that after Judge Rountree had served as clerk of the courts for a year and a half that his salary was only \$12.00. It must be understood, that then the Circuit Court practically included all judicial proceedings as the County Court was limited to probate matters, and the county judge was known as probate judge. This condition obtained till after the Constitution of 1848 when the county business was made to devolve on a board of commissioners commonly known as judges.

We have stated that Mr. Rountree with others appeared before the Legislature and secured the authority to organize the county. The Legislature at that time appointed Melchoir Fogelman, James Street, and Joseph Wright, as commissioners to locate a county site and prepare for building a court house. They selected a site about two miles west of Hillsboro which

they named Hamilton, and an order was made of record, for the building of a court house, and even the logs were hauled onto the ground for the purpose. But Mr. Wright, one of the commissioners, did not agree with the others, on the location, and the opposition to the site, became so insistent, that at the next session of the Legislature, another set of commissioners were appointed consisting of Elijah C. Berry, Silas L. Wait, and Anthony Armstrong, and they selected the site at Hillsboro, and here the first court house was built, and, so far as we know, Mr. Rountree built the only house ever built in Hamilton, and this he occupied but a very short time, if at all.

In recording the order for the building of a court house Rountree wrote in the county records "To be built of hewn logs twenty by twenty-four feet, the logs to face one foot, on an average, and the house to be two stories high; the lower story to be eight feet, and the second story to be six feet, clear of the roof; to have two doors below, one window below, and one above; to have plank floors to be jointed and laid down rough; the roof to be shingled; the cracks to be closely chinked and daubed with mud; the doors to have good strong shutters, the windows to contain twelve lights or panes of glass, 8 by 10 inches; all to be completed by the first day of December next, in a strong manner."

The official record of Judge Rountree was a remarkable one. I dare say that it is not equalled by any man in this state. It extended over a period of fifty-nine years during which time he often filled several positions at one time. He was county or probate judge for sixteen years, recorder or circuit clerk for nearly as long, a justice of the peace, and a notary public, and besides these official county positions, he was twice elected and served as state senator from 1848 to 1852 where his ability was demonstrated as a painstaking constructive representative. In 1847-8 he was elected the representative of Bond, Fayette, Shelby, Christian and Montgomery counties in the Constitutional Convention, which position he filled with distinction.

Nor were his abilities all taken up with public duties for we find him teaching night classes in Greek, Latin and other higher branches of learning not easily obtained through the school facilities of the day. As a justice of the peace we find

him occasionally being pressed into more clerical garments and performing the marriage ceremony for his friends, a few of the more prominent being, David Starr and Jane Steel June 9th, 1825. Horace Mansfield and Sally Loving September 30th, 1828, Robert Hill and Jane Townsend March 7th, 1829, and David Forehand and Sally Norman February 27th, 1830.

From 1825 to 1832 our country had serious trouble with certain Indians led by one Ma-ka-tai-me-she,—generally known as Black Hawk. It was known as the Black Hawk War. After some years of spasmodic raids by these irreconcilable Indians the government was forced to call for a force large enough to stop their outrages and make the country safe as homes for the settlers. Judge Rountree organized a company, was selected as its captain, and proceeded to equip his company as best he could with arms, accoutrements and horses, and marched to the headquarters at Peru, Illinois. It was expected that on arriving there that the men would be furnished provisions, and a better equipment of arms and other military necessities by the government. But it was found that such provisions had not been made by the authorities though ordered by the U. S. Government. After waiting for such equipment a reasonable time, Captain Rountree wrote Governor Reynolds on June 20th, 1832, as follows:

“His Excellency Governor Reynolds.

In obedience to order of May 20th my company repaired to headquarters for the defense of the country, with the expectation of enjoying what others are, and what the wisdom of the U. S. intended they should enjoy, the arms provided by the United States for Illinois. But these have been denied us. The men, at a distance of 200 miles from home, are without provisions and none to be had in the immediate country had they the means to buy them. This note is drafted to know of your excellency, and that immediately, what the men may depend on.

With great respect, H. Rountree.

P. S.—As regards myself I shall never complain, but the condition in which the company is placed demands speedy attention. Their crops are ruined, and they in debt for the preparation to defend their country. H. Rountree.

Aaron Rountree, in commenting on this letter said; "However this note may have seemed impudent to General Atkinson, when backed by Governor Reynolds, who was himself in full sympathy with the volunteer soldiery, most of whom were his personal friends, the arms were furnished and those in need with provisions on the day following. The company continued in the service and were engaged in the last battles of the war. They were discharged after Black Hawk's forces had been destroyed and himself made a prisoner."

While Judge Rountree was a Democrat in politics, he was not a strong partizan. In some of his candidacies he was named on both tickets. During the Civil War the judge was always a friend to the soldiers in the front, and opposed any action of the Democrats looking toward recognizing, or organizing to help, the South. At one time a meeting was held in Hillsboro on the instigation of the Knights of The Golden Circle, Mr. Rountree was called to chair. He arose and, in answer to the call to the chair, told those assembled, that he wanted it understood that he opposed all schemes of resistance to the draft, and urged all present to abandon such intentions if they entertained them. Suffice it to say that the judge did not preside, nor did the meeting accomplish the purpose for which it was called.

While the judge was always on the side of law and right, yet he was ever ready to see the practical side of every measure. An amusing incident may be mentioned. The old court house had become wholly inadequate to the county's growing business, and yet it was feared to submit a proposition to build a new one to the people. The judge ordered the old house repaired, the Swamp funds under his control to be used for the purpose, though it was well known to the few on the inside that the word "Repair" really meant a practically new house. And the county's second court house was the result.

As the judge was well known to be a practical surveyor, and the government was in need of such a man, he was asked, and performed for the state and government at Washington a very important inter-state piece of work, which it seemed was never credited to him, and which we take pleasure in here mentioning. The writers attention was first called to that fact by Mr. I. S. Blackwelder now living in California. He said to

me, "The subject was referred to several times in our conversations and it is as clear in my mind as noon day that he stated to me positively, that he was appointed as one of the commissioners for the State of Illinois to establish the boundary line between Illinois and Wisconsin, and that in doing so, he crossed the state with his assistants, five times in making the survey, and finally ending the work at a point on the Mississippi River where a great stone was placed to mark the western end of the survey. His description of the hardships he endured and difficulties encountered in surveying through the tall underbrush and grass, in swimming rivers and wading swamps, were so graphic as to make a deep impression on my mind, and those who knew Judge Rountree's regard for truth, and his conscientious life, will not doubt that his statement was entirely true."

In looking up the matter further, I noted that in Reynolds Pioneer History of Illinois page 331 says, Messinger was appointed, with a gentleman from Hillsboro, to survey on the part of Illinois the northern limits of the state with Lucius Lyons for the United States Government. I further found that after the death of Mr. Rountree his son wrote: "In 1830-31 he, (his father) with others were appointed by General Jackson to survey and establish the northern boundary of Illinois, which service he fully performed."

Further investigation revealed the fact that Mr. Rountree took with him Mr. Andrew Braily, an old sailor and a practical surveyor, and went to the place appointed to begin, and waited some days for the man appointed by Wisconsin to aid in the work, but as he did not show up, that he proceeded, with Mr. Braily and local help, to make the survey as related by Mr. Blackwelder. It appears that Mr. Lyons died and Mr. Messinger made the report to Congress, and briefly stated that the survey was made, without any reference to the work of Mr. Rountree. Thus perhaps unintentionally Mr. Rountree was nowhere given credit for a very reasonable and difficult work well performed. A work which gave to Illinois a large part of the north end of the state including Chicago with its great population, wealth and commerce. I have more fully described this great work in the history of Montgomery County published in 1918.

Mr. Rountree's life was one of unselfish usefulness. He never showed any desire to popularize himself or make public his many public and private services. And while he lived to a ripe old age, he literally died in the harness.

The Hillsboro Democrat of March 5th, 1873, announced the death of Mr. Rountree in the following words:

"The Hon. Hiram Rountree died at his residence in this city March 5th, 1873, in his eightieth year of age.

Judge Rountree was one of the oldest settlers of the State, and for many years occupied many positions of honor and trust.

He was a man of excellent scholastic attainments, a lawyer by profession, but at various times engaged in business pursuits.

He was of fine ability and most scrupulous honesty. No man had ever more fully the confidence of the people he served or had business relations with than he. As a public man his character stands in striking contrast with the loose spirit of morality of the city. There survives him one son A. H. H. of this city, one daughter Mrs. D. D. Shumway of Taylorville and his wife. The funeral will take place at the M. E. Church on Friday next at one p. m."

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

A few weeks ago Mr. I. S. Blackwelder, now of California, wrote me that you had asked him to prepare for the Journal a sketch of the Hon. Hiram Rountree. But that he had not the data at hand to prepare such a sketch, and he asked me to try to get up such an article and send you. With my limited time, I have tried to prepare such an article as I could. It is hoped that it will answer the purpose of your request.

Very truly yours,

Hillsboro, Illinois, May 31st, 1923.

A. T. STRANGE.



MISS HELEN J. BUSS.

A PIONEER TEACHER—HELEN J. BUSS.

By ESTHER PERRY HORNBAKER.

Miss Helen J. Buss, one of the oldest teachers in the state of Illinois, for forty-seven years a teacher in the schools of Will County, resides with relatives at Oregon. In 1845 at the age of six she came to Illinois in a prairie schooner drawn by oxen and lived for some time thereafter in a log cabin; in 1922, at the age of eighty-three, she attended the campaign meetings of Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, Illinois' first woman representative, in the General Assembly of Illinois, spent a week at Chanute Field with her aviator nephew, was reading "This Freedom," and discussing the French occupation of the Ruhr. Devoted to learning, a constant reader of the best in literature, a lover of nature, with faculties unimpaired, Miss Buss is today the same interested participator in the life about her that she has always been.

By the early thirties of the last century the movement into the west was in full swing. Lured by the fertile lands offered for sale by the government, thousands emigrated into the Mississippi Valley. The roads were crowded with travellers, some in wagons drawn by horse or oxen, some on horseback and some on foot pushing their belongings in carts before them. Many drove herds of cattle and accommodated their pace to the slow moving animals that grazed along the way. All carried provisions and stopped at the little settlements to buy supplies; sometimes the men added to their store by hunting and fishing, for game and fish far more plentiful than in our day. They cooked their meals by the roadside and found shelter at night at some farm house or slept in their wagons. Many stopped at settlements on the way and worked there for a year or more but always with the idea of going on when the times should be more favorable.

Among those who undertook this journey into the west were John C. and Abigail Hall Buss, the parents of Helen J.

Buss. Born in Bristol, Vermont, of Scotch, Welsh, and English parentage, they were married in Canada where both were living at the time, and went at once to Buffalo, New York. In 1839, while they were living at Dunkirk, New York, their second child, Helen J. Buss, was born. When she was a little more than two years old the family moved to Conneaut, Ohio, and here Miss Buss' brother began attending a primary school taught by his aunt, an experienced teacher and a great student. The boy thought that his little sister ought to do the same things that he did, so each evening he got her up to the table in her high chair to study her lessons and it was in this way that she learned to read and spell. Again the family moved, this time to Cleveland, then a little frontier town, and later to Newburg where the brother again entered school. He begged his Mother to allow his little sister to go with him and the Mother, thinking it would be for a few days only, consented, and so Miss Buss' school life began in 1842, a month before her fourth birthday. The little girl was placed in a spelling class where a prize was offered to the best speller and she was very anxious to win it; nothing would induce her to remain at home and when the snow was too deep for her to walk to school, her Father had to carry her.

In 1845, in company with a neighbor named Hampton, Mr. Buss and his family began the last stage of their journey into the west. In a wagon drawn by oxen and driving their cattle before them, they slowly made their way across Ohio and Indiana to Will County, Illinois. To the little brother and sister the days must have been filled with excitement as they watched the countless travellers they met upon the road and as the wonders of the new country were revealed to them. It must have seemed that the whole world was on the move and that life was one long holiday.

The Hamptons were originally from the Isle of Man and when they reached Wilmington, Illinois, found there a family of old friends, also Manx people, and Miss Buss remembers with what joy Mr. and Mrs. Hampton talked to them in their own language which sounded strange enough to the little girl.

The two families decided to take up land and settle at Reed's Grove near Elwood for the early settlements in Illinois were all near groves and the prairies were uninhabited except

by herds of horses and cattle. They built log cabins and took up their life in the new country. There were few railroads in Illinois at that time and the grain grown in Will County had to be hauled fifty miles or more to Chicago where it brought very low prices. There were many hardships; each family went through a yearly siege of malaria, but no one thought of returning to the east and no one was homesick.

After two years in Reed's Grove the family moved to Jackson's Grove and the school which Miss Buss attended was fortunate in having been in charge of a Miss Persons who had been educated at the Willard School in Troy, New York, and who was a born teacher. We do not know how it happened that Miss Persons had charge of this little frontier school, but we do know that her school was a most unusual one for the time and the place. Botany and astronomy were included in the curriculum and Miss Buss having learned to read when so very young was able to enter these classes at an usually early age. She remembers with pleasure the many ways in which Miss Persons made the class work interesting. For example, the class would gather at the home of one of its members and sit up with their teacher to study the stars as they appear before midnight, and at another time, at the home of another member, they would all retire early, to be awakened by Miss Persons after midnight, to study the constellations as they appeared in the early morning hours.

From a child, Miss Buss had aimed to become a teacher as her Father's sisters were, and in April after her fourteenth birthday went to Joliet to take the examination for a teacher's certificate. The examination was oral and no time was given to think out answers, but a thorough training in mental arithmetic and in grammar had given her the necessary equipment and she passed with ease. The county Superintendent placed the certificate in her hands with the remark that she was rather young to teach.

In May she began her first term of school in Will County, boarding around and receiving Ten Dollars a month for her services. This was in 1853.

Almost immediately the young teacher began to feel that she must have a better preparation for her life work and at sixteen she entered the academy at Conneaut, Ohio, where her

uncle lived; here she remained for three years, teaching school in the summer terms near town. Returning to Illinois, she applied for the school she had attended near her home, but some of her former classmates still being in attendance, the directors felt that she might have difficulty with discipline. A little later they asked her to take the school and she taught there for six terms.

In 1863 occurred what Miss Buss considers one of the most important events of her professional life; she entered the Seminary at Dixon, Illinois as a pupil teacher. The head of the school was Professor Allen, formerly one of the faculty of Brooklyn Polytechnic, a fine man and a splendid teacher. Mr. Lathrop, head of the preparatory department of the Seminary, was Chaplain of the State Penitentiary at Joliet and his duties kept him away from the school part of each week. To Miss Buss was assigned the work of carrying on his classes under the guidance of Professor Allen; the knowledge gained under his leadership of the subject matter and the technique of teaching have been an inspiration to her to this day. Hearing of a vacancy in the High School at Wilmington in her home county, Miss Buss applied for and received the position in 1865, as the Civil War was closing; she remained there until 1900, a period of thirty-five years.

The school to which Miss Buss was assigned was a four room building on the site of the present structure. The new school was completed in 1871 and its first principal was Mr. Long who was followed by Mrs. Grover, and she by Mr. R. H. Beggs during whose term of five years the school was graded and greatly improved. Mr. Beggs organized a library, a literary society, and graduated the first High School class.

Miss Buss was always connected with the High School department at Wilmington and among other subjects taught literature, botany, physiology, grammar, and history there. She presided with power and with dignity over her classes; the joy she felt in living and in learning she communicated to her pupils. She gave them a real insight into their work and inspired them to make the most of their ability. In the long years given to her since the close of her notable term of service, she has kept them in her mind wishing them well and delighted at their success. In their turn they marvel at and

rejoice in her ability to participate with enthusiasm in the life of today although belonging to a generation that has all but passed.

A visit with Miss Buss is a rare privilege; instead of finding a person afflicted with the infirmities natural to one of her years, one beholds a sprightly figure and finds her ever ready to enjoy a lecture, a luncheon, the opera, the latest book, a ride through the open country, or to undertake, as she has lately done, the long train journey to Atlanta, Georgia, alone, to visit relatives there. Her mind and her spirit have kept forever young.

**THE DEPARTED GLORIES OF OLD PALMYRA—WHEN
THE COURTHOUSE FOR COOK COUNTY COST
BUT 6¼ CENTS PER YEAR.**

By D. E. KEEN, Mount Carmel, Illinois.

If the sadly overburdened taxpayers of that portion of the State now constituting Cook County should waken some morning to discover that the total cost of maintaining their courthouse for the preceding year had been but six and one-fourth cents, with other expenses almost in proportion, they would probably think, and no doubt with good cause, that the millenium had arrived; yet, the fact remains that at one time in the history of Illinois, the courthouse for what is now Cook County, together with a vast additional area of the State actually cost but six and one-fourth cents per year.

This occurred, of course, in the early portion of the last century before Cook County had any organized existence, when the process of cutting up the southern and more populous end of the State into counties of reasonable size, leaving the more ones of huge dimensions, had been in progress a comparatively short time.

The county of Edwards, when organized in 1814, comprised almost half the State of Illinois, and in addition extended northward to the line of Upper Canada, including a large portion of the State of Wisconsin as well as a considerable section of Michigan.

The capital for this vast territory was fixed by the act creating the county, at Palmyra, located a short distance above what was then called the Great Falls of the Wabash, but since known as the Grand Rapids, and about three miles up the Wabash from the city of Mount Carmel, the present beautiful capital of Wabash County.

The ill-fated town of Palmyra whose founders fondly hoped that it would some day rival Zenobia's famous capital

of the East, was created on the twenty-second day of April, 1815 by Seth Gard & Co., composed of Seth Gard, Peter Keen, Gervase Hazleton, Levi Compton, and John Waggoner. Of the members of the above company, Messrs. Keen and Compton were great-grand-fathers of the present writer, while Seth Gard was a great uncle. Both Gard and Compton were men of no little prominence in their day, the former having been a member of the territorial and state legislatures, and the latter a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1818. Most of the men came from Virginia, but Peter Keen was from Hamilton County, Ohio, where he is reputed to have assisted in erecting the first cabin built in the city of Cincinnati.

The site of the new metropolis was chosen with a peculiar disregard for all conditions pertaining to the health of its people, and in direct defiance of warning by the Indians that "Red man die here; white man die too." It was on a sandy ridge bordering a sluggish bend in the river, where, in the summertime decaying vegetation sent out a constant miasmatic stench. Back of this sandy ridge was a series of swamps almost entirely surrounding it and adding their share to the unhealthfulness of the site. The water supply of the town was taken from a large spring at the river's edge which was, no doubt, the outlet for some of these poisonous swamps. This spring is still running.

So far as known, no explanation has ever been given why men of sound judgement, such as composed Seth Gard & Co., were presumed to be, should have selected a site so obviously unfavorable as to foredoom their enterprise to failure. But the writer would hazard the guess that it was for the purpose of being able to keep in touch with the French settlements at hand near Vincennes, from which they would have been cut off during a great portion of the year had they located below the rapids.

Palmyra soon grew to be a town of five or six hundred people and it was to this place that all residents of the enormous territory included within the boundaries of Edwards County, were compelled to come to transact business that required their presence at the county seat, even from as far north as Chicago and beyond.

No courthouse was ever built at Palmyra; the home of Gervase Hazleton appearing to have been used as a courthouse during practically the entire period when Palmyra was the seat of government. Whether at this early date the proprietors of Palmyra feared the development of possible rivals or perhaps sensed the county seat war which later developed, is not known, but after having paid Hazleton the sum of eight dollars for the use of his home during the first year, we find the County Court at the beginning of the second year entering the following order:

“ORDERED THAT THIS COURT ADJOURN TO THE HOUSE OF GERVASE HAZLETON, AND THAT THE HOUSE BE CONSIDERED THE COURTHOUSE FOR ONE YEAR, AND HE ACKNOWLEDGES THE RECEIPT OF SIX AND ONE-FOURTH CENTS AS FULL CONSIDERATION FOR THE USE OF SAID HOUSE FOR THE COURTS AND ELECTIONS, AND THE CLERK AND SHERIFF ARE TO HAVE THE USE OF ONE ROOM FOR THEIR OFFICE IN HIS HOUSE.”

But economy even such as this could not triumph over the unhealthful conditions against which Palmyra vainly struggled, and it was not long until a very large proportion of its inhabitants were entombed in the hillside cemetery across the creek from the unfortunate town. Its downfall was completed, when, in 1824, Edwards County was divided as the result of a county seat war.

The western part of the county, or what is now Edwards County, had been settled by the British who had become so numerous as to feel they were able to control affairs, and they demanded the removal of the county seat to the western side of the Bonpas, a change which the native Americans, who very largely composed the settlers in the eastern part of the county, did not propose to tolerate, and when through the separation of Lawrence County from Edwards, taking with it many of the voters to the northward, they were defeated in the election, they organized four companies of militia and proposed to retain by force what they could not by means of the ballot. The soldiers were encamped and drilling every day in preparation for the battle which was expected to occur when they undertook to recapture the records which had been moved

to the new capital at Albion, and return them to Palmyra. At this juncture, fortunately, the British made a proposal for a compromise by the dividing of the county into two practically equal parts, separated by the Bonpas Creek. Their proposition was accepted and soldiers disbanded without any blood having been shed.

The act which created the new county of Wabash was approved by the Legislature in December, 1824, and it fixed the capital of the new county, not at old Palmyra but at Centerville, several miles inland, to which place many of the people, houses and material were speedily removed, leaving the former capital to a rapid decay that soon completed the work of destruction; and the site of the once pretentious young metropolis has for many decades been a wheat field, smiling placidly in the summer sun, with scarce a brick or a stone to mark it as different from the surrounding territory.

But the triumph of Centerville was short lived. The thriv-
little city of Mount Carmel had already been established on the bluffs south of Grand Rapids and it soon became apparent that the town of Centerville could not be made a success, with the result that in a short time, the capital was removed to the "Bluff City," where it has remained ever since, and which has developed into one of the most attractive residence cities of the State.

Recently in a scrap book of one of the older residents of Mount Carmel was discovered the following account of a visit to the abandoned city of Palmyra. This account, which is as follows, was published in the Vincennes Gazette in 1859.

A VISIT TO OLD PALMYRA.

Messrs Editors:—Thinking it may not be uninteresting, at least to a good portion of the readers of the Gazette, I have this as the history and reflections upon of one of oldest towns settled by Americans in this State. In the year 1815 Seth Gard and Peter Keen of Hamilton County, Ohio, entered at the Vincennes land office two fractional lots, Nos. 4 and 5 in town One, south of the Base line, in range twelve west of the second meridian, and before receipt of the patent admitted as equal partners Gervies Hazleton, Levi Compton and John

Wagoner; this company then laid off a town, calling it Palmyra, and recorded the following article, somewhat strange at this day:

Inasmuch as we, the said Seth Gard, Peter Keen, Gervies Hazleton, Levi Compton and John Wagoner, as tenants in common, taking into consideration the disadvantage the county labors under for the want of a town being established on the river, have laid out a town on a part of the two fractional lots, or sections, in lots of seventy-four feet, three inches in front, and one hundred forty-eight feet, six inches back, as by the map or chart that is hereunto annexed, will appear with streets, alleys and public grounds, and that we, the said S. Guard and Co., viewing the great utility of giving liberal encouragement to mechanics and other citizens to settle in towns in the neighborhood, we agreed, and hereby agree to give to each mechanic or citizen every uneven numbered lot as designated on said map, on their building a house of hewn logs, sixteen by twenty feet, one and a half story high, with a good shingle roof and stone or brick chimney, on or before the fourth day of July, 1816. And by becoming a citizen of the town for three months and getting the certificate from Peter Keen and Gervies Hazleton to the same, the time was extended to two years from the date of the certificate, in which to put up the house, the company to furnish timber for building free of charge. Dated the 22nd day of May, 1815. It was soon made the county seat of Edwards County in the then territory of Illinois, a county that extended from Chicago almost to the mouth of the Wabash River, embracing at least one-fourth of the territory in its limits. It soon became one of the most important towns in the territory, being immediately on the river above high water mark, on a dry, sandy foundation, had its bank-market, race track and act of incorporation, and a population of near five hundred souls. In the year 1828, in company with a young friend, I visited the seat of this town to attend a baptising. After the immersion was over and the congregation dispersed, we spent the rest of the day in rambling over and examining this forsaken place, which we did, every street, house, garret, parlor, cellar and garden through and through. Many of the houses were then falling. The main streets ran west back from the river, and were crossed by others running north and south,

making every four lots a perfect square. One street was then perfectly solid on both sides, with large two-story frame houses, the rooms on the inside in good preservation, the glass in the windows, the weather boarding all torn off, if there ever had been any on. The frames were filled in with a composition of clay and straw, presenting a weather-worn, decaying appearance; bats, swallows and other birds, with serpents and frogs were the only inhabitants of the place. Other houses were standing and good, that had been built of hewn logs, fire places, stairs and all in perfect order. Many of them would have been comfortable and convenient to live in then; others, again, were made of rough, unhewn logs, cut from the forest around, with stick and dirt chimneys, down and falling to the ground. In some places on protected spots of ground there would be found garden shrubbery and flowers. We found scattered here and there bunches of beautiful pinks, while touch-me-nots, morning glories and other flowers grew thick around some of the houses, in contrast with the silence and gloom around. Near one of the best houses was the sad remains of a summer house, or rose bower, leaning near the ground, tottering with decay, the vines yet entangled around their falling support; and the rose here blooming amid silence, unseen and uncared for (perhaps) by the one that with fair hands had trained their tender vines when young with care. In the town stood no church or even a school house, that we could see; they all seemed to be residences and business houses of one kind or another. West of the place we found the race track, then plain to be seen for its entire length. Southwest of the village, near Crawfish Creek, on a bluff, we found the place where a large portion of the inhabitants now dwell; it is the grave yard of Palmyra, the largest then, if not now, in the county. Many of the graves then had trees of considerable size growing on and over them, a few crumbling sandstones at the head and foot of some of the graves, and the little mounds of earth was all that marked the spot where so many sleep, that once lived in that forsaken town. Since that day I have traveled much in different parts of the west, yet I have never found such true desolation in reality as an entire town standing forsaken and going to decay, and that too in a new, unsettled country. This place almost depopulated in the course of two or three years by sickness,

caused, it was supposed, by its peculiar situation on the river just above the rapids, which, when the water was low, made the stream there like an immense pond, where grass and moss grew in the still water nearly across the river, which in hot weather filled the atmosphere with stench and miasmatic effluvia that struck with disease all that breathed its fatal poison for any length of time. This together with the ponds and the water the inhabitants all used from a large spring that gushed clear from the banks of the river, no doubt the drain from some far off pond, was the cause of the unhealthiness and depopulation of the town. The last house there has long since fallen and decayed; not a log, scarcely a brick or stone is left, and but little think the passengers or crews of the steamboats, as they pass its ancient landing, that on its naked bank was once a populous and thriving town.

WABASH.

Mount Carmel, Illinois, August 12, '59.

NOTE. There is at present a village in Macoupin County, Illinois, by the name of Palmyra, on the Springfield Division of the St. Louis, Chicago and St. Paul Railway thirty-three miles southwest from Springfield, has some local manufactories, a bank and a newspaper.

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF YORKTOWN."

An Address by CHARLES H. MACDOWELL, at the Annual Yorktown Dinner of the Illinois Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, Chicago, October 19th, 1923.

My boyhood was spent in Spoon River country in middle Illinois. This garden spot was near the center of the pioneer movement from East to West in the days of timber clearing, and before the value of the then swampy prairie country was known. With the pioneer, land which would not grow trees was no good. Here in the early eighteen hundreds came the folk from New England, from the Central Eastern states, from Virginia and the Carolinas;—plied their different vocations, worshipped God publicly Sundays and prayer meeting nights, and lived in competitive harmony with each other until the coming of the Civil War. These settlers were a representative cross-section of the breeds whose forebears had peopled the Atlantic Coast colonies. They were pioneers and children of pioneers, with all of the directness and personal competency of those who, having no one else upon whom to depend, must needs do everything for themselves.

Among these pioneers, and a neighbor, was Major Newton Walker, a Virginian by birth, who had built in this Illinois land a replica of the old Colonial brick central-halled homestead with the smoke-house, tool-house, barns and outbuildings accompanying the integrated plantation life of old Virginia. The Major, Jacksonian in features, tall, lean, active, although then in the eighties, was a source of joy to the youngsters. Many were the tales told by the boys of his past prowess in the hunt and Indian fight; of his accuracy with the long-barrelled flint-lock rifle; his skill in woodcraft. Major Walker was a man of culture; his small library was well selected and ran to history; his memory was especially retentive, and his conversation delightful.

It was the Major who built the courthouse between whose Doric standstone columns stood Lincoln, an old friend, when delivering one of his Douglas Debate classics. I well remember his chuckle as he told of building a large sled in one of the rooms of the courthouse too big to get out through the door. I can still hear the thump, thump, thump of his cane on the sidewalk as he walked to town for his daily paper and his nip of "tea". The Major was a privileged person in a dry community.

In his youth he had been on the staff of the Governor of Virginia, and was in command of the honor guard accompanying General Lafayette in his travels in that State on his second after-the-war visit to America. On many a winter afternoon did he tell me of the General and of other notables he had met—of the battlefields—of Lafayette's visit to Shawneetown—of Mount Vernon; all to my great delight. So I too can say, as did the small boy, "I knew a man who knew the General."

It is but natural in a study of our Revolution that our thoughts should wander back to the European homes of the men and women who came early to the American colonies, and to the time of their leaving. What manner of folk were they, and why did they adventure? It was no Pullman car trip, and courage of a high order was shown by those who made the journey. There was an unknown factor which must have depressed as well as stimulated. We cannot say that the ignorance of youth displaced courage, for men and women of all ages journeyed to the wilderness.

From these folk sprang the minute men of the rebellion to be organized into the armies of the cooperating colonies and placed under the unified control of Washington.

It is fitting that we should assemble here on the one hundred and forty-second anniversary of the winning of Yorktown to do honor to those who fought and won the war that made America free. It is also natural that the Sons of the American Revolution, the direct descendants of those who took part in the war, should celebrate annually the occasion of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown as the result of the long fight for the principle of representative Government. The colonists had long adopted the theory of "No taxation without representa-

tion," and they were ready to die to the last man for that principle.

We are told in our school days that "action and reaction are equal and opposite." As we read history we are impressed with the thought that with people, "oppression and rebellion may also be equal and opposite." Reaction may be retarded by force, but when opportunity arrives, old scores are quickly evened. Compression makes for explosion. Social forces are dynamic rather than static, and social equilibrium is difficult to maintain. Memories persist and hates hold on indefinitely. Much of today's trouble 'round world is the rebound from the injuries of long ago, as well as from those resulting from the late war. The nations whose statesmen early sensed the fact that personal liberty, free speech, sacred homes, law observance, and equal opportunity made for stability, have made the greatest progress and attained the maximum of security. Whenever they have departed from this charting, trouble has started.

The story of the war is well known, and we will not review it. We will, on the contrary, bring to your attention some of the significant and fundamental questions at issue at the time; questions that always arise in connection with the formation of new states out of old. Since the days of tribal life new nations have been formed out of old in one way or another, but seldom without war. While war may not have been a necessity, it has always been a fact in the dividing of any compact race or nation into two or more parts. The formation of the American colonies into a new state was no exception to the rule.

A little study of the history of the formation of states will give us a clearer understanding of the difficulties and the achievements of the English colonies in America. Political history is the history of nation-making. Economic history is the record of the behavior of nations in regard to the conservation or use of the forces at their command, and the development of commerce, industry, transportation—all that affects the economic welfare of the people. In the evolution of society we are taught that there have developed three distinct methods of nation-making. The first is known as the Oriental method or "conquest without corporation," by which a tribe grew to national dimensions by conquering and annexing its neighbors

without admitting them into a share in its political life. The second, known as the Roman method, may be described as "conquest with incorporation," but without representation. The strength of Rome lay in the fact that she incorporated the vanquished people in her own body politic. The third method of nation-making is commonly known as the Teutonic method or English method, containing the *principle of representation*, in accordance with which England and all her colonies have been built.

America is essentially a product of and the best exemplification of the representative principle in nation-making. It is the last fruits of this new principle in the evolution of states. The seeds were no doubt sown in antiquity, but bore little fruit before the Teutonic nations came to the shores of England. The Achaean League formed in old Grecian days is looked upon by historians as an attempt at representative government, but it failed in a great measure because of personal jealousies and heresy among the populace. A few leading thinkers in all nations ancient and modern have kept the flame of representative government burning, though dimly at times.

Having gotten a clear idea of the class of nations to which we belong, it seems proper next to show how we came into being as a nation, why our forefathers left England and the Continent, and how they happened to unite into one great state. The Magna Charta was wrested from King John by the Barons of England on June 15, 1215. It has been called the "keystone of English liberty." It was a treaty of peace between the King and his subjects in arms, but it was also an indication of the rise of the people against royalty and of a general demand for representation in affairs of government. The settlement of English colonies in America and elsewhere is part of the fruit of Magna Charta. The colonies coming to America were composed of men in the various walks of life feeling their way to a new freedom, a taste of which they had experienced at home but which they could not develop on account of church and state interference.

At the time of the discovery of America by Columbus, the whole of Europe was on the eve of a great awakening. The crusades had come and gone, but their influence was indelibly impressed upon the people. New ideas were drifting in from

all quarters. The mariner's compass was discovered, and under its guidance longer voyages could be undertaken. Gunpowder had just been invented, which changed the character of war and enlarged the scale on which it was waged. Constantinople had just fallen, which resulted in a great revival of learning in all Europe. Driven from the East, learned Greeks and Jews came to settle in Italy, bringing with them the arts, sciences, history, poetry, and philosophy of old Greece and Rome. Just at this time the invention of printing came to spread whatever new ideas there were, with a velocity never known before.

The discovery of the new world was immediately followed up by Spanish conquests of Mexico and Peru and by Portuguese settlements in Brazil, and by the gaining of a foothold on the eastern shores of North America by the Cabots for England, which is the forerunner of the New England or the extension of Old England across the sea. A way was opened up to the East Indies in 1497 by Vasco de Gama which led to the control of India by the British. Men's minds were prepared for great events, and it is little wonder that Columbus thought he had reached the Orient when he first saw land in the West Indies. No one had ever suspected that there was a great stretch of land almost from pole to pole near half way around the globe from where he started, and what great opportunities there were for a new civilization.

The first discovery of the new mind that was developed during the Protestant Revolution was the defects of the old Roman civilization. The masses were governed under Roman domination not for the benefit of all, but for the benefit of a few wealthy Roman citizens. The new civilization "sought to secure the common weal of the people." The time had come for the old order gradually to die out and for the new order gradually to spring up, and that is just what happened. Part of this great movement expressed itself in the colonization of parts of North America by England and the colonization of other parts of North and South America and other parts of the world by other European nations. The whole of Europe was seeking an expression of the new ideas that had been born with the general awakening, and that had helped to dispel much of the superstition of the earlier times. They were working out a way of escape from the domination of royalty over

the private life and religion of the people. Groups were formed in all the European nations to withdraw from the conditions at home and establish themselves anew in some land that looked more inviting from a distance; many pictured the new world as a paradise in which to carry out their plans of religious and civil liberty.

From the discovery of America in 1492 to the settlement of the first permanent English colony in Virginia in 1607, covering a period of a hundred and fifty years, there was constant conflict between Rome and Protestantism. At times one seemed to have the advantage, and at times the other. The Protestant Revolution during this time severed most of the European states from the political domination of the Pope. This was a great step in the formation of the modern states. It left the people free to organize into representative governments, which they lost no time in doing. The feudal system, now fast dying out, was still a thorn in the flesh of the peasantry, who had already kept up a kind of strike till they had secured money payments for their work instead of labor service. The dawn of commerce on the heels of the Middle Ages was largely responsible for the introduction of money payments for services rendered. This influence was fundamental, as it left workmen and peasants free to wander about and gather up news from everywhere, and incidentally learn what other people in like circumstances were doing. Quoting from Seebohm's *PROTESTANT REVOLUTION*, "The masses of the people in England were more and more becoming a free people, working for wages, while such tenants as remained on the land paid fixed money rents instead of services, and instead of being tied to the land were ejected from their holdings if they could not pay their rents." This ejection from the small farms added constantly to a vagrant population, robbery was increased, and thieves and vagabonds alike were hung. Many times twenty or more would be seen hanging from a single gibbet.

These peasants now first merging into a free state had not yet participated in the affairs of government, but there was nothing but ignorance to hinder them from doing so. This ignorance was soon giving way to a more popular appreciation of the functions of government, and the movement for universal representation was greatly stimulated by the Peasants' War in

Europe beginning in 1525. This is one of the bloodiest chapters in all history, and the horrors are too horrible to be recounted. In Germany over a hundred thousand peasants were killed, which prolonged serfdom in that country till the nineteenth century. What the peasants lost in Germany they gained in other parts of Europe and especially in England, for the Magna Charta had opened the way to them for participation in the affairs of Government, and the Barons who wrested the great charter from John had united with the common people against royalty. From that time the peasants no doubt expected much. They were conscious of a kind of freedom that was growing on them, and they felt the pinch of any kind of restriction. When it came they sought a way of escape. Common people had also learned to cooperate with men of affairs, and were ready to take part in any venture for financial gain. Church people had experienced a taste of religious freedom brought about by the significant Protestant Revolution. They were no longer restricted by the state church, but only by their own conscience, and efforts to regulate their conscience on the part of the state brought about rebellion.

This general review of European conditions seems necessary to any intelligent understanding of the colonization of North America by England. All the factors entering into this period of history could not be discussed in a short paper, but the above are some of the important ones, and they bring us to the actual settlement of the colonies and to a discussion of the immediate causes of the migration of the colonists in each individual case. Upon careful examination we will find that each colony had its own reasons for leaving the mother country and settling in the new world, but in one way or another they all conformed to the general spirit of the time. They all were seeking adventures as well as a kind of religious freedom, or commercial advantage. They were all without exception expressing the results of bad condition in Europe, and various efforts to pull themselves out of that condition.

The first permanent English settlement in America was in Virginia in the year 1607. England had grown greatly in population during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and needed room for expansion. All thinking men of the time saw an opportunity in planting colonies in America. This would

reduce paupers and probably eventually bring a large revenue to the Treasury. On such grounds a charter was granted by King James to a company with two sub-divisions:—first The London Company, composed of London merchants who were to establish a colony between the mouth of the Hudson River and North Carolina—or what is now known as North Carolina; second, The Plymouth Company, composed chiefly of traders and country gentlemen in the west of England, with chief offices at Plymouth, who were to plant a settlement somewhere north of the mouth of the Potomac and south of the St. Lawrence. These colonies were directly under the King's control and not under Parliament. The colonies were to be governed by laws dictated by the crown who did not believe in colonization. The land tenure was to be the same as that in England. Trial by jury was guaranteed.

The London Company was the most active, having among the number of its grantees Hakluyt, perhaps England's then greatest student of world affairs, who had written and edited his long series of VOYAGES. The people coming over as representatives of the London Company were mostly "gentlemen," unused to and scorning manual labor. Only twelve were laborers, and among the artisans were jewelers, gold refiners, and perfumers. There were no women nor children on board, thus showing how little conception they had of the true mission of a colony. John Smith, a member of the company and one of the colonists, was the saviour of the colony. He insisted on the members of the colony cultivating the rich soil, building houses, trading with the natives, and exploring rather than seeking for gold where there was none. After many hardships and many changes in the plans of the colony it finally proved a success.

The Plymouth Company, which was originally granted a charter at the time The London Company was granted its charter, had made attempts at colonization, but had failed. In 1620 a new charter was granted to the Plymouth Company, extending from Long Branch, New Jersey, to the Bay of Chaleurs, and was to be called New England, the name bestowed upon it by John Smith. The Plymouth Colony consisted of about a hundred yeomen and artisans, members of the independent congregation at Scrooby, a village on the bor-

der between Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. They were skilled in industry, often independent in resources, and well trained in the intellectual controversies of religion and politics. They were seeking in the New World a land where the heavy hand of oppression could not reach them. John Fiske observes that "the aim of Winthrop and his friends in coming to Massachusetts was the construction of a theocratic state which should be to Christians, under the new dispensation, all that the theocracy of Moses and Joshua and Samuel had been to the Jews in Old Testament times. They should be to all intents and purposes freed from the jurisdiction of the Stuart king, and so far as possible the text of Holy Scripture should be their guide both in weighty matters of general legislation and in the shaping of the smallest details of daily life."

Hendrik Hudson sailed up the Hudson River as early as 1609 trying to find a waterway through the North American continent, and the English named the river after him. The Dutch visited the region annually after that, establishing small trading posts till the year 1626, when they established a permanent colony and called it New Netherlands. It was strictly a business enterprise. Efforts were made to transplant the European feudal system in the wilds of America. Patroons or large land owners were to have control over the colonists, and thus build up a landed aristocracy. Internal dissensions and quarrels with New England helped to bring about the necessary changes in the plans of the colonists to make possible a species of local self government.

Pennsylvania was settled by the persecuted Quakers of England and Germany. William Penn established the colony in 1681, both as a refuge for Quakers and as a real estate venture. The English Government owed him sixteen thousand pounds, and he persuaded it to give him instead of the money, a proprietary charter of forty thousand square miles of land in America. Penn is said to have widely advertised his grant and to have offered small parcels of this land to prospective purchasers at the rate of two pounds per acre. In this way he soon had gathered around him a very large colony. He proposed from the beginning to establish a popular government based on the principle of exact justice to all regardless of religious beliefs. He drew to this colony Quakers, Dutch,

Swedes, Germans, and Welsh alike. The people soon began to grow uneasy under the proprietary government and boundary disputes constantly harassed Penn. Delaware was made a separate colony in 1703.

The Carolinas were peopled from other colonies in North America and from the Bahamas and the West Indies. The English were dominant in all the colonies, but especially so in the south. In North Carolina industry attracted many immigrants, "in the main French Huguenots, Moravians, and Germans, with some Swiss, and Scotch-Irish." The soil was favorable to agriculture and most of the colonists developed into farmers, and the towns were insignificant. The south was a favorable place for the growth and development of slavery. The climate was mild, the farm lands fairly fertile, and slave labor paid. The middle and upper classes grew into a very strong and sturdy citizenship. They had leisure, and many of them were intensely industrious intellectually. From such people came Calhoun, Jefferson, Stephens and others.

The colony of Georgia was settled in 1632 under the leadership of James Oglethorpe, a prominent member of Parliament, and an army officer. He had been active in effecting many reforms in England, and on inspection of prisons he found many worthy men in prison on account of debt. He asked for a charter or grant of land to settle these in the Carolina country, to be known as Georgia after the name of the King. Shortly a body of Germans settled at Ebenezer on the Savannah River just north of Savannah. The slow development of the Georgia colony caused Oglethorpe to infuse into the settlement a party of Scotch Highlanders and German Protestants, and there was great improvement. At all times from the founding there were many idlers and worthless fellows.

To the south of Georgia was the Spanish settlement of Florida, which had long been in a flourishing condition, a constant menace to the English colonies on the South. North of the St. Lawrence River were the French, a constant menace to the English colonies on the North. A large colony of French had settled around the mouth of the Mississippi River and had worked its way up the river. The French to the north had explored far to the west on the Great Lakes, and it may be

said that the English on the East coast were almost surrounded by the French at the time of the Revolution. This is very significant for the reason that France was looking for an opportunity to assist the colonies against England, her ancient foe.

Up to 1700 each colony was a little unit all to itself. A thousand impulses filled the colonists in successive waves, but each little commonwealth "had its own interest, its own struggles, and looked forward to its own future." The constant disturbances by wars with the Indians, recurring domestic political quarrels, and constant disputes with the mother country gradually brought the colonies to cultivate each other's friendship. The commerce and industry so rapidly growing up in the colonies brought many immigrants and much capital, and the country as a whole grew very rapidly between 1700 and 1760. Many of the charters were attached by England, and this was a surprise to the little states, which heretofore had not regarded seriously any interference from England.

These then were the elements which in time of need came together and organized for the common defense. They were daring spirits—adventurous, unafraid. They would not submit for long to any attempt on the part of the mother country to extend bureaucratic methods and control across the sea, to exploit by taxing, to punish by diversion of commerce and through other oppressive measures. After their coming their energies were directed to the subduing of the wilderness, to the development of resources, to the creation of wealth, to the opening up of opportunities for those to come later. They were exhilarated by their freedom and determined to maintain it. There was an important group in England who understood the colonial attitude and whose influence caused the repeal of acts calculated to develop resistance, but these repeal measures were always enacted too late to repair the damage. Coercive measures were again put in force, and the final break came. King's judgments and Tory mentalities were utterly incapable of understanding the needs and attitudes of these pioneer, hard working people, who were hard at the task of conquering and developing a new world, and who were soon to be called on to organize and launch a new plan of government destined to become a great power for good throughout the world.

On the political side we have not always been safe, for while the blending of many nationalities to form one nation was not a new experiment, yet it was not accomplished without much difficulty. Fiske says that "the need for union was not generally felt by the people. The sympathies of the colonies were weak and likely to be overborne by prejudices arising from rivalry or from differences in social structure. To the merchant of Boston the Virginia planter was still almost a foreigner, although both the one and the other were pureblood Englishmen. Commercial jealousies were very keen, boundary disputes not uncommon."

The blending of these various elements may be considered almost a miracle. The one great thought that dominated all was freedom, and the hardest fight in all the efforts to combine the colonies against the mother country was to effect a union without losing any of the freedom exercised by the individual colonies. The various colonies were up to the time of the Revolution several independent states. They knew no restrictions from their neighbors and very little from England. They were therefore afraid they would lose by union what they had gained in isolation. They were in sight of the long sought freedom; why should they bind themselves into a union whereby they would have to give all or part of it up? Was there any way to get out from under the wing of England without losing any of the freedom they had learned to enjoy? These were questions of extreme importance to all the colonies. The large plantations of Virginia were small empires all to themselves, and the independent merchants of Boston had developed channels of commerce that they did not wish to share with others.

The framing of the Articles of Confederation was an attempt at a middle course. It was an evidence of a need of union and at the same time an effort to maintain the largest possible degree of independence among the colonists.

Whatever the source of their political ideals, the colonists blended into a cosmopolitan republic having drawn their citizenship from the four quarters of the globe, though the first settlers were almost entirely from the west coast of Europe. The colonies evidently got their ideas of government from as many sources as the people came from, but some of the funda-

mental ideas that were inherited from the early English institutions are:

1. The idea of the supremacy of *law*.
2. The conception of an unwritten law, or the binding power of custom, which probably is the source of most of our "*common law*."
3. The conception of a law superior to the law-making body from which the charters originated on which the colonies were founded. Before the *courts* and before the *tax-gatherers* all England stood practically on the same basis, and this has been the ideal for which the American Republic has striven since Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781.

While in their efforts to work out a system of government the colonies followed rather closely the English institutions, there was a fundamental difference in that American integration from the beginning has been federal, while the English method was always absorptive, incorporative. Up to the time of and during the Revolution the union of the colonies was distinctly federative—a matter of concession and contract. At the close of the Revolution the time had come for these loosely constructed units of government to take stock of their political structure and to build themselves into a common state. They did not have a law for this federation till the framing of the Articles of Confederation in 1777. Before then they had co-operated by common consent, but without any determinative law. In 1781 the Articles of Confederation were adopted, but the colonies found themselves bound together so loosely that they had to reconstruct the entire instrument, and this resulted in the written Constitution of the United States adopted by the Continental Congress in session in the summer of 1787.

Your forebears won. The French, who at the time were developing the ferment leading to a new political and economic freedom, were of master service in enabling the colonists to drop the "prelude" curtain of the now-to-be-presented new political drama entitled "Representative Government, By and For the People." The plot for the new presentation came from the experience, understandings and vision of a courageous, determined, industrious, intelligent, freedom-loving, history-comprehending people, possessing a high order of organizing ability and a genius for compromising serious

differences. The text for the drama was written by men of rare culture and understanding. The language used was English, and no translations were necessary. The story is still being presented to a steadily increasing and generally appreciative audience. Many of the acts have disclosed rare heroism and unselfishness. Some have proven dull, even sordid. Out of it all has come great good to many people; unusual opportunities for success in attaining material comforts and the finer things of life; religious freedom; education; travel.

It has been said that Britain wins but one battle in her wars—the last one. Britain lost at Yorktown, but Britain and the Empire gained much from the losing. She learned that her sons and daughters when they became colonists must and will live their own lives and work out their own destinies. They may perhaps listen to advice, but they will not take orders. They will voluntarily contribute to the common good, but they will not honor demand drafts. England learned that the problem of the pioneer must be solved by the pioneer, and on the spot; that Colonial Offices and officious home bureaucrats are talking to the winds if they attempt to direct the movements of their sons across seas. All this they learned many years ago. The pre-war Colonial Office of Germany, through the local governor general, advised their Southeast African colonists where and what to plant on their newly settled farms. Did the German Government successfully colonize? It did not.

Britain also learned another lesson—that a war, when it is over, should be kept over; and has always worked hard to bring this about. The handling of the Boers after the war with those fine people is a splendid example of appreciation by a government of the feelings and aspirations of a former enemy, and from this treatment came the superb loyalty and support of the Boers in the late war and in the peace councils. Equality and fraternity in practice.

As has been said, England learned much of value from the Revolution and from the developments of the succeeding years. France was stirred. The old feudal divine right theory was still going strong in other Continental countries, and the American experiment was anathema. Monarchies always have

shown bulldog characteristics both as to hang-on and mentality. Liberal ideas and changes never did appeal to them. As "two heads are better than one", and as many of these states didn't have much of one head, their progress was slow. Gradually parliamentary governments were introduced and those of importance were given the vote. One may safely say that the continuing success of the American plan has profoundly impressed other governments and has made for greater freedom.

The framers of the new government resented outside control. They feared too much central authority. They limited the power and authority of the federal government by a written constitution. Good government starts with the private home, and is reflected in community life. If the ability to direct and protect is not found in the community, its lack is immediately reflected in the political bodies selected by the community. The approvers of the Constitution wanted to run their home affairs themselves. They were keen on preventing federal pilfering of their local responsibilities. Nowadays this doesn't seem to be resented. Many newcomers are here, men trained under monarchical conditions and accustomed to the rule of a centralized government occupying a comparatively small area. They know little about our plan of government and the causes which led to its adoption, and do not oppose a federal encroachment on state powers and responsibilities which is worrying many thoughtful people who fear bureaucratic government. As a nation it behooves us to both keep watch over our institutions and to endeavor to educate the newcomer in the proper direction.

Since the Revolutionary War many peoples have come to our hospitable shores and have been incorporated in our citizenry. Social and economic disturbance has had much to do with their coming. In 1846 the potato rot in Ireland and the following famine caused a million and a quarter of the Irish to come here, between the years 1845 and 1855. German migration reached flood tide in 1854, on political grounds, and in 1882 on military and economic grounds. The English and Scandinavians came in large numbers during the middle of the nineteenth century. The Italians began coming in large numbers about 1882, and gradually increased till in 1895, 287,000 migrated to America. The Russian Empire is third in the rank

of contributors to our immigration. This migration began in 1881, and by 1906 reached 216,000 for that year. Only 2 per cent of them were Russians and 98 per cent non-Russian. Russia sends us five-sixths of our Jewish immigrants.

The earlier after-war emigrants did their share of pioneering under frontier conditions, learned to depend on themselves, and soon sensed and approved of the ideals of the fathers. Later comers, more largely town populators and with easier going, have been slower to grasp them.

We are told that all we learn from history is that we do not learn from history. While this is an extreme statement, there is unfortunately too much truth in it for the world's best interests. History is dry, uninteresting reading to most of us. Deductions are difficult. The underlying causes which lead to social and economic upsets are often obscure and too near the grass for the average person to comprehend. "To the devil's home with tomorrow; let's cash in today," is too often the code of the man of action, whether he be a politician, a banker, a business man, or a farmer. Immediate exploitation is the order du jour, and the "go-getter" the idol of the times.

Prompt decision and "go getting" methods are fundamental, but the end desired should be one which promotes the general welfare of today and at the same time protects as far as possible the needs of those of tomorrow.

Fear is probably the greatest enemy of mankind, and the prime mover in most of the world's deviltry. Uncontrolled, stupid, dont-give-a-damn power uses the "bull whip" to enforce its will. Terrorized groups do not function efficiently or sleep well. The alley cat through inherited fear as well as personal experience trusts no one, and to teach him to have confidence in a small boy and his pup is a difficult undertaking in education. The people of continental Europe, through ages of sad cruel experience with the ways of kings and the habits of soldiers, have had their old fears relighted by their recent trials, and it is small wonder they keep their powder dry.

The fathers were distrustful of class distinction. They had had enough of Lords and Ladies—they were "forninst" *any* class dominating their doings. They were strong for equal opportunity and did not resent success if it smiled and was decent mannered. They had much work cut out for them, and

they did it willingly and well. Their successors have followed in their footsteps as best they could. The union has been maintained. The country has become far-flung, and the flag gives cheer to one hundred and ten million of fine, earnest, deserving people. From our abundance we have given freely to those who were in want. We have always stood for freedom from oppression, and have been strong for peace even if we had to fight for it.

It will perhaps be on the basis of representative government that the longevity of nations will depend in the future. One can not look searchingly into the history of nations without being impressed with the fact that nations, like individuals, die—or, as Draper well puts it, “Nations are but sandhills in in the hour glass of time; they decay and die by the same processes by which they attain their growth.” The only new principle that has been evolved in modern times is this theory of representation. Will it prolong the life of nations, and to what extent? Will modern nations live longer than Egypt, the ancient nation that had the longest life of recorded history? Has Yorktown set a new precedent? And are we building a nation that is to make the world record for longevity? These are questions that interest the speculative student, and they are practical questions, for their favorable solution will depend on our processes of building and on the finer adjustment of race to race and nation to nation, now being fused into our American life, and on the proper adjustment to and conservation of our natural resources. The health of an individual today depends on how he lived yesterday, and so it is with nations. Better planning and living today means greater prosperity and greater insurance of good health tomorrow. This applies to the conservation of our soils, our forests, our water power, and our large supplies of metals and coal. To use these materials properly now is to insure longer life as a nation, and better living while we do live.

It was high noon. The month was October, the day the nineteenth, the year 1781. The pines were saluting the sea breeze; flags and pennants were flapping; wild turkeys were running from wood to wood; gulls and stormy petrels were on watch; black birds, red birds, blue birds, were coming in from the north. A Virginia deer was looking from afar, curious, and

wondering what it was all about—so many days and nights of ominous noises, bright flashes, and queer smoke. High above soared an eagle—the American eagle; his sharp eyes were observing a strange and interesting drama. He saw many white-winged boats riding at anchor, colors flying; moving soldiers, some headed by the Stars and Stripes, others following the golden-lily white flag of France, and forming in two lines. Then came troops carrying drooping red standards. They marched between the lines, their band playing a quaint old English tune, “The World Turned Upside Down.” He saw General O’Hara, in the absence of Cornwallis, tender his sword to General Lincoln on orders from General Washington, then saw the red-coats ground arms and march back. The eagle flapped his wings and circled to the North.

The day grew older, and dusk approached. The copper-colored storm clouds screening the sun were melting away; the crisp blue evening sky outlined the pines and the autumn-tinged foliage. Fine weather for next day was the prophecy. The ducks were coming in. The “Honk! Honk! Honk.” of the leader of a flock of wild geese broke the stillness of the short twilight. The geese too were on the wing. The smoke of burning wood hazed the air. The odor of cooking meat was about. Candle lights flickered from the bivouacs and boats. General Washington stood looking at this scene of autumn time. He saw it, yet he did not see it. He was thinking of the day and of the morrow. He entered his quarters and closed the door. And so ended a perfect day.

During the night hurrying horsemen called out: “Past three o’clock and Cornwallis is taken.” The town criers repeated the news. Every one was up and stirring. The following day and night, and for other days and nights, the news was carried on.

“Oh God, it is all over,” cried King George, and so said Lord North. Many an Englishman understood.

The flags of America and of France were saluted at Yorktown. Yes—and more; Washington and the gallant officers and men of the Continental Army, those hard-hitting red-blooded fighters; Rochambeau, LaFayette, and the French rank and file; the silent, suffering mothers; the girls and boys, the

Molly Pitchers—all were saluted at Yorktown. And so were those wonderful intellects, the statesmen, financiers, and councilors, who worked so well; the Franklins, the Morrisises, the Adams'.

To all of those whose memories we refer, to the gone but never forgotten, the heroes of the Revolution! We too salute them!

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

Address by OSCAR E. CARLSTROM, Past Commander-in-Chief U. S. S. W. V., at Jacksonville, Illinois, June 14, 1923, at State Encampment of Spanish War Veterans.

The veterans of the Spanish-American War are uniting in an effort to secure an appropriate observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Spanish-American War. A general committee headed by Judge Marcus Kavanaugh, 842 County Building, Chicago, Illinois, as chairman, is outlining plans for Illinois, which contemplate especially issuance of proclamation by the Governor of the State and mayors of cities in Illinois calling upon the churches, schools and patriotic and civic organizations in every community to unite in appropriate commemorative exercises on April 26, the anniversary of the formal declaration of war, and such other commemorative days during the year as Dewey Day, May 1, the Battles of El Caney and San Juan Hill July 1, the capitulation of Santiago July 16, the signing of the Protocol of Peace August 16 and the signing of the formal treaty of peace December 18.

The Legislature of Illinois has by law appointed a commission and provided them with a modest appropriation to supervise this State-wide commemorative service, to provide suggested official programs and disseminate such information and literature as will bring about a better understanding of the historic importance of the War with Spain in 1898, The Insurrection of the Philippines and the suppression of the Boxer Uprising in China in 1900 incident thereto, and its profound influence on the character and attitude of the American people and the position and future of the United States among the nations of the world.

Twenty-five years ago the citizenry of these United States were inflamed with a holy passion and determined purpose to strike forever from these Americas the last effort of a tyrannical power to cruelly oppress. Resentment had been growing

for many years as the continued recitals of brutality in Cuba by General Weyler and his predecessors had from time to time been brought to the attention of the American people. Action had frequently been urged. On February 15th, 1898, twenty-five years ago public opinion was galvanized into action by the flashing wires telling of the dastardly sinking of the Battleship Maine under command of Captain Sigsbee while she rested in anchor on a friendly mission in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, blasting into a watery grave 266 American sailors of her crew. At once the cry sprang from lip to lip and spread north and south, east and west, "Remember the Maine," the battle cry of 1898.

The United States had been at peace since the Civil War and had had no quarrel with any foreign nation resulting in resort to arms since the Mexican War in 1848, and as usual we found ourselves in no state of preparedness. It was necessary to delay the formal declaration of war until April 26 during which time the enemy was strengthening his forces.

When war was finally declared Spain had 197,000 men in Cuba under arms, 155,000 of whom were regulars, and protected by fortifications and works of no mean character. Her naval forces were considerable in number of ships and equipment, both in Cuban waters and in the Philippines. An outstanding incident was the wonderful patriotic response to the call of the President for the first 125,000 volunteers issued on April 23, 1898. Never in the history of any nation has there been such a remarkable response. The blood of the fathers truly coursed with abiding purpose and conviction through the veins of the young manhood of America. A free people under a free government had justified their capacity for strength in emergency.

On February 17th, two days after the sinking of the Maine in Havana Harbor, the Governor of Illinois John R. Tanner, transmitted a message to the House of Representatives of Illinois asking authority to place the Illinois National Guard at the disposal of the Government for use in emergency. On the same day the House by resolution approved the Governor's course and authorized the tender of troops. Illinois was thus the first State in the Union to tender support and troops to the Federal Government in the Spanish-American War.

On April 27th, the day after formal declaration of war, seven regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry were mobilized ready for any eventuality, at Camp Tanner, Springfield, which action was taken pursuant to orders from the War Department.

Subsequently on request of the State, Battery A, Field Artillery from Danville, Captain Yeager commanding, was mobilized at Camp Tanner on April 30th.

Under the second call of the President the 9th Illinois Infantry (Provisional), under Col. James R. Campbell was mustered into service on July 4th-11th, and the 8th Illinois Infantry, colored, was mustered into service on July 22, 1898.

In addition to these organized units many thousands of young men from Illinois offered themselves for enlistment for active service in the army and navy and were accepted in large numbers. Illinois therefor justified her loyal tradition and took a first place of honor in the Nation's service in 1898.

May 1st, the electrifying news came of Dewey's bold strategy and complete victory over the naval forces in Manila Bay. The Oregon steamed her majestic 14,000-mile course from the Western Coast around the Horn and up into the Atlantic arriving in time to overhaul and destroy the last and fleetest of the Spanish battleships in their attempted flight from Santiago. Schley and Sampson wrote their names in fame. Ensign Bagley gave his life and his memory will live on. That intrepid American, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, typifying in his life and character the finest and noblest elements of American character, led his famous Rough Riders up San Juan Hill and with his friend and compatriot, General Leonard Wood, took the great forward stride in the esteem of his people that was destined to lead him through the Governor's chair of the State of New York to the Vice-Presidency and the Presidency of the United States, in which capacities and as the first citizen of the land in private life he was destined to influence for good and for progress the entire structure of government and public thought and conscience.

Our Commander-in-Chief during the Spanish-American War had proved his loyalty during the Civil War and exemplified a public and private life that shall ever be an inspiration. He sealed his devotion to country in his tragic death. His

mortal remains lay enshrined at his old home in Canton, Ohio. May the faith which caused Major William McKinley to love the beautiful words of "Lead Kindly Light" have found him his deserved reward. Immortal he will remain in the minds and hearts of the American people.

The Spanish-American War united in the strange alchemy of comradeship under arms in a righteous cause the hearts of the North and the South, and laid the foundation for national growth into that unity and strength which enabled America to express herself with the force and conviction which wrested victory from defeat in the fields of France in 1918. Among the names on the pages of the History of the Spanish-American War are General Lee, Wheeler, Shafter, Merritt, Lawton and others, famed military leaders from North and South.

By its humanitarian purpose to lift the yoke of tyranny from the oppressed and defenseless, resulting in the liberation of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, and conferring upon their people the benefit of orderly and decent government together with the opportunity of education progress and liberty; the return of our portion of the Chinese Boxer indemnity amounting to \$13,000,000 to be used as a fund to enable Chinese young men and women to come to America and obtain American training and education; the United States initiated in a world way its policy of "International Humanitarianism," assumed a moral leadership among the nations of the world and demonstrated its capacity to protect and enforce that leadership.

The terrible ravages of disease in the armed forces of the United States totalling 5,277 challenged the attention of the military and naval authorities of the United States to the imperative need of proper and efficient sanitary and hospital facilities. This terrible loss of splendid American manhood, with the example of other thousands sent home broken in health and incapacitated for life, purchased that attention to the subjects of sanitation and hospitalization which had progressed at the time of the World War to a point where the personnel of the army and navy were kept in a better state of health than the civilian populace, and enabled the return of between 95 and 97 per cent of all casualties to active duty after treatment. The development of prevention of fever from tropical causes,

one of the results of the war, made possible the building of the Panama Canal and has saved the world untold misery and loss of life by the prevention of plagues and epidemics. These are but a few of the outstanding results flowing from the Spanish-American War.

The total battle losses were 454, of whom 231 fell in the charge of San Juan Hill. My own regiment, the 39th U. S. Vol. Infantry, commanded by Lieut. General Robert L. Bullard, then a colonel of volunteers, served in the Philippines, and out of full strength of 1,272 men lost 300 dead, of whom only 25 died from wounds received in action and the remainder from disease, besides invaliding another 300 home "unfit for further service on account of physical disability" incurred in service, leaving only 672 men able to return on the Transport Lawton to the United States after 16 months service in the Islands. I speak of this regiment as typical and because it is the only one of which I had personal knowledge. I was a private soldier in the outfit and one of those fortunate enough to come back able for duty.

More important than all else resulting from the Spanish-American War was the diversion of the public mind from the obsession for material progress and commercial gain which had so thoroughly rooted itself in American effort, and a patriotic revival which brought to the foreground the higher and finer ideals of character, individual and national. Surely the veterans of the Civil War must have been heartened to see that their sacrifices and those of their comrades had not been in vain. The universal response of the finest young manhood of America to the first and second call of President McKinley for troops, reminded them of the days and the spirit of their own old song as with martial beat and swinging tread they sang "We are coming Father Abraham, 400,000 strong."

In these days of European turmoil, of world instability and dangerous propaganda in our own country seeking to array one group against another, of this Bloc and that Bloc, and everywhere the effort to gain special or group advantage, without regard to the ultimate stability of government and law or economics, nothing can be more important than a recurrence to those elementary virtues which lead men in an unselfish way to commit their strength, their energies and their life if need be for

the security of those guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, like the framers of that great declaration who pledged their "Lives, their property and their sacred honor" to defend and preserve the independence of this nation upon the principles announced.

It matters not what heights of fame or leadership this nation may reach in the financial, commercial and industrial world, if in the achievement of these ambitions she loses the refinement of her national character, formed as it has been by ennobling sacrifices of men and women who through the centuries have peopled our country because they loved it as a haven of opportunity, education and toleration, and who have at every call in sublime faith in its destiny stoutly defended its precepts and its integrity.

If this splendid national heritage of character which is ours, and which in the final analysis must be and is the composite character of the mass of individual citizenry, is to be preserved for posterity it must result from the application to the problems of peace, the same sterling and unselfish patriotism, devotion to ideal and character as we evidence under stress of the emergency of war. Let the patriotism for war with all of its demonstrated capacity for action be the patriotism of peace.

To promote these ends, nothing can be more conducive than a lively appreciation of the sacrifices which have been made on behalf of our beloved country, her aims and hopes, aye her destiny.

The veterans of the Civil War for more than fifty years have been the living preceptors of American Patriotism. The value of their example to rising generations of Americans has been incalculable. The veterans of the Spanish-American War have sought to carry on with the Grand Army of the Republic, and now our ranks swelled by the four million and a half veterans of the World War will be enabled to promote the teachings of loyalty, patriotism and love of country for another fifty years.

If the spirit personified by the service of these veterans shall live in the memories and hearts of our countrymen, surely we need fear no bolshevism or successful disloyalty in our fair land, nor the achievement by any agency of the destruction of those rights and guarantees which insure initiative and con-

structive progress, which assure to thrift and energy just and proper rewards.

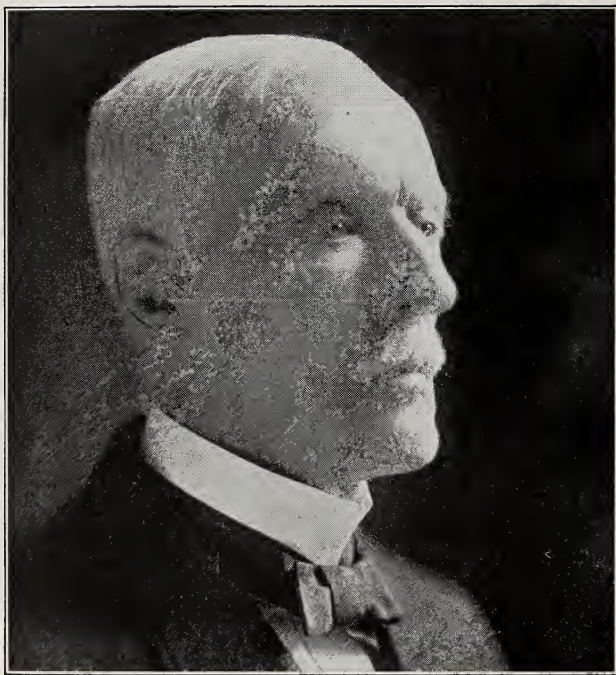
War is devastating and terrible but infinitely more blasting of human hopes and human happiness is that condition where a nation through selfishness and greed of affluence sinks to the level where it no longer is willing to defend with its last farthing, its last gasping breath, the liberties of its people, the guarantees and principles which form the structure of its civic righteousness and character.

"Greater love than this hath no man. He gave his life for another."

In the firm belief that a revival of the memory of the stirring events of 1898 and a just recognition of the service and sacrifices of the "Boys of '98" will be conducive to good citizenship and afford opportunity to renew our devotions at the shrine of our beloved America, we invite and urge participation in these commemorative exercises on the part of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Confederate Veterans, the American Legion and all other patriotic societies and civic bodies.

I quote in closing words from an address at Fort Sumpter, April 12, 1865:

"On this fateful day we again lift to the breeze our fathers' flag, with the fervent prayer that God will crown it with honor, protect it from treason, and send it down to our children with all the blessings of liberty, education and religion. Terrible in battle may it be, beneficent in peace. Happily no bird or beast of prey is inscribed upon it. The stars which redeem the night from darkness and the red beams of light which beautify the morning are united in its folds. So long as the sun shall endure or the stars, may it continue to wave over a nation neither enslaved or enslaving."



JOHN M. LANSDEN.

JOHN McMURRAY LANSDEN.

By THOMAS W. SMITH, D. D.,

On the morning of January 17th, 1923, there passed away at his home in Cairo one of the leading citizens of all southern Illinois. Lawyer, scholar, historian, Christian pillar in this state for almost six decades—John McMurray Lansden needs no encomium to preserve his name in Illinois. He has written it deep in the heart of a great community that has made wonderful progress since he chose it for his field of labor.

Mr. Lansden was of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His great-great-grandfather, Richard King, came from Dublin in 1728, and was a member of the old Tennant Church, Freehold, New Jersey. His King and Lansden ancestors were active in the old Thyatira Church, near Salisbury, North Carolina. His father, Abner Wayne Lansden, was named after Rev. Abner Wayne McCorkle, son of the famous pastor of that church, Rev. Samuel E. McCorkle, and became a minister of the Gospel. His two uncles, James King Lansden and Hugh Bone Lansden were also preachers in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, as were the three brothers of his mother James, Allan and William Gallaher.

Born and reared in North Carolina, Rev. Abner Wayne Lansden afterward crossed the mountains to carry on his ministry in East Tennessee. There he met and afterwards married Mary Miller Gallaher. In 1835 he made another move, this time to Sangamon County, Illinois. Near the western edge of this county his son, John McMurray Lansden, was born on the 12th day of February, 1836. About 1841 Rev. Abner Wayne Lansden purchased a farm near Loami, Illinois, and on this farm his son, the subject of this sketch, grew to manhood, attending the village and district schools. After studying for college at Virginia, Cass County, he went to Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee, in 1858. Doing three years work in two, he was about to enter the senior year

in 1860 when national politics changed his plan. The feelings of the southern states were wrought to such a pitch over the election of Abraham Lincoln that Mr. Lansden, being a union man opposed to slavery, decided to attend Illinois College, Jacksonville. Here he was graduated in June, 1861. During the next three years Mr. Lansden taught in the public schools of Menard and Sangamon counties and served as superintendent of schools at Centralia, Illinois. He must have been reading law also during this period for he entered Albany Law School (New York) in 1864 and was graduated in 1865. The same year he was admitted to practise in Illinois and in 1866 he decided to settle in Cairo, whose future seemed to him destined to be linked with commercial greatness.

For fifty seven years Mr. Lansden practised law. He was a member of the firms of "Olney, McKeaig, and Lansden"; "O'Melveny and Lansden"; "Linegar and Lansden"; and "Mulkey, Linegar, and Lansden", which firm continued until Judge Mulkey was elected to the Supreme Court of Illinois. From 1887 to 1908 Angus Leek was associated with Mr. Lansden, the firm name being Lansden and Leek. In 1908 Mr. Lansden and his oldest son, David S. Lansden, established the partnership of "Lansden and Lansden", which continued to the time of the father's death. Early admitted to practise in the Supreme Courts of Illinois and Kentucky, Mr. Lansden also appeared before the United States Supreme tribunal more than once. It was there that he carried the case of the City of Cairo against the Illinois Central Railroad Company, following the building of the Cairo bridge, when it was sought to compel the Illinois Central under its charter to run all its passenger trains into the depot at Cairo. For thirty-five years he was district counsel of the "Mobile and Ohio Railroad" for the states of Illinois and Kentucky. In his Memorial Address Hon. Walter Warder, speaking for the Alexander County Bar, said "Among the leaders of the bar of southern Illinois I recall those whom I knew personally; David J. Baker and John H. Mulkey, afterwards members of the supreme court of Illinois; Willard Wall, member of the Illinois Appellate court; William H. Green, judge of the circuit court; David T. Linegar, noted as a criminal lawyer; S. P. Wheeler, eminent railroad lawyer; W. J. Allen, judge of the U. S. District court;

and William B. Gilbert, the latter being the only one of them all who is now living. They were a brilliant constellation of legal stars. As a lawyer I believe that John M. Landsen was the peer of any man amongst them." He was an honored member of the Illinois State Bar Association and of the American Bar Association, of the Illinois State Historical Society, and one of the oldest members of the Alpha Delta Phi college fraternity.

Mr. Landsen was averse to seeking public office. He was city attorney of Cairo for one term in 1870 and Mayor from 1871 to 1873. One office, however, he did hold for many years and that was treasurer of school funds. He might have been elected to the bench, had he been willing to run. He had every fitness for that office—deep knowledge of the law, a fearless sense of fairness, and passion for arriving at the facts of a case. It was this that won for him the honorary title of "Judge Landsen". One of the many judges before whom he tried cases said "He was the fairest minded lawyer that ever appeared in my court." The Alexander County Bar in its memorial said "As a lawyer Mr. Landsen ranked among the best. A clean concise thinker, with excellent judgment, he was an exceptional counselor, and his advice was constantly sought by both lawyers and laymen. As an advocate he presented his case in a logical, clear cut, precise manner, that secured the attention of judge and jury and usually won his suit. In pleading he was strong, resourceful and complete in detail; in demeanor he represented the older type of dignified, courteous, gentlemanly lawyers, not so common in the more practical America of today."

Such are the bare outlines of this long professional career. To understand what filled in these outlines—what ambitions to serve his fellowmen, what energy of moral conviction, what devotion to legal principles, what lofty ideals for his community, what zeal as a scholar, what enthusiasm of faith and loyalty to religion—to know these we should have had to mingle in the innermost circles of his friends and fire-side and to account for them we should have to search the Scotch-Irish fountains of his faith and the Covenanter bed-rock of his courage. His heritage was of the preached Gospel, but the deep-rooted purpose of his soul was to enforce the laws

of righteousness. Most gentle and quiet-spoken in disposition and shrinking from all notoriety—yet whenever it came to a struggle for a law-abiding community John M. Lansden, like Jeremiah of old, became “an iron pillar and brazen walls”. If civic decency was at stake, he gave not a snap of his finger for popularity or unpopularity. In any hour, under any circumstances he could be trusted to lift his voice and his hand in behalf of a bigger, busier, and better Cairo. For he had a community soul—“that tower of strength, which stood four-square to all the winds that blew.”

Back of such a life of disinterested service must lie a vital religious faith. He became a member of the Presbyterian Church of Cairo in 1867 and was chosen an elder in 1868. For over fifty years he was an office bearer and faithful attendant. Numbers of times he represented his church in Presbytery and several times his Presbytery in General Assembly. To him religion was no mere conventional garb or form of pious words. In deep reverence he communed and listened and then went forth “to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God”. That was why he was a “salt” that did not lose “its savor.” That was why his righteousness retained its fine edge. That was why Mr. Warder could say “He was the soul of honor in all of his personal and professional dealings with his associates.” That was why his very shadow carried help and healing to many a humble life in Cairo.

So deeply interwoven were his toils and ambitions with the development of Cairo and Alexander County that he felt an urge to write a history of that development as he had lived through it for over forty years. In 1910, therefore, he published a “History of Cairo, Illinois” of some 300 pages. This work evinces laborious sifting of material, breadth of historic perspective, and a literary skill that only years of study could achieve. Spending much time and money to get at the old records in Washington and Springfield, Mr. Lansden traced the early settlements in “the Illinois Country”; showed how the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers was seized upon, even in 1818, as of strategic importance; described the floating of “The Cairo City and Canal Company” in 1836, looking to the building of a great city; narrated the baleful visit of Charles Dickens in 1842; sketched the slow growth of improvements up

to 1846, then the coming of the Illinois Central Railroad Company about 1854 and with it the new life, and finally the incorporation of the present city of Cairo in 1857. The story of the conquest of the two mighty rivers and their high waters by the building of ever mightier levees is a romance of indomitable faith and pluck. It suggests Nehemiah building the walls of Jerusalem, menaced day and night by Sanballat and Tobiah. It was more like the Dutch burgers casting up dykes and plucking their homes and fields out of the hungry waves of the North Sea, for the heroes of Cairo carried on their battle for over forty years. By faith they builded, by faith they held fast, by faith they invested, by faith they established homes and founded a "city which hath the foundations". It was by faith in God and man. And this faith was finely embodied in John M. Landsen. But he had a partner.

In 1867 Mr. Landsen was united in marriage to Miss Effie W. Smith, daughter of Hon. David A. Smith of Jacksonville. Being a gifted singer and musician she proved a rare acquisition to the church life and the musical circles of Cairo. Her power of imparting her art and her high social gifts contributed splendidly to the culture of her adopted city. But it was her abounding hopefulness and intrepid spirit that sustained her husband in the calm and unwavering faith he had in Cairo and in all holy causes. Passing away in 1907, she left a family of four daughters and two sons, all of whom, except two, have continued to be real factors in the progress of their city. The oldest, David S. Landsen, is prominent not only at the bar but in many enterprises in Cairo. John M., Jr., is in the manufacture of automobiles in New York City. Mrs. Mary Landsen Bates lives in Chicago, where her husband, Robert P. Bates, is head of the Chicago Latin School. Miss Effie A. Landsen is the librarian, in charge of the "Safford Memorial Library," Cairo. The Misses Emma and Margaret Landsen have been the home keepers and closest companions of their father since the death of their mother.

A beautiful home life had this father, one radiant with affection, sweet with humor, inspired with visions of service, and a center of study and research. The library workshop in his residence on Fifth Street bore evidence of his wide culture and the thoroughness of his work. It may be true, as some

affirmed, that "he was the best informed man in Cairo." Yet always unassuming, eager to learn, and relentless in the pursuit of facts he never counted himself to have attained. In manner he was perhaps the gentlest man in Cairo. One could not but think of Chaucer's lines,

"And of his port as meeke as is a mayde.
He never yet no vileynye ne sayde
In al his lyf unto no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit, gentil knyght."

Erect and straight as an Indian chieftain he walked the streets of his chosen city for over fifty years—"O good gray head which all men knew!" And this erectness was his attitude of soul! Ancient scripture has once more come true "By the blessing of the upright the city is exalted." "Full of experience" ('said the Memorial of the Bar) "our friend and brother departed to appear before the Bar of God." Shall that experience be wasted? we ask. Shall it not be put into the service of a greater city? Gathered by fearless adherence to what is right, tho' that often led through perplexing clouds, can the experience of John M. Lansden possibly come to naught or be in vain? Nay, those who have humbly followed Jesus Christ as he did oftentimes through much darkness, know and shall always know the psalmist's words richly to be verified—"Light is sown for the righteous and gladness for the upright in heart". And the Bar of God has no terror for those who "enter in by the narrow gate" for "The upright shall dwell in Thy Presence."

THE PIONEERS OF MACON COUNTY AND THE CIVIL WAR.

By N. M. BAKER.

In a paper recently read before the Macon County Historical Society, it was shown by the records that as late as 1840, at least, three-fourths of the people in Macon County were emigrants from Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee. If this was true of Macon County, it must have been true that southern blood predominated to as great, if not even to a greater extent, throughout the whole of southern Indiana and southern Illinois. Near the Ohio River there would be more who were native born, for these sections were first occupied; but they were still of southern parentage, and nearness to the border would keep the old ties unbroken, while toward the northern limit of this southern overflow, as in Macon County, the people had left the south so recently that the old home ties had not had time to wither. If we fully realize the character of this population, whence it came, how near it lay to Mason and Dixon's line and how recently it had crossed that line into Indiana and Illinois, we will be able to understand why the abolitionary sentiment of this whole region was weak and never of the New England type; and also why, a little more than twenty years later, when the whole country was in the throes of the Civil War, there was enough active sympathy for the southern cause to prompt the formation of secret orders to discourage enlistments, to hinder the forwarding of supplies to the army, to resist the draft, and even at times to threaten armed insurrection behind the military lines.

It must be remembered that these people were not from the far south. The slavery that they had seen and known was of a very mild, patriarchal character. I can illustrate by my own family. My maternal grandfather was a slave holder in a small way, and yet like many other men so situated he did not believe in slavery nor wish to perpetuate it. He had inherited this human property and could see nothing better to do than to

provide for it and treat it kindly. There was a negro man, Silas; a woman, Rose; and Jesse, Rose's son. My grandfather and uncles went to the field with the colored man, worked as long as he did, and required nothing harder of him than they did themselves. The same was true in the house. My grandmother and her daughters spun and wove and did their full share of the work with the colored woman. The boy Jesse, who was lame, was near my mother's age, and was her playmate in childhood. He was taught to read and write, and for years after my parents came to Macon County he kept in touch with them, not only by sending messages when the white folks wrote, but by writing letters himself. When my mother wrote to her people she always inquired after the welfare of these slaves as carefully as of her own brothers and sisters, and I still have an old letter written by my grandmother, telling of the death of one of my uncles, and how at his request Rose and Jesse were called to the bedside to receive his blessing and last farewell. To be sure, all these people in Tennessee were very shadowy to me, for I had never seen any of them; but from the letters that passed and from my mother's talk of the old home to which I listened, I received the impression that Silas and Jesse and Rose were as much a part of my grandfather's family as were my aunts and uncles.

This, then, was the idea of slavery in its practical working that I received as I was growing up, here in Macon County, and in the same way a similar impression was being made in a thousand other homes in Indiana and Illinois; and no matter how much we of the second generation might come to dislike slavery in after years, and no matter how determined we might be that it should not be extended into the territories, we never could be brought to hate indiscriminately all holders of slaves, or to feel that they were on that account sinners above all other men.

Then here is another fact to be considered. Families do not usually all move together to a new country. Usually those who are best established hold fast where they are, and it is only those who are most energetic or least well provided for that push on into the unoccupied territory. Thus it happened that we, the children of the pioneers, had a long line of relatives extending back through Kentucky or Tennessee to the Caro-

linas and even to Virginia, growing more and more shadowy all the way. I, for instance, had three families of full cousins in Macon County, but I had six families of full cousins in Tennessee, and whether or not I had kinfolk in North Carolina, my great-grandfather's grave was there; and so it was in thousands of other homes in Indiana and Illinois. As sure as blood is thicker than water, our sympathies, thoughts, and interests were turned southward rather than to the north or east.

Of course the pioneers brought their politics with them, and retained their confidence in the leaders whom they had been accustomed to trust and follow: equally of course we, their sons, accepted their political faith without question. My cousins and I raised hickory poles sporting pokeberry-stained flags in 1844, and were staunch supporters of the war with Mexico, mustering loyally with tin swords and wooden guns, though since then I have come to look upon that war with grave suspicion. I suspect now that if there had not been a desire among the southern leaders for more territory that might be converted into slave states, that war had never been. We of the second generation, being less bound by association and less warped by prejudice than our fathers, began to be disturbed by the demands and aggressions of the slave power before our fathers were. We disliked slavery and gradually became resolved that it should not be extended into the territories. I think that I and most of my Macon County cousins would have voted for Fremont in 1856 if we had been of voting age, but our fathers, though uneasy and disturbed, held fast to their old political moorings. They no more wanted slavery extended than we did, but they could not believe that the southern leaders really meant to disrupt the Union.

In the meantime it became evident to us that conditions were changing in the south itself, that the relations between master and man were not as they had formerly been. My grandparents were dead, the cousins were in control. Jesse ceased to write, and my mother's inquiries were but indifferently answered if answered at all. The wife of one of my uncles paid us a visit, and my mother, still concerned for the welfare of her old playmate, asked her direct if Jesse had books and papers and was permitted to read and write. She was

answered, "Oh, no, no, he would not appreciate such things at all;" and mother was vexed, for she knew that he would appreciate them, and she sadly realized that Jesse was being taught to know his place. We could not help seeing that the slave power was more tightly riveting the chains of its victims where it already ruled, as well as reaching out to lay its hands on Kansas.

In 1860 the crisis was upon us, and in the midst of commotion and threats of war we had to decide. A companion said to me, "I shall vote for Lincoln, but if I believed there would be war if he is elected, I would not do it." I answered, "I believe there will be war, and I shall vote for Lincoln all the same. It has to come, and surely it will be more manly for us to fight it out ourselves than to hand it on to our children." That young man did vote for Lincoln, and there was war. He helped to fight it out, and bore the scars of the battle to his dying day. I think my father voted for Lincoln, though I am not certain; but at any rate, when South Carolina seceded and Sumpter was fired on, he threw off all his allegiance to the south and its ideals, and to the end supported the government heart and soul. But we were not Abolitionists. Lincoln, being one of us, gave full voice to our creed. If we could have saved the Union without disturbing slavery in the states where it was, we would have done it. Indeed, to have called a man an Abolitionist in Macon County, up to and even after the beginning of the war, would have been to have used the most opprobrious epithet that could be applied to him. When the crisis came, the pioneers, and to a lesser extent we, their sons, found ourselves in an impossible position, caught, as it seemed, between the Devil and the deep sea. We could no more train with the Abolitionists of New England than we could with the fire-eaters of the south. We needed some middle ground, some compromise that might stay the strife. I do not think that the position of these good old pioneers had been fully appreciated. They had only been out of the south from twenty to forty years; constant intercourse with the homeland had been kept up, the ties that bound them to the homes where they were born had never been broken. Now what did it involve on their part, to support the government in its attempt to coerce these

seceding states? Why, they must renounce their ideal of the absolute sovereignty of the individual state; they must cut themselves off from and war against their kindred; they must dethrone their political gods; and, probably hardest of all, they must join hands and cooperate with the Abolitionists of New England, whom they most heartily hated and despised. Instead of being surprised that so many of them could not bring themselves to these things, the greater wonder is that so many did rise above prejudice and party and do them. I have some conception of the travail of soul that this required, as I witnessed it in my father and in my neighbors. And may we not spare a little sympathy for those good old men who could not bring themselves to it? They had some gleams of joy in national disasters, to be sure, but many a sad day as well. Their position was exactly that of the hyphenated German of the World War, only that instead of the trouble being three thousand miles away across the ocean it was only a hundred miles or so across the Ohio.

There was a naval battle on the Mississippi, in sight of Memphis, Tennessee, in the course of which two Confederate gunboats came into collision, practically destroying both of them. An account of this action was being read aloud to a company of interested listeners; when the destruction of these two boats was reached, one old man who was inclined to conceal his opinions betrayed where his heart was by exclaiming impulsively, "Oh, what a pity, what a pity!" just as doubtless many of the people of Memphis exclaimed who witnessed the event. Two of this man's sons volunteered in the Macon County Regiment, the 116th. One of them died, and the other, from the lack of home sympathy or possibly in response to home letters, deserted. He was never apprehended or punished, but lived quietly here in Decatur till his death not many years ago. Of course he never attended regimental reunions or had any part in our fellowship. There was another man of this hyphenated sort, who applied the ancient prophecies to passing events. The forces were being gathered at Cairo for the opening of the Mississippi River, and everyone knows that the southern part of this State is called Egypt. This man derived great satisfaction and comfort from Hosea the ninth chapter and part of the

sixth verse, "Egypt shall gather them up, Memphis shall bury them." What could be more certain than that a great disaster was to befall the Union forces at Memphis, Tennessee. Backed by this sure word of prophecy, he told me in his own house that he believed the South would win, and that he wanted it to win. But when Memphis fell after a short naval battle, he was greatly perturbed; had he been mocked by a lying prophet? He hastily sent his boys off to California, where they would be safe from any prospective draft. Now this was a good man, had been a good citizen before the war, was a good citizen after war. We may be sorry for his temporary obsession, but should we be very much surprised that he was so obsessed?

There was another man whose case was somewhat different. He had inherited a bunch of slaves in the South. Of course they had been left in the South, and their owner received a thousand dollars a year as their hire. Human nature being what it is, could we expect that this man would encourage enlistments? Need we wonder that none of his sons entered the Union Army? Should it be very surprising if he used some influence on the other side? When we were down in Alabama, Jacob Cross, who like myself had attended school at the Emerson Schoolhouse, showed me a letter which he had just received, telling him that being in the army was a bad thing, and suggesting that he would be made safe if he should get out of it the quickest way possible. This man's name was signed to that letter, and I believe it to have been his genuine signature, though I could not swear to it. Oh, there were plenty of such letters written! Well, be it said to the credit of Jacob Cross that he did not take the hint, but went with Sherman to the sea, and was blown up into the air a little too high for comfort by the explosion of a torpedo during the successful assault on Fort McAlister.

The original pioneers did not have quite all the sacrifices to make. We, their sons, also had to face some unpleasant contingencies when we determined to give active support to the government by entering the military service. We knew that there would be more of our cousins in the Confederate Army than in the Union Army, for there were more of them there to go; and they were certain to be in it, for they had inherited their military spirit from the same ancestors as ourselves. We

did not hate these cousins, we did not want to kill them, nor have them kill us, for that matter. We thought them wrong, and yet we suspected that if we had been born where they were born, and had been surrounded by the same influences, we would be doing just as they were; for there are few men who can stand up against the overwhelming opinion of the community in which they live. But what could we do? Here were our misguided cousins planning to take away from us the whole sunny south, which belonged to us as much as it did to them, and they were going to turn it into a foreign country, so that we should have to get passports before we could go to see the old homes of our parents or the graves of our ancestors. No, we could not let them do it; and notwithstanding the unpleasant possibilities of the situation, we were ready, "with charity for all and malice toward none," to swear Jackson's great oath, "By the Eternal, the Federal Union shall be preserved," and to make that oath good by every needful sacrifice. Well, I believe the Army of the Tennessee made as good a record as the Army of the Potomac. We had a stiff fight, as we expected to have, for the blood of our foemen was our own blood, and you know the old proverb, "When Greek meets Greek." But oh, how glad we were when it was over, and how heartily we would have supported Lincoln's liberal plan of reconstruction if he could but have lived to put it into execution; for to defeat our cousins and to hold fast to the country they were about to take away from us seemed sufficient. We saw no good in humiliating them more than was necessary. Though we were not Abolitionists, we welcomed the Emancipation Proclamation when it came; the line of events was compelling. But when the ballot was given at once to these so recent slaves we knew that it was a mistake as surely then as we know it now, for we had taken the mental measure of those slaves in the far South as well as in the border states.

While we were reasoning with these Confederate cousins of ours south of Mason and Dixon's line, what was going on back in our native states? If the Union armies could have been raised by a selective draft from the very beginning, it might have saved much trouble at home; but as volunteers were called for, it was inevitable that the loyal men should go and that the hyphenated men should stay at home. As regiment

after regiment was organized and sent to the front, these hyphenated citizens came dangerously near being a majority of all that were left behind; and as the prospect of Confederate success became more and more hopeless, this inimical population in our rear became more and more active. It elected an opposition Legislature in Illinois, which obstructed the loyal activities of the Governor as far as it possibly could; but it was not till after Vicksburg and Gettysburg had practically sealed the doom of the Confederacy that the extreme danger point was reached in Illinois and Indiana. Vallandigham was openly defying the government by his incendiary and disloyal utterances. Semi-military posts of the Knights of the Golden Circle were widespread. There was a wild scheme for liberating and arming the thousands of Confederate prisoners confined in the great prison camp near Chicago, and it was thought by some that with the aid of the disloyal elements by the way this body of veteran soldiers could force its way along the line of the Central Railroad to Cairo and so into the Confederacy, leaving a wide swath of desolation behind it. Loyal soldiers needed elsewhere had to guard important bridges and culverts on the railroads in Indiana and Illinois, just as though these roads passed through an enemy's country. Rumors of these critical conditions reached us in the army through the papers, and, even more disturbing, through letters from home.

After the Vicksburg campaign, in September, 1863, the 15th Corps was being reorganized at Camp Sherman; I wished to see the actual state of things for myself, and obtained a leave of absence for twenty days. I left camp on September 16th, and reached Decatur, by way of the Mississippi River and Central Railroad, a little before sunset on the evening of September 24th. From that date till October 9th I was very busy seeing my friends and learning all that I could as to the condition of the country and state of public opinion. I found the Knights of the Golden Circle very bold and very disloyal. They felt strong enough to be defiant. I met several of them on East Main Street in this city, and they cursed me openly and bitterly, calling me among other uncomplimentary things, a "Lincoln Hireling" because I wore the uniform of my country and was in its service. I found that the loyal men still left in the country were also organized in the secret society of the

Union League. I was inducted into this society the same evening that I reached Decatur, Jerome Gorin being the officer in charge. It was from him that I received its grips and signs and pass words. I was glad to find that these men were armed and watchful. Military companies were organized in many neighborhoods, the officers being commissioned by the Governor of the State. My old friend Thomas Moffett commanded such a company near Boody, and these companies composed a regiment of which William Rea was Colonel. My brother, the Rev. William P. Baker, was a member of this regiment. These organizations were not uniformed, nor were they spoken of openly. There was no desire to provoke a conflict, they were simply a provision against a probable insurrection precipitated by the other side. The Knights of the Golden Circle were also organized into military companies. They were known to be drilling in secret halls and by night in the open fields. I could give the name of the captain of one of these companies, and I know where a Vollandigham flag was still stored a short time ago, as a memento, by the son of the man who used it for what certainly looked like disloyal purposes. But while I would like to give the name of every man that did loyal service for the country at that trying time, I think it best to name no names on the other side. I want to preserve the facts as a matter of history, but wish to connect no man's name with the disloyal deeds that made these facts possible; for these men were good citizens before the war, they were good citizens after the war, and their children and grandchildren are still with us.

I found that practically every man who whole-heartedly supported the Union cause in Long Creek Township, where my home was, was a member of the Union League, Judge Charles Emerson, who was then living on his farm, being their leader. Their meetings were in private houses, as being less liable to disturbance from the outside. When they met at my father's house, (it being a secret society and women not admitted), my mother and sister were supposed to stay upstairs; but they had as well taken mother into full council, for having a full share of mother Eve's audacity, and a well-founded belief that she had a right to know all that went on in her own house, she was accustomed to stand on the lower step, just inside a door which as not too tightly closed, and thus kept herself fully informed

of all their acts and doings. To be sure, she was as loyal as any of them and would no more have betrayed their secrets than the wisest councillor of them all.

To put it plainly, then, in the fall of 1863 the people of this county felt as though they were living in the midst of high explosives that might go off at any moment. There were outbreaks in Montgomery County, in Bond County, and one that threatened to be serious in Coles County, and both Union Leaguers and Knights of the Circle started from here in hot haste to reinforce their respective partizans; but the riot was quelled before they reached their destination. There is a sequel to this that illustrates a marked characteristic of those times. One of the Knights that started for the Coles County conflict was a minister, and in due time the facts were laid before the Presbytery, with the suggestion that he be prosecuted for unministerial and unchristian conduct. There was a division of sentiment on unexpected lines. Some of the members of Presbytery who had not been at the front, but whose righteous souls had been vexed for months by the unrighteous deeds of these disturbers of the peace, felt that the man ought to be tried and censured, and the record spread on the Presbyterial minutes; while some others of us, who had been at the front and had fought our battle out in the open, were disposed to pass the matter over as just one of the many impulsive and foolish things that had been done during those trying days, and to vote that nothing more should be said about it. This incident illustrates the well known fact that the home guards on each side of the line held their bitterness longer and found it much harder to forget and forgive than did those who had faced each other on the battle front.

A few incidents will show how raw and jumpy was the public nerve at this time. A rumor spread through Mt. Zion Township that the Knights of the Golden Circle had taken armed possession of Decatur, and without stopping to consider the probabilities of its truth, a number of good citizens, like the Minute men of old, grabbed their guns, mounted their horses, and rode post-haste to the relief of the countyseat. The fact that the rumor was false does not detract in the least from the merit of the quick rally for defense. My old friend Frank Scott, of Mt. Zion Township, was one of this prompt company.

After a meeting of representatives of Rea's regiment, at the home of their Colonel in Oakley Township, the men were returning to their homes, not in a body, but by twos and threes on various roads. My brother and James Kanaday, a neighbor, were riding together through the timber, when Kanaday, rather thoughtlessly, fired his revolver at a rabbit. In less than twenty minutes more than twenty men had concentrated at the point where the shot was fired. A large open-air gathering of the opposition clans was held in Long Creek Township. The orator was a man of ability, well skilled, like Brutus, to stir men's hearts and make the worse appear the better reason. Of course the war was proclaimed a failure, Lincoln and all his works condemned, and the audience incited to resist government exactions just so far as the speaker could go without putting himself in danger of military arrest. General Richard J. Oglesby was at home then, recovering from a serious wound. He was sufficiently convalescent to ride about the country, and it so happened that just as the speaker finished his fiery address, General Oglesby came riding by on his way from Lovington to Decatur. The sight of his uniform was to that crowd like the traditional red rag. There was a rush to the road, the carriage was stopped and surrounded, and pistols were flourished in the midst of threats and curses. Anyone who knew Oglesby will know what he did, return curse for curse with interest, and with set jaw defy the crowd. Cooler heads quickly intervened, the road was opened, the carriage released, and the General rode on unharmed. That was a public meeting, a good sprinkling of members of the Union League were there to hear and observe. Evidently this was but a sporadic outburst, unpremeditated and without purpose; yet all that was needed to precipitate a bloody riot that day was for one half-drunk, excited fool to pull a trigger.

But was there any serious danger after all? Were there preparations made, and a set purpose to strike a disorganizing blow in the rear if ever conditions at the front should seem to make the success of such a movement possible, or was it all bluster on one side and nerves and imagination on the other? Who shall say? But would Thomas Moffett of Blue Mound Township have been drilling men in the dark had he not believed that that other company drilling in the dark had a

definite hostile purpose? Were Jerome Gorin and James Millikin the sort of men that would arm themselves and keep watchful guard unless they felt certain there was an active enemy in their midst? Go and look at the picture of Judge Emerson as it hangs up in the courthouse, and say whether a man like that would be likely to brace himself and his neighbors to stand up against the threatened shock of nothing more substantial than a shadow. The present generation will never realize how near we came to insurrection and civil strife right here in Macon County in the fall and winter of 1863, or how critical conditions remained until after the presidential of 1864, when the triumphant return of Lincoln to power cut off the last hope of the enemy behind the lines.

**MARRIAGES PERFORMED BY REV. N. M. BAKER IN
MACON COUNTY, ILLINOIS—1861-1921.**

Silas H. Gepford and Margaret Jane Wheeler, August 15,
1861.

Robert N. Baker and Sylvira Gilpin, October 24, 1861.

Abraham L. Metzler and Nancy Adaline Black, April 15,
1862.

Milton Z. Davis and Emma Eichinger, September 13, 1864.

Jeremiah P. Nicholson and Catharine A. Wallace, January
26, 1865.

John Herman and Lydia E. Sandham, February 2, 1865.

Zenas R. Prather and Florence L. McDonald, June 1, 1865.

Frederick Schwab and Ann A. Culver, July 17, 1865.

Harrison B. Bacon and Eunice C. Hawkins, September 3,
1865.

Jacob F. Black and Maggie J. Scott, August 16, 1866.

Robert Cook and Lydia A. Zinn, January 1, 1867.

Chas. A. Stewart and Eliza A. Davis, September 19, 1867.

James Jones and Louisa Nicholson, date unknown. Prob-
ably outside county.

James W. Myers and Mary J. Sanders, November 28, 1867.

William Herman and Mary Goodpasture, January 10, 1869.

Lewis Sanders and Jane M. Davis, October 5, 1871.

Thomas C. Travis and Mary R. McGinnis, December 4, 1871.

Henry Grantham and Laura J. Davidson, April 17, 1873.

Martin J. Lindsey and Lydia A. Travis, August 7, 1873.

Benjamin F. Hector and Rebecca A. Scott, August 21, 1873.

J. Edgar Davis and Martha A. Bell, October 9, 1873.

David A. Wilson and Ida M. White, April 9, 1874.

Reuben J. Ross and Sarah A. Wilson, December 9, 1874.

William L. Riber and Louvenia C. Foley, May 20, 1875.

Thomas B. Travis and Linnie L. Davidson, October 21,
1875.

Andrew M. Haynes and Nancy Goodpasture, January 27,
1876.

William H. Rannebarger and Mary E. Wilson, February 24, 1876.

G. Selwin Allison and Ellen E. Mariner, May 2, 1876.

William H. Houseworth and Clara Markley, August 17, 1876.

Abner P. Cobb and Marilla M. Dennis, August 22, 1876.

James M. Horton and Mary J. Wheeler, October 19, 1876.

Virgil D. Ross and Sarah E. D. Taylor, December 10, 1876.

Martin B. Harner and Julia A. Chance, January 11, 1877.

William M. Dickey and Jennie M. Tucker, February 13, 1877. (Outside Macon County.)

Martin VanBuren Lonergan and Mary Jane Wilson, November 14, 1878.

Bartley Goren Henry and Mary Ann Cowan, January 9, 1879.

George Washington Jones and Nannie Cedora Hodge, February 26, 1879.

William Calvin Baker and Mary Gillispie, March 19, 1879.

Charles Andrew Heckel and Minerva Ellen Clark, July 3, 1879.

Jacob Albert Price and Nancy Ann Ferre, October 2, 1879.

Joseph Armstrong and Fidilla Elizabeth Spangler, October 29, 1879.

Samuel Adams Price and Laura Bell Cox, April 8, 1880.

Andrew Ferdinand McDonald and Frances Lacell Davidson, April 15, 1880.

James Allison Rucker and Catherine Josephine Merritt, August 18, 1880.

Charles D. Stearns and Proctor Bell Nicholson, September 30, 1880.

William Raker Wynn and Sarah Antoinette Sanders, October 21, 1880.

Augustus Reeser and Effie Bell Briggs, December 21, 1880.

Leander Baley Disney and Mary Ellen Fulk, January 3, 1881.

William Horton Rucker and Ellen Veech, January 13, 1881.

Leander Levi Wheeler and Maryettie Matilda Rucker, February 24, 1881.

Thomas Hugh Grantham and Mary Isabel Elliott, September 16, 1881.

William Hodson and Catherine Fick, November 1, 1881.

Charles Jacob Pettyjohn and Nancy Bell Roberts, December 21, 1881.

Joseph Rankin Tedford and Emma Catherine Riber, December 29, 1881.

Lewis C. Ruddock and Jennie Merritt, January 23, 1882.

Thomas Grundy Cheatham and Catherine Alice Elder, January 26, 1882.

Joseph F. Helmick, and Zuritha Marilla Wilson, May 25, 1882.

William Morrison Henry and Mary Ellen Henderson, May 31, 1882.

Benedict Martin Brookshier and Rosetta Viola Price, December 9, 1882.

Leonidas Equa Morris and Clara Ann Talitha Davis, December 21, 1882.

Benjamin Franklin Jennings and Myrtie Ellis Wheeler, February 21, 1883.

William J. Applegate and Letitia C. Davidson, May 31, 1883.

Arthur C. Dresback and Ada Wallace, July 5, 1883.

Benjamin Franklin Travis and Samara E. Glazebrook, August 9, 1883.

Marvin Davis Kizer and Nettie Wallace, August 9, 1883.

Aaron D. Peel and Sarah C. Bateman, November 8, 1883.

Logan D. Davidson and Jennie Brownlee, December 6, 1883.

Charles Britton and Julia Armstrong, April 24, 1884.

Ewing Allison Baker and Tillie Davidson, January 27, 1885.

James H. Calver and Mary L. Wheeler, January 28, 1885.

William C. Smith and Mary E. Smith, March 17, 1885.

James M. McVey and Eliza J. Etchison, July 26, 1885.

Joseph C. Myers and Hattie Meril Nicholson, August 30, 1885.

George R. Merritt and Eliza Alsbury, September 3, 1885.

Lewis Elliott and Adell Turner, November 8, 1885.

William Badget and Minnie Bateman, November 19, 1885.

- John A. Merritt and Phoebe A. Horton, December 31, 1885.
William Stoner and Bettie Davis, October 13, 1886.
Edward G. Reeser and Mary C. Williams, January 12, 1887.
Joseph O. Merritt and Ada Veech, February 17, 1887.
James Hutchens and Viola Cochran, March 9, 1887.
Edwin Wright Allen and Mary H. Moffett, September 1, 1887.
Samuel B. Waldorf and Hattie Henry, September 28, 1887.
Joseph L. Reavis and Etta A. Barnett, November 24, 1887.
Thomas Goodpasture and Ada F. Rucker, August 9, 1888.
John A. Veech and Clara Bowman, September 12, 1888.
Eli Schroll and Estella M. Peck, September 23, 1888.
Edwin P. Hall and Leonora Antoinetta Moffett, October 10, 1888.
Ezra Troutman and Sallie Sheets, October 11, 1888.
Charles A. Rucker and Maggie J. Ulrich, October 14, 1888.
Elmer Coombs and Gertie Alice Roberts, December 20, 1888.
Robert Franklin Hill and Laura Bell Price, February 26, 1890.
Henry Harpstrite and Ida B. Stahl, October 9, 1890.
John Hamman and Louie L. Davis, November 19, 1890.
Grant Barnett and Bertha Goodpasture, January 21, 1891.
George E. Florey and Elsie B. Rucker, August 23, 1891.
J. A. Draper and ——— Vowel, September 20, 1891.
Edker Bell and Laura Alice Davis, December 30, 1891.
Charles C. Cox and Jessie E. Davidson, September 1, 1892.
Thomas H. Foster and Frances L. Foley, June 28, 1893.
James B. Spangler and Elpha Carter, August 23, 1893.
Samuel Markley and Louisa Harpstrite, September 20, 1893.
William D. Moffett and Anna M. Cottle, February 1, 1894.
William N. Rugh and Elizabeth A. Moffett, February 7, 1894.

- David C. Myers and Luetta May Davis, September 15, 1897.
Ira B. McMurty and *Lillie Winifred Stewart, June 12, 1900.
William Thomas Burrill and Florence Floatie Baker, November 8, 1900.
Arthur D. Brewer and Laura E. Wright, August 30, 1902.
Hallie J. Sutton and Viva Odor, March 22, 1905.
Ora E. Waymire and *Nellie Price, June 6th, 1905.
George Oscar Thomas and *Bertha Mabel Price, October 18, 1905.
Hugh Martin and *Silva Ross, June 18, 1907.
Robert Carpenter and *Iva Bell Price, April 21, 1908.
Milton W. Thompson and *Frances L. Price, June 28, 1910.
Granver Bonds and Goldie Denson, January 23, 1912.
*Russell T. Merritt and Birdie Bonds, January 24, 1912.
Everett B. Simpson and Dessie D. Spencer, August 5, 1912.
Reed McKinley Holcomb and *Zoe Marie Myers, June 30, 1914.
Earl B. Brock and *Regina L. Price, June 26, 1915.
William J. Veech and Dottie P. Bonds, December 24, 1918.
Maurice D. Partelow and Ruth May Thomas, March 2, 1920.
Melvin Hoots and Dorothy E. Nickey, March 27, 1920.
William Nelson Mayberry and *Bertha May Rucker, September 16, 1920.
Berthel L. Owens and Ethel M. Camp, May 31, 1921.

* The stars indicate that their parents had been married by Rev. N. M. Baker.

Decatur, Ill.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber,
Springfield, Illinois.
Dear Mrs. Weber:

I am sending you the list of marriages and hope they will prove of value to you. From 1878 my father kept a written record of the marriages as they took place. Some few years before his death he wrote from memory a list of the ones he had performed before that year. The dates, and in some cases the Christian names, I supplied from the county records last winter, and was much interested to find that he had not omitted a single one. Father never solicited marriages as ministers often did in those days, and his pastorates were all in country churches, so that the number is really quite large all things being considered. He retired from active service on account of his health about 1894, and after that those who came to him were mostly children of old friends. In many cases he had married the parents of one or the other of the parties. He married one couple and each of their five daughters in the course of time.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

CLARA MARTIN BAKER.

SOME SIDELIGHTS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF STARK COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

By WILLIAM H. JACKSON, Toulon, Illinois.

The historian pursuing that elusive idea called truth is happy when, after collecting all available material, the testimony of the sources supplement each other so completely that he can declare "Thus must this event happened and not otherwise."

Unfortunately, this is not true in the determination of some of the most important events in which case the writer must content himself with an approximate truth in his explanations. The more one studies the history of this great country, certain happenings and incidents recorded here and there, certain references made to the particular topography of the section of country involved, leads one to conclude this event or that event must have been thus and so. In connection with the history and early settlement of the Illinois country its rivers, lakes, wooded lands, and broad prairies let us take a bird's eye view of conditions, environment as well as the opportunities at hand for a successful venture in this, then the remotest part of the earth. Prior to the year 1825 all territory north and west of the Illinois River was one vast county called the County of Pike. Upon its shore bounded by the Great Lakes, Chicago, were a few houses, several families lived at Fort Clark (Peoria) and a few men were working in the lead mines of Galena.

No road had yet been broken through the great and extensive wilderness, neither east or west, north or south.

It was late in 1825 that we read and are able only indefinitely to locate "Kellogg's Trail" leading from Peoria to Galena. Not a white man's home on its entire route, the country being overrun by several tribes of Indians among whom were the Sacks, Winnebagoes and Pottawattomies, the Illinois or Illini tribes were to the north and east and not on

friendly terms with those before mentioned. In 1818 our state became a real factor in the Nation, the early part of the 19th Century seeing great development in many sections of our country, especially so in the northwest territories extending to the Louisiana Purchase, as far away even as Pike's Peak, whose explorer in 1806 was no less than he whose name designated our own country, Zebulon Montgomery Pike, soldier, scientist and explorer. The writer, probably the only one present from this county, or perhaps state, witnessing the unveiling of the bronze tablet to his memory on top of Pike's Peak, September 24, 1906, one hundred years after his memorable expedition to that region. Let us pass from these lofty heights and come nearer home to the silent review of happenings on our own borders.

Because of its gateway proclivities; so to speak, the one point that bears a close relationship to the early settlements of our Spoon river country, I must speak of, that which is now LaSalle County. It was here that in the late 70'ties, some 40 years before the events referred to that a culmination of circumstances lead to a memorable event in the history of our local Indian tribes, and likewise our early settlers. Scarcely a white man could be seen in this vast country, only an occasional band of French traders sailing up and down the Illinois river trading at the Indian villages from Chicago on down to Fort Clark (Peoria). Over this region one hundred years before had come the gallant "LaSalle" and his Italian lieutenant "Tonti," with Father Hennepin. Fort St. Louis was built by these men on Starved Rock where with the Illinois Indians for many years they had a veritable stronghold. However great may be our powers, however strong may be our arms there comes a time in the affairs of men, as well as sometimes nations when the strongest must needs give way. It was here in 1770 that at a great council of war between the tribes of Indians of the Illinois country the great chief "Pontiac" of the Pottawattomies was stabbed to death by an Illinois warrior. For this offense the Pottawattomies swore bloody war of extermination on the Illinois tribe. For many days they fought with all the savage fury known only to Indian warfare.

“Here chief met chief in dubious strife,
And neither yielded but with life;
Dark sullen, stern, no cry was heard,
That spoke of life to death preferred.”

By their powerful enemies the Illinois Tribes were reduced to a few warriors; these under cover of night ascended to the summit of the rock, (Starved Rock) surrounded by their foes without food or water, that, which was first thought to be a haven of safety, proved their darkest tomb.

From this region in LaSalle county came many of our first settlers, tempered with the experiences of the environments of these prairies they passed on, through what was so to speak, our first entry to what was later known as the Spoon River country on down the river to Fort Clark or perchance over the prairies from the Illinois river.

Perhaps the first settler in the Spoon River Country was Daniel Prince, coming on to Prince's Grove in 1826. Here he built a cabin, planted trees and his place became the nucleus for "Prince Grove" settlement or Princeville. A Mr. French also had a cabin one-half mile north of Princeville. Mr. Prince being a strong, robust man, and one of extremely keen foresight was able to intrench himself into strong holdings to this county south of our present county limits. It is said no man went hungry when near Mr. Prince, a quarter of beef or pork was given without a thought of its return. It was from this source our first settlers came. From a personal recollection of a Princeville resident, the writer in an endeavor to locate the original trail from Fort Clark to Galena lead mines obtained this recollection.

That the trail leading through Princeville from Peoria on to Spoon River in Essex Township was familiarly known as the "Indian Trail" and as he supposed running to Rock Island. In confirmation of this recollection he recalls that Josiah Fulton, one of the historical characters of the very earliest times in Peoria County, told my informant's father that in 1826 he had been at the Galena lead mines, that he came in a flat boat on the Mississippi to Rock Island; and then on the Indian trail to Daniel Prince's house at Prince's Grove; that this house was the only house that he saw anywhere along the

trail between Rock Island and Peoria, and that the famous "Apple Row," a half mile of apple trees, which was in evidence until a few years ago, had already been set out in that year 1826. This recollection in connection with Daniel Prince's house together with the apple row fixes the date of these and establishes the location in a general way of "The Indian Trail." This Indian Trail was known as the trail from Fort Clark (Peoria) to Rock Island.

The Galena Road, known by that name at the present time, leads from Peoria right up the Illinois river for several miles, then heads for North Hampton; this is entirely different from Indian Trail above referred to. If you can picture then to your mind's eye this vast area coming up from Peoria crossing Spoon River and continuing past where Wyoming, Duncan and Toulon now stand between Spoon River on the east and Indian Creek on the west, going on up through Goshen township into Henry County and on to Rock River, crossing the same probably in northwest part of county, you will have the proper setting for the Stark County settlement. This country then occupied by the Pottawattomies on the south, the Sac's and Winnebagoes on the north with the treacherous warrior and Chief Black Hawk in command especially of the northern tribes, there was not much that offered encouragement to our early settlers.

Notwithstanding these conditions, in the latter part of April, 1829, a solitary heavy laden wagon could be seen wending its way from the home of Mr. French at Prince's Grove about one-half mile northwest from Princeville toward Spoon River. This outfit was a peaceable one, composed of neither hunters or warriors, but they feared no enemy and sought not the spoils of war. The prairie must have had a pleasant appearance, having been burnt over by the Indians in the early spring, the grass was green and tender as the wagon rolled along. A guard of men neighbors, some from the LaSalle prairies 40 or 50 miles away, others from the Prince's Grove country, but seven miles south and east of their destination, accompanied this expedition. From the best information obtainable after inquiring from numerous persons who have a word to mouth knowledge of incidents and locations, it is

probably a fact that this party crossed Spoon River at what was afterward known as "Boardman's Ford," located where the river crosses the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 22 Essex Township. About one mile down the river from the seat of Cox's mill many evidences exist today of this trail, the crooked oak tree bent over as a sapling by early settlers or Indians, marks its pathway more definite as the beaten path or road tells to the world that here must have been a thoroughfare in a very early day. In this party was one to whom we pay honor. Whose memory we revere as he who first blazed his way in the wilderness forests of Stark County. Coming almost due north to a point in the clearing to the west of this worn trail about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the northeast quarter of Section 15 Essex Township, where we have dedicated a small monument encasing a bronze tablet, respectfully provided for by our Honorable Board of Supervisors of Stark County, which reads: "The first residence in Stark County, erected by Isaac B. Essex in year 1829 on the Indian Trail near Spoon River in Essex Township, and on the stone beneath the same the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15." Mr. Essex was primarily an eastern man, coming here from Virginia, a noted pioneer. Accompanying him were Daniel Prince, Stephen French, Simon Reed, Frank Thomas and Elders Silliman and Allen. These men came to perform an act of real brotherly co-operation for their neighbor, Mr. Essex.

The latter had made his claim in 1828, cut the logs and made everything ready so the evening of the second day they moved into their cabin. Mr. Essex had formerly worked in the lead mines at Galena and no doubt had traveled these trails for a few years previous. This cabin was no different from many others of its times but it was first located on Indian Trail and near Spoon River formed a nucleus for others. Good crops of potatoes and corn were raised the first year even without the protection of a fence.

The French family were seven miles to the southeast. Indians were much nearer but not bad neighbors when sober. The second cabin was built by John B. Dodge in the fall of 1829, Sec. 14. In March 30 Benjamin Smith came on and built; there were but three cabins until 1831, when our settlement numbered 14 or 15.

Isaac B. Essex
Thomas Essex, Sr.
Thomas Essex, Jr.
Benjamin Smith
Greenleaf Smith
Samuel Smith
Arthur P. Smith
John B. Dodge
David Cooper
William D. Grant
John C. Owns
Harris W. Miner
David Gregory
Sylvanus Moore.

First white child born in Stark County, son of Isaac B. Essex, 1829. In this connection it is important to state that the first white male child born in LaSalle County was Augustus Bailey, father of our present townsmen and present owners of the land formerly held by Mr. Essex, born near Bailey's Falls, LaSalle County in 1828. Leaving the settlement here on Sec. 15 the trail can be followed in its northwesterly course across Sec. 10-4 of Essex and 32 of Toulon Township. Here was once the village of Moulton, to the south of Toulon, evidences of a village of the trail—and a few graves from the land-marks that seem to determine these facts.

The Indian Creek seems also to have been a much used camping ground in early days and numerous evidences of various trails can be found here leading in a general direction toward the northwest. "Yank Road" was formerly known to the older settlers, undoubtedly a continuation of this trail.

As early as 1833, this neighborhood organized a school district and the following spring began the erection of a school building. This during a time when the state was practically without support in its common school laws. Many and great were the arguments necessary to pass laws making it legal to create schools, some arguing it was not necessary to read or write while others championed the idea of a free school system and as a means of prevention of crime agitated the education of the masses. This building was formed of logs with split logs for desks and fireplace made of sticks, straw and

clay, today almost a lost art, as is evidenced by our chimney on the old log cabin.

This school house, the first in the county, was erected on July 4, 1834, and Adam Perry taught the first school. To this the Board of Supervisors also wish at this time to dedicate a monument of like character of that erected to the first settler. It is fitting to honor the memory of those who founded this first school house and the great cause of education in our midst. We respectfully place on this spot on Sec. 5 this marker, also containing a bronze tablet bearing this inscription: "The location of First School House in Stark County, built in year 1834, by residents along Indian Trail in Essex Township near Spoon River."

The markers were placed as near as possible to the exact spot of the location of these first buildings, and the public are urged to visit them as they are their property and help to form a connecting link in putting together the small pieces of the history mosaic.

A STORY OF THE EARLY DAYS IN SPRINGFIELD —AND A POEM.

The first settler of Springfield as is well known was John Kelly who came to the site of the present city in 1819.

On April 10, 1821 the first board of county commissioners of the new county of Sangamon which county had been organized by Act of the Legislature a few months earlier, in January of that year, 1821, selected this site for the county seat of the new county and gave it the name of Springfield. In 1823 this selection of the site was confirmed and made permanent. About the same time 1823, a town was platted and lots were sold. This town was named Calhoun. It was located in what is now a part of the northwest section of the city of Springfield. The name did not strike the fancy of the citizens or the new comers. Few adopted or used it and it was soon entirely dropped. In the next decade the town grew rapidly. Springfield was incorporated as a town April 2, 1832. It was incorporated as a city April 6, 1840.

When Illinois was admitted as a state of the Federal Union in 1818 its capital and chief city was at Kaskaskia in Randolph county, but even at that time plans were being made to remove the capital and a new site was selected and in 1820 Vandalia became the Capital of the State. In 1837 settlements in the central part of the state were becoming numerous and the Sangamon country was highly regarded by settlers.

By 1837 the General Assembly had passed an act making Springfield the State Capital. This law became effective July 4, 1839. The first session of the Legislature held in Springfield convened December 9, 1839. The corner stone for the first State House built in Springfield, the building that is now the Sangamon county court house, was laid on July 4, 1837. An oration was delivered on that occasion by Edward D. Baker.

A number of the early settlers of Springfield came from the south, especially from Kentucky, but there were notable exceptions. James L. Lamb who had been a successful mer-

chant in Kaskaskia, came to Springfield to reside in 1832. He was a native of Pennsylvania. His brother-in-law and business partner Thomas Mather, was born in Connecticut. He came to Springfield from Kaskaskia in 1834. Mr. Pascal P. Enos, one of the early proprietors of the town was a native of Windsor, Connecticut. He came to Springfield in 1823, having been appointed by President Monroe Receiver of the Land Office. Dr. Gershom Jayne was born in Orange County, New York and came to Springfield in 1821. His daughter Julia became the wife of Lyman Trumbull. She was a bridesmaid at the wedding of Mr. Lincoln and Miss Todd.

Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, came from Kentucky to Illinois in 1809, but he was born in Maryland March 17, 1775. He was one of Illinois' first United States Senators when Illinois was admitted to the Union and was Governor of the State from 1826-1830. His son Ninian Wirt Edwards was born in Kentucky in 1809, but came to Illinois with his parents when an infant, his father having been that year (1809) appointed governor of Illinois Territory. Ninian Wirt Edwards became a citizen of Springfield in 1835. His wife was Elizabeth P. Todd, daughter of Mr. Robert S. Todd of Lexington, Kentucky. Her sister, Mary Todd came to visit her soon after the Edwards family located in Springfield, and she made the acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln to whom she was married in the Edwards home on Friday, November 4, 1842. Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd became engaged to be married in 1840 but their courtship was not without some interruptions. The Edwards home stood where the west end of the Centennial Memorial building now stands. On the ground now belonging to the state as a part of the grounds of the Centennial building and south of the Edwards house, in 1838, stood a house owned and inhabited by Mr. Lawrason Levering.

Mr. Levering was the son of Judge Aaron A. Levering of Georgetown, D. C. At about that time Mr. Levering had as a visitor in his home his sister, Miss Mercy A. Levering who afterwards became the wife of James C. Conkling. Mr. Conkling and Miss Levering were married September 11, 1841, more than a year before the marriage of Mr. Lincoln and Miss Mary Todd. This young lady and Miss Mary Todd, who was visit-

ing her sister, Mrs. Edwards next door to Mr. Levering's home, became fast friends and the two girls had many good times together although it is probable that Miss Levering having been brought up in a city of form and ceremony as was the Georgetown, D. C., of that day, and having spent some time in Washington and Baltimore was more conventional in her conduct and ideas than was the vivacious Mary Todd, though the two young women were excellent friends and this friendship continued until the death of Mrs. Lincoln, July 16, 1882. Mrs. Conkling died in October, 1893. While Mrs. Lincoln lived in the White House when Mr. Lincoln was President she wrote many letters to her friend Mrs. Conkling.

In 1838 there came to make his home and build up his fortune in the far west James C. Conkling, a young lawyer of about twenty-two years of age. He was born in New York City on October 3, 1816. As young as he was when he reached Springfield he had graduated at Princeton and had been admitted to the Bar at Morristown, New Jersey, so he was well equipped to take a leading place at the Sangamon County Bar which he very quickly attained.

Mr. Lincoln came to Springfield in 1837, one year earlier than did Mr. Conkling, but the two men soon became close personal and political friends and remained so until Mr. Lincoln's death. Mr. Lincoln had been a soldier in the Black Hawk War in 1832 before coming to Springfield and had served in the lower house of the General Assembly of the State at Vandalia from the Sangamon District. He was one of the celebrated "Long Nine" from the Sangamon Country who had been largely instrumental in securing the State Capital for Springfield. These nine tall representatives from Sangamon were: Abraham Lincoln, Ninian Wirt Edwards, Dan Stone, John Dawson, Job Fletcher, Andrew McCormack, William F. Elkin, Robert L. Wilson, Archer G. Herndon. So Mr. Lincoln was acquainted with Mr. Edwards, Miss Todd's brother-in-law before he became a resident of Springfield and he knew other prominent citizens, chief among whom was John T. Stuart whom he had known during his Black Hawk War service and in the General Assembly.

Major Stuart who came to Springfield from Kentucky in 1828 was Mr. Lincoln's first law partner. Springfield was a

typical prairie village of the better class, and in the Thirties and Forties and much later, at certain times of the year the mud was appalling. So there came a time when these two young lady visitors, Miss Mary Todd from Lexington, Kentucky and Miss Mercy Levering of Georgetown, D. C., were housebound for days by rain and mud. At last Mary Todd being lonely and bored decided to go down town, that is to visit the business portion of the city. It seems to us at this present day very funny to think of women living where the Centennial building is located, being unable to go down to the business portion of the town, the square, as it was called, no matter what the weather, but there was no street paving and no sidewalks nearer than Monroe Street, if there were any there. Miss Todd sent word to Miss Levering that she would like her company for this great adventure and that she had a bundle of shingles which they could take with them and could drop them, one at a time in front of them and they could step from one to the other of the shingles and thus keep out of the mud until they reached firmer footing. This plan was carried out on the trip to town but it could not have been a very agreeable trip for the young ladies dreaded the return journey. There was a well known character in Springfield by the name of Hart who had a two wheeled wagon called a Dray. This was used for all kinds of hauling, and Miss Todd conceived the idea of having Hart haul them home in his celebrated Dray. The young ladies were both elegantly attired and no doubt Miss Levering thought of the sensation it would create in the little city if these two young women were seen riding in the Dray, so she declined to accompany Miss Todd in the ride in the unusual vehicle. Her daughter, Miss Alice Conkling to whom we are indebted for the information about the ride and for the poem, said that her mother told her that she knew her brother, Mr. Levering would be very much displeased if she did such a thing as to ride in that Dray. So Miss Todd nothing daunted, by the desertion of her companion, escaped the tiresome tramp through the mud and in triumph rode from town to the Edwards mansion with Hart in his famous Dray. Of course she was seen and of course it created a sensation. One of the young men of the town saw the Dray and its fair passenger and composed a poem, if a poem it can be called. This young man was Dr.

E. H. Merryman, a well know early resident of Springfield, and a social favorite. The poem circulated around town and Miss Levering of course secured a copy of it. She kept it all the rest of her life and often told her family and friends about the whole affair. Some months ago Miss Alice Conkling gave the Historical Society a copy of the poem with permission to publish it, and so with Miss Conkling's letter we publish the Poem:

Los Angeles,
July 27.

My Dear Mrs. Weber:

While in Peoria I received the Lincoln letter, poem and cards for which I thank you. I had only wanted and expected the letter which Mrs. Lincoln wrote my mother. I wanted it because of its private nature. Am returning the cards since they were intended for the Historical Society of Illinois.

Of course if you have all the cards of this kind which you desire you may return them and I can make other use of them. As for the poem, I compared it with a copy I had made some years ago fearing the fading out of the original and have marked on the margin of your copy the words as I have them. I never understood the reference in the third line of the third stanza—it must have been to something local. I failed to inquire of my mother who would have known. As you will remember she had gone down town with Mrs. Lincoln (Mary Todd) on that "wet and muddy day" but had declined to ride on the dray.

When returning to their homes which were next door to each other—one being at Mr. Ninian Edwards and the other at her brother's Mr. Lawrason Levering immediately south. They had been housed three weeks because of the rain. Mrs. L. sent word to mother that she was tired of it, that she had a bundle of shingles to scatter on the way until they should reach a side walk on Monroe St.; would she go with her. Mother did, but failed to take advantage of the dray for the return trip.

With kind regards,

Cordially yours,

Alice Conkling.

Lakeview Hotel.

THE POEM.**RIDING ON A DRAY.**

By DR. E. H. MERRYMAN.

As I walked out on Monday last
A wet and muddy day
'Twas there I saw a pretty lass
A riding on a dray, a riding on a dray.
Quoth I sweet lass, what do you there
Said she good lack a day
I had no coach to take me home
So I'm riding on a dray.
At Lowry's house I got aboard
Next door to Mr. Hay
By yellow Poll's and Spottswood then
A riding on a dray.
The ragged boys threw up their caps
And poor folks ran away
As by James Lamb's and o'er the bridge
I plodded on my way.
Up flew windows, out popped heads,
To see this Lady gay
In silken cloak and feathers white
A riding on a dray.
At length arrived at Edwards' gate
Hart backed the usual way
And taking out the iron pin
He rolled her off the dray.
When safely landed on her feet
Said she what is to pay
Quoth Hart I cannot charge you aught
For riding on my dray.
An honor such as this
I meet not every day
For surely I'm the happiest man
That ever drove a dray.
A moral I'll append
To this my humble lay
When you are sticking in the mud
Why call out for a dray.

PROFESSOR EVARTS B. GREENE GOES TO COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

The University of Illinois suffers a great loss in the resignation of Professor E. B. Greene of the History Department, who has accepted a history professorship in Columbia University, New York.

For nearly thirty years Professor Greene has been connected with the State University of Illinois and his devoted, able, and efficient service there has left an impress and established standards which will be of incalculable and permanent value.

Professor Greene is one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society. The Society was organized at the University of Illinois, Urbana, in May, 1899. It was regularly chartered as a corporation under the laws of Illinois, May 23, 1900. Its first annual meeting was held in Peoria January 5 and 6, 1900. Professor Greene attended these preliminary and early meetings and had much to do with the organization and other plans of the Society. He was its first Secretary and continued as such until 1902.

Professor Greene went abroad in 1901 and Professor J. W. Putnam acted as temporary secretary until January, 1902, when Mr. J. McCan Davis was elected secretary and Professor Greene was made one of the Vice Presidents of the Society. In 1903 Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, the present secretary of the Society was elected.

In 1904 Professor Greene was elected one of the Directors of the Society and he has continued in that position until the present.

In 1903 by Act of the General Assembly the Illinois State Historical Society became a department of the Illinois State Historical Library.

In 1910 President E. J. James of the University of Illinois, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library resigned, and Governor Charles S. Deneen ap-

pointed Professor Greene as a member of the Board to fill the vacancy. Professor Greene was by his colleagues on the Board—Doctor O. L. Schmidt and Dr. M. H. Chamberlin,—chosen President of the Board of Trustees and he has acted in that capacity until April, 1923, when his resignation was accepted by Governor Len Small, who appointed on the Board in his place Professor Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois.

Professor Greene also served the State as a member of the Commission which so ably conducted the Centennial of the State in 1918. To Professor Greene as chairman of the Committee on Publications of the Centennial Commission is due in large measure the splendid Centennial History of Illinois which was published by the Commission. He gave untiring energy and critical supervision to the work and its accuracy and scientific historical style are the result of his painstaking labor and careful choice of the editors and compilers of the several volumes of the History.

This brief summary mentioning the dates and number of years service which Professor Greene gave to the University of Illinois and to the State Historical Society and Library gives no idea of what this service has meant to everyone connected with these institutions.

Professor Greene has in a high degree the traits which are needed in a leader of organizations made up, as are those over which he presided, of many persons of varying opinions and temperaments. His sound judgment, sense of justice, unfailing courtesy, fearlessness and his profound scholarship inspired confidence in and a high respect for his opinion under all circumstances. It is, therefore, with sincere regret that Governor Small accepted his resignation and his associates on the Library Board accepted his decision to retire from the board.

The Historical Society will count on his continued interest, assistance and counsel.

At the University of Illinois where Professor Greene had made his home for so many years his friends were, of course, extremely sorry to lose him and his sisters from the faculty circle. Entertainments were given them when they were preparing to leave the community and expressions of regret were

heard from the members of the faculty, the student body and from citizens of Urbana and Champaign.

The Illinois State Historical Society at its annual meeting held in Springfield May 22-23, 1923, passed resolutions expressing its regret at Professor Greene's departure from Illinois and its hopes for his future happiness and prosperity.

A dinner was given by the Society in his honor at the Illini Country Club on Tuesday evening, May 22nd. Dr. O. L. Schmidt, the president of the Society presided. Brief addresses expressing appreciation of Professor Greene's services were made by the President of the Society, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Francis G. Blair, Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University and Mr. Stuart Brown. Professor James and Mr. Brown are colleagues of Professor Greene as directors of the State Historical Society.

There were present at the dinner in honor of Professor Greene about one hundred members and friends of the Historical Society. Professor Greene's sister, Mrs. Mary Greene Griffin, was with her brother a guest of honor. There were several distinguished ladies and gentlemen present among them being United States Senator Simeon D. Fess of Ohio, who presented the annual address before the Historical Society; Lieutenant Governor Fred E. Sterling; Hon. L. L. Emmerson, Secretary of State; Hon. Andrew Russel, State Auditor, a director of the State Historical Society; Hon. David E. Shanahan, Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives; Hon. Edward J. Smejkal, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Illinois House of Representatives; Mr. Wallace Rice who wrote and read an ode in commemoration of the dedication of the Centennial Building; Professor T. C. Pease, University of Illinois; Mr. John H. Hauberg of Rock Island, Rev. Ira W. Allen of La Grange and Mr. H. W. Clendenin of Springfield, Directors of the Historical Society; Dr. C. B. Johnson of Champaign; Mr. E. C. Silliman of Chenoa; Mrs. Laura B. Evans, one of the Trustees of the University of Illinois; Mrs. I. G. Miller; Mrs. Martha K. Baxter; Right Rev. Granville W. Sherwood, Episcopal Bishop of Springfield and Mrs. Sherwood, close personal friends of Professor Greene; Rev. W. F. Rothenburger and Mrs. Rothenburger; Mr. and Mrs. Logan Hay; Mr. and Mrs. George Pasfield, Jr.; Mr. and Mrs.

Burton M. Reid, Mr. and Mrs. James S. King, Mrs. O. L. Schmidt of Chicago, wife of the President of the Society; Miss N. Elizabeth Harris of Chicago; Mrs. B. F. Harris and Mrs. Mary Vose Harris of Champaign; Miss Lottie E. Jones of Danville; Miss Felicite Oglesby; Mrs. Anne C. Dickson, Miss Margaret Norton, and many other friends and admirers of Professor Greene.

Professor James spoke of his long association with Professor Greene in historical and university work. Mr. Stuart Brown spoke as the representative of the Historical Society. His address is given in full.

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.By **STUART BROWN.**

I remember, but cannot place Macaulay's comparison of Scott with Hallam.

Scott, looking at history like a sculptor, placing before you a vivid, pleasing external form to see and to admire.

Hallam, like the anatomist with meticulous care dissecting, exposing every nerve and muscle, and limning their point and several sections through cause to effect.

Carlyle looked at history as a chemist would and called it the essence of innumerable biographies.

Bacon's idea was that of the analyst and compiler. "Industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records, and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

There is one with us tonight of whom I shall speak not as a close friend, but as an admirer for close friends. For all those who have really worked with him speak lovingly and respectfully of him. They have seen him in all the varied moods of the historian. Like Bacon's ideal, they have observed him blow away a bushel of chaff to show the virile yellow grain. Like the Hallam described by Macaulay, they have known him to pan out the dross and debris of ages to find the glistening gold; like Carlyle's chemist they have known him to pour through his litmus filter whole shelves full of biographies dry as dust on Arizona's plains and many as leaves of Vallowbrosa, and heard him shout with delight over the residual gem. These close friends believe that this man joins poetry to philosophy; that he can drive that invincible pair Labor and Imagination.

Close electric contacts make sparks, and many sparks make light, and light makes sordid lives even bright. When those who are nearest to you praise you, that is a part of heaven.

But these friends who have known this man also say he joins to patience and industry and depth of learning, a rare tact and a kindly courtesy. That he can say where did you get that story? or are you quite sure of that point? and not offend your pride or sensibilities. In other words that he can persuade through friendliness of criticism and not by the bare hostility of doubt; And of such again are the Kingdom of Heaven.

To you, Evarts Boutell Greene, who with Hiram W. Beckwith, Edmund J. James, George N. Black, J. H. Burnham, E. M. Prince, George P. Davis, David McCulloch, Jessie Palmer Weber and others, most of whom belong to the illustrious past, did call the Illinois State Historical Society out of the void in 1899. To you, its first Secretary, who held up the hands of all its Presidents as a Director, from Beckwith up to Schmidt. To you who have been President of the Historical Library since 1910, the officers and friends of those institutions owe a world of thanks. Because of your loyal, gracious and untiring effort we have hope that these societies will continue to encourage a true learning and in a modest, yet effective way, carry on through coming generations.

My dear sir, I am sure I voice the feelings of all for whom I speak, when I say, that they view your departure from this circle to other places, with the deepest regret; a regret not untinged with jealousy. You will not misunderstand me then when I say that each morning you will notice if you look abroad in your new home, that the sun rises in all his majesty in the East hastens West just as fast as he can.

We rejoice, Sir, that the pendulum of time is swinging you up to a higher fame and a greater opportunity, but still with that tinge of jealousy, we do hope that when it swings to another rise, it will bring you back home.

DINNER FOR PROFESSOR GREENE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

A farewell dinner was held at the University of Illinois on the evening of May 19 in honor of Professor Evarts B. Greene who, after nearly thirty years of service, has resigned his position as Professor of History to accept a call to Columbia University. Tables were spread in the spacious upper parlors of the Woman's Building on the campus and there were over 150 guests in attendance.

Professor Laurence M. Larson, head of the Department of History, acted as toastmaster and a varied program consisting partly of the more formal after dinner speeches and partly of special features intended for pure amusement was presented. President David Kinley traced the remarkable progress of the History Department of the University since 1894 when Doctor Greene came from Harvard as the sole member of that department, and with considerable feeling he commented upon his deep personal sense of loss at Doctor Greene's departure. Dr. K. C. Babcock, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences spoke of Professor Greene as the embodiment of the scientific, unprejudiced spirit of the historian, while Professor W. S. Robertson pointed out the varied contributions which Professor Greene had made to the State and to the University in the many offices which he had held.

A poem for the occasion was read by Professor Stuart P. Sherman and Professor A. H. Lybyer read a humorous paper describing "excavations in the year 1923" in the neighborhood of Urbana. Much amusement was furnished by a playlet which featured the unexpected visit of an embarrassingly large number of Professor Greene's friends in his New York apartment at Christmas time. At the conclusion of the dinner Professor Robertson who with Professor Lybyer constituted the committee for arranging the dinner presented Doctor Greene with a gold watch, the gift of the members of the History Department. Besides Doctor Greene, the guests of honor were his sister Mrs. Mary A. Griffin and his niece Miss Molly Griffin.

MRS. PAUL SELBY.

By JESSIE PALMER WEBER.

Mrs. Mary Jane Smith Selby has written for the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society a charming little chapter of historical reminiscences which she calls "A little Girl's recollections of Quincy in the 'Forties' with apologies for a somewhat lengthy sequel." It is published in this number of the Journal.

Mrs. Selby has not told in her article who she is and what her life has meant as a helpful intellectual and moral force in the two Illinois towns of which she has been a citizen. She is a true type of her New England forbears.

She attended Mount Holyoke Seminary before it became Mount Holyoke College. She was an early teacher, painstaking and laborious and a firm disciplinarian. She was a housewife who was a model of thrift and efficiency.

Mr. Selby and his wife came to Springfield to reside in 1875. At that time the Bettie Stuart Institute was under the charge as principal of Mrs. Mary McKee Homes, one of the best teachers and most accomplished women of her period in Central Illinois. She was the founder of the school and for many years its principal. The most prominent men and the most careful friends of education of that day were glad to place their daughters under her tuition.

It was one of the features of the Bettie Stuart Institute each year to have a board of visitors invited to examine the classes. Mrs. Homes was very particular as to whom she asked to conduct these examinations. Patrons who were not considered competent were asked to serve on reception committees or serve in some other capacity, but it was no empty compliment to be asked to serve as one of the visiting examiners.

These visitors were privileged to ask questions and to review any part of the work of the school year. Mrs. Selby was

nearly always invited to act in this capacity and she was conscientious in the discharge of her duties. A girl was lucky and proud to receive the commendation which Mrs. Selby generously gave to good work. I remember, too, the cool, level, glance of her bright dark eyes if a student was a shirker. She had a very high standard in her life and in her work as a teacher, but she was generous and broad-minded in her appreciation of the work of others. I remember after all these years how proud I was when Mrs. Selby before all the classes of the school commended my recitations.

On November 7, 1923, Mrs. Selby celebrated her ninetieth birthday at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Arthur E. Prince. She was a delightful picture in her pretty gown of gray with all its dainty accessories from the beautiful little lace head-dress on the careful coiffure of her white hair to the buckles on her satin slippers. Mrs. Selby received the compliments of her friends with graceful words of appreciation and made them all feel that the chief objects of human endeavor are served by a self-denying life of high endeavor according to one's opportunities, and are rewarded and illumined by a serene and beautiful old age.

"Loved wife, fond mother and true friend
Crowned with life's blessings to the journey's end."

Mary Jane Smith was the daughter of Porter and Mary Topliff Smith. She was born in Amherst, Mass., November 7, 1833. The family came to Quincy, Illinois in 1838. Mary Jane Smith went East to school. She attended Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (now College) and graduated in 1853 after which for a little while she taught as a pupil-teacher in a school in Elizabeth, N. J. (1853-54).

She was married to Henry S. Hitchcock of Binghampton, N. Y., May 10, 1855. They lived in Binghampton until 1860 and then came to Quincy, Illinois. Mr. Hitchcock died in 1866 in Quincy. Mrs. Hitchcock was married to Paul Selby December 1, 1870. They came to Springfield to reside in 1875. Mr. and Mrs. Selby removed to Chicago in the early Nineties, and resided there until Mr. Selby's death in March, 1913. Mrs. Selby makes her home with her only daughter, Mrs. Arthur E. Prince of Springfield.

Mrs. Selby was the mother of six children. Two only grew to maturity. These are General Charles H. Hitchcock of Binghampton, N. Y., and Charlotte, wife of Dr. Arthur E. Prince of Springfield, already mentioned. She also has two stepdaughters, Mrs. C. Harmon Johnson of Clinton, Illinois, and Dr. Emily H. Selby of Chicago.



MRS. PAUL SELBY.

**RECOLLECTIONS OF A LITTLE GIRL IN THE "FORTIES"
WITH APOLOGIES FOR A SOMEWHAT LENGTHY
SEQUEL.**

By MRS. PAUL SELBY.

My parents Porter Smith and Mary Topliff Smith left Amherst, Mass., in the spring of 1834, traveling by means of a horse and buggy to Albany, and with myself an infant in arms. From Albany they came by canal and lake to a point in Ohio, where doubtless Cleveland now flourishes. From there they made their way as best they could to the little village of Sharon, near Akron. They lived there two or more years, and my sister was born there. In the meantime my mother's relatives in Massachusetts seem to have taken the western fever. One had gone to Quincy, Ill., as a home missionary teacher. She was well educated, for those days, was good-looking, and refined. She soon attracted the admiration of the young postmaster, Robert Tillson, who persuaded her to confine her ministrations to himself. Thereafter both she and her husband wrote my parents glowing accounts of their new home, and urged them to make another move, with Quincy, Ill., as their destination.

Right here I may, perhaps, appropriately mention that my new uncle, Robert Tillson, was the young brother of John Tillson, a remarkably active man of wide vision and extensive acquaintance among Illinois pioneers, as he was one himself, coming in 1819. John Tillson had a charming wife, also a native of the east. They lived for a time in Hillsboro, where she became well known as a delightful hostess to wide awake men, who often visited this new state to study its agricultural and political outlook. Her husband in the meantime, perhaps, looking over favorable locations and making investments while Robert, his younger brother, looked after the welfare of the home. Finally they moved to Quincy, and made their home in the Quincy House, where I became acquainted with the little daughter, Christiana, the own cousin of my own cousins.

Besides the daughter, there were two sons, considerably older, John, Jr., and Robert, who spent very little time in Quincy at that day, but were undoubtedly pursuing their studies in some more educationally favored localities. John was probably instrumental in securing the position of post-master for his brother Robert, and in his acquiring considerable land there and in the vicinity.

My aunt, now Mrs. Robert Tillson, had persuaded her widowed mother and two younger sisters to come to Quincy, too. The activities and successes of the Tillsons were doubtless magnets drawing to the same point other eastern Massachusetts men, among them Messrs. Charles and Edward Savage, their cousins, who became very prominent and successful business men.

Finally, in view of all these family ties, and other inducements, my parents decided to sell out their possessions in Ohio and move still farther west. This time they could reach the Ohio River with comparative ease,—so again with a baby in arms, and myself, they made the journey to the Ohio, and on that river to Cairo, where it joins the Mississippi, which last river brought them directly to their destination.

As there were no houses to rent at that period, another aunt who had also married, gave us shelter. I have little doubt that it was a log cabin, but I do not remember it. However, my father immediately bought quite a large plot near the center of the town, and erected as soon as possible a six room frame cottage, which is the first home of which I have any recollection.

COLONISTS.

The people of Quincy, when we arrived there, were mostly from the eastern states. There were a number also of fine Kentuckians, and a few Germans.

One of the most prominent of the citizens was Mr. John Wood, who came very early in the twenties. Like other pioneers, he lived for some time in a log cabin. Afterwards he built what was long the finest home in Quincy. It stood in extensive grounds, was large, and its wide front was sheltered by a portico, with beautiful white columns extending to the base of the roof's gable. In my childhood eyes it was very magnificent. When we came to Quincy, Mr. Wood had a family

of two daughters and three sons. The younger daughter, Jane, was of about my age, and I used sometimes to go to see her. It was quite a long walk for me, two blocks east, two blocks south, then east again by the side of a long pasture belonging to the Woods, before I came to the house. Mrs. Wood was a kind and friendly woman, and "Janie" was a sweet gentle little girl. I always enjoyed a visit with her. But she died very early, and I missed her greatly. The boys were big and noisy and I saw but little of them.

John Wood¹ might appropriately be called the "grand old man" of Quincy. I suppose he was what is called a "self-made-man" who had few opportunities in his youth to obtain an education, but he was ambitious, public spirited, honorable, and intelligent, with great natural ability; and so commanded the respect of the entire community, and in public affairs is conspicuous in any history of Quincy.

His lovely wife died in the fifties, and several years later he married Mrs. Holmes, widow of Rev. J. T. Holmes. She was an educated woman of excellent judgment, a good helpmeet for him, and acceptable to the family. She had two wide-awake boys, the elder, Frederick, was considered by us young folks in our school days a very eloquent speaker, when on occasions dedicated to such exercises he declaimed with great spirit and fine gesture, some grand old poem like—

"Twas midnight in his guarded tent
The Turk was dreaming of the hour
When Greece, her knees in suppliance bent,
Should tremble at his power"—

—or—

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold
His cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold."

Oh, it was very thrilling I assure you, to us girls, who listened spell-bound to such eloquence!

Mrs. Wood's two sons seem to have found congenial occupation elsewhere, for I never saw them in Quincy in later years.

¹ John Wood elected Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, became Governor of the State on death of Governor Wm. H. Bissell, March 13, 1860, served until the inauguration of Governor Richard Yates, January, 1861.

Among other prominent men whose names were very familiar were those of Messrs. O. H. Browning² and Nehemiah Bushnell, his partner in a law-firm; Mr. Browning was a Kentuckian and was exactly my idea of the old style gentleman whom I much admire. Mr. Bushnell while being perhaps less elaborate in his manner was no less a gentleman. He was a fine scholar, had a large library, and was generous with his books as I had reason to know in later years. Mr. Willard Keyes came about the same time as John Wood. He also built a large white house on the corner of Broadway and Eighth Streets. He had a son and three daughters, the eldest of whom became one of my very intimate friends. One cannot omit from among the names of these early settlers who helped to make Quincy, those of Messrs. Lorenzo and Henry Bull, who first carried on a hardware business on the south side of the square. They prospered, and finally sold that business and became bankers. Eventually they built fine homes for themselves, one on the south side and the other on the north side of Maine Street, some distance east of the public square. The families of all these fine people I could count as my friends when I grew up.

At the time of which I am writing, the population of Quincy could not have been more than 1,500, for the census at least ten years later credited it with only 2,500.

The tradition is, that John Quincy Adams, on his western tour, and coming down the Mississippi, stopped at the little town, and was doubtless received with open arms. He probably expressed his admiration for the beauty of the location, and thus so pleased the residents that they named the town Quincy, and the County, Adams, in his honor. My recollection of it as it was during my childhood is that there were only two or three streets graded, and those for only short distances. The town was built on bluffs, two of which at least were capped by Indian mounds; and there was but one passable road to the river and boat landing. The view from the bluffs was very attractive, to young people especially, when the lordly Father of Waters was on a rampage, spreading a flood that covered six or seven miles of the Missouri bottoms opposite.

² Appointed U. S. Senator by Governor Yates on death of Stephen A. Douglas, June, 1861.

The river was, of course, about the only regular means of transportation. Boats ran at irregular intervals from some distance north to New Orleans on the south. As St. Louis was the only city of any size within many hundred miles, it was the mart to which went pleasure seekers or shoppers for finer goods than Quincy shops afforded. The trip was considered a very enjoyable one. The fare was excellent. The negro cooks seemed to vie with each other in making the most delicious Johnny cake, Sally Lunn, Waffles, etc., while their fried chicken could not be beaten. So, many took trips down the river though the boats were "High pressure," frequently indulged in racing with each other, and once in a while "blew up." That fact did not seem to deter any one from traveling on them, in fact the passengers were generally just as interested in having their boat win, as were the crew.

The very early settlers of Quincy had laid out the town with great regularity. Streets running east and west to the river were named for states, those crossing from north to south were numbered. Maine and Hampshire Streets, Fourth and Fifth Streets, enclosed the public square, the center of everything. On one side was the court house, on another the Quincy House, and on a third the postoffice, and all the stores and public offices were on one of the four sides.

My mother used to send me to the square occasionally to buy some little article. She would give me perhaps a half dollar, and tell me to be sure to get the change. That change might be "two bits," or a "picayune," which was a very thin little silver coin, equal to $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents. Two of them made a *bit*, which was a little larger than a ten cent piece. A quarter was two bits, and the size it is now.

New Yorkers called our bits, shillings; other states had other names, which made it rather confusing when one traveled.

On the southeast corner of the square there was a good sized building, the first floor of which was a store. Upstairs, it was occupied by the family of Mr. Levi Wells, who owned the building, I think. He had three daughters, the eldest of whom was at school in the east. The youngest was Lucy, a friend of mine. I visited her sometimes, and if the "Quincy Grays" were training in the square, as they often were, we had

great fun watching them. They wore quite a handsome gray uniform with white trimmings, and made a fine display, with their accoutrements, the band, etc. Lucy was my very dear friend as long as she lived, but to my great sorrow she died when but little over twenty years of age.

At quite an early period Mr. Wells built a fine house a little out of town, where I loved to go. The eldest daughter married Mr. Charles Savage, cousin of the Tillsons, whom I mentioned in the first part of this paper. She, too, died many years ago.

Our home being on Jersey Street, the next south of Maine, and between Sixth and Seventh Streets, it would seem to have been a short walk to the square. On the contrary, Sixth Street to and beyond its intersection with Jersey Street was a ravine, consequently one could not go south on Sixth Street at all, nor on Jersey Street, east or west of Sixth, without going down a hill and crossing a little stream and going up the other side.

The Congregational Church was on the corner of Jersey and Fifth Streets, my Aunt Tillson's home opposite on Jersey Street. The Presbyterian Church was on Maine Street between Sixth and Seventh; a Catholic Church a block or two farther east. A Methodist Church was on Vermont Street, east of Sixth Street, and fronting the grave-yard. A Lutheran Church was south and east of Kentucky and Seventh Streets, on a high hill.

INDIANS.

At that early day, Indians occasionally visited us. I have no idea to what tribe they belonged, but there is no doubt that this site had once been one of their favorite camping grounds. The housekeepers of Quincy were a little nervous about these visits; if the Indians were in the neighborhood at mealtime, the tables were quickly cleared, for the Indians evidently expected to be fed, and the women did not wish to encourage these visits. One day an Indian came into our house, and, as usual, just walked right in without any ceremony. Our table had been cleared, and nothing was said about food. The visitor stood looking around as if in curiosity, and I, a small child of about four years, was equally curious about this unusual visitor. He looked at me, and picked me up in his arms, quite

naturally. Mother was more frightened than I, though she seemed to think he would suppose that both of us were afraid, so she said "Don't be afraid, Mary Jane, he won't hurt you." Well, he did not. I did not struggle, nor cry out, and soon he put me down and left. But I am quite proud to remember that a great big Indian once held me in his arms!

It was not uncommon, too, for Indian boys to come in the winter and join the white boys in coasting or skating on the ice. But before very long they seemed to feel that there were too many white people around for their enjoyment; though I never heard of any evidence of ill feeling on either side. Emigrant wagons often passed through on their way west, showing that more and more the old hunting-grounds of the Indians were being invaded.

THE MISSION INSTITUTE.

As long ago as I can remember, there had been established near Quincy an institution called "The Mission Institute". One part of it was about two miles from town, and another five miles out. It was founded by Dr. David Nelson,³ a noted divine, who had written a well-known book entitled, "The Cause and Cure of Infidelity", an argument against atheism, and perhaps intended as a reply to Paine's "Age of Reason." He was the author of other books also, and of the hymn, "I am a pilgrim and I am a stranger", "I can tarry, I can tarry but a night." These schools that he founded were intended for the education and preparation of young men and women who wished to become missionaries, and could not afford the expense involved in acquiring a college education. So in these locations Dr. Nelson had built a number of small cottages that would each perhaps accommodate three or four young women or men, in which they could keep house for themselves as economically as they chose. As I understand the plan, instruction was free. The institution attracted a number of young men and women. Quincy people, especially members of churches, became much interested in the students, and often invited them to Sunday luncheon, as they usually came in town to "meeting." These invitations were gratefully

³I have learned recently that the wife of Dr. Nelson was a relative of Mrs. Thomas the wife of Rev. J. T. Thomas, the present (1924) pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, Ill. M. J. S.

accepted, especially as there was an afternoon service to attend.

My mother observed this custom, and we made the acquaintance of some very agreeable young people. I never knew where they went after they finished the course of study at the institute, and I do not know why the school closed. Perhaps the death of its founder and chief supporter was the reason for discontinuing the institution, or, possibly because similar opportunities could now be obtained elsewhere. Dr. Nelson had a very pretty daughter, Rose, who stayed in town sometimes. I suppose I was sent to her occasionally on errands, and I remember I was much impressed by her very tasteful and becoming dress, her attitudes and artistic arrangement of light and of draperies bringing out her charms most effectively. I believe she was married afterwards, but I do not remember any particulars.

One of the young women students, Miss Ann Ballard, had a beautiful voice, and sang in our choir. I learned many years ago that she eventually went to New York to have her voice trained, and had even sung in opera! The last news I had of her was that she was in Ceylon, and wrote very delightful letters for the press, some of which I had the pleasure of reading.

That ended for me all knowledge of the "Mission Institute," or of any one connected with it.

AMUSEMENTS.

Quincy people were not without amusements at this early day. The first concert that I ever attended was some time in the Forties, given by the "Hutchinson family". There were just four of them, and they sang four part songs almost entirely, that was perhaps why they so delighted their audience, for the voices were each the best fitted for its part, and they balanced and harmonized perfectly. Their concert was a pure delight to me.

There was a lovely lady who came to sing for us. She was noted especially for her singing of "I know that My Redeemer Liveth." I am sure that I have never heard that beautiful song rendered with more thrilling sweetness than by her. She sang other selections too, equally well.

If I remember her name correctly it was Mrs. Matteson.

A company that I heard more than once was the "Swiss Bell Ringers". The music of the bells and the dexterity with which the gaily dressed performers handled them gave a great deal of pleasure.

A kind neighbor invited us children to go to the "Floating Palace" one day. As its name indicated, it was a steamboat fitted up and equipped so as to give as nearly as possible a circus performance. Whatever its merits or deficiencies it pleased us children wonderfully. It certainly was a very cleverly devised entertainment, and I have never seen its like since that day on our Mississippi river.

Quincy people were a social set in the Forties. While there were no dancing parties, nor card parties, there were "teas," at the usual tea hour, when the husbands came with their wives. The usual dinner hour was 12:00 M. or 1:00 P. M.

The churches had their sewing societies where the ladies tacked comforters, quilted bed-quilts, or did any other available work for pay, that was, of course, donated to church or benevolent purposes. Sometimes the husbands came for tea, when quite a social evening followed.

Quincy had a tiny library of course, and it was patronized for all it was worth. So the consensus of opinion finally was that something must be done to enlarge its possibilities. As there was no generous millionaire Carnegie, in those days, to lend a gracious, helping hand, a course of lectures was planned for which tickets would be sold, and then the lectures given by home talent, as far as possible, the service to be free. I remember one that I attended shortly before I left for school. It was given by John Tillson, Jr., who had, I think, recently been admitted to the bar. He was good looking, had an excellent delivery, and treated his subject which was the career of some distinguished man, with enthusiasm. His audience cheered him most heartily, and I thought it a very fine address. I never heard how much financial success resulted from this plan,--but if Quincy was ever able to build a fine library it was not in my day.

CLIMATE.

Of course, we had some pretty cold weather in winter, and there was no means of heating any building except by fireplaces and wood stoves. Churches had a big stove at the lower end

of the auditorium, but the heat did not extend far. So my mother used her little foot stove, which came with her from Massachusetts, when she went to meeting! This was a small square box of tin, with perforated sides and top and framed with wood. There was a bale with which to carry it, a sheet iron pan filled with good live coals was put inside, and then the door of it shut. My father would carry this, and mother would keep her feet quite comfortable on it.

Our cottage had no stove in our bedroom, but the stove-pipe came up from the room below and made quite a large "elbow" before passing into the chimney of the small hall, and helped heat our room somewhat, but mother always gave our bed, in cold weather, a real good warming with the long handled brass warming-pan, another New England relic, and we children were warm and cozy. Father and mother had a bedroom down stairs opening out of the living-room, so they, too, were comfortable.

My mother used to make candles, from fats saved from meat, melting and pouring it into little tin moulds. We had lamps, too, of course, that were supplied at first with whale oil, later with lard oil.

There are some very common products of the south that we seldom if ever saw, such as bananas, oranges, and lemons, also oysters, though we had an abundance of fruit that we cultivated ourselves. There were wild blackberries and other wild fruits besides.

As there was no city water supply, everyone who could had a well for drinking water. This was the era of "The Old Oaken Bucket." Cisterns for rainwater were needed also. Street pavements had not been thought of. In fact, there were but few side walks, and walking in rainy weather was quite an exploit. I remember losing overshoes in the stiff sticky mud, and even having the sole of a shoe pulled off. I suppose it was "pegged," and I had rashly gone without overshoes.

My father built, from time to time, other and better houses on his land, one especially for our own occupation. This he and my mother lived in all the rest of their lives,—over forty years. All of these, eight buildings, including a block of four, are still standing and occupied.

BUSINESS ENTERPRISES.

An early enterprise of my father's was in connection with a reliable friend of German descent, the establishment of a lumber yard. Supplies for it came down the river on great rafts, sent from sawmills in the immense forests of the north. It was discovered early that the bluffs on which Quincy was built were largely composed of lime stone, and quarries have ever since afforded that important material for building purposes. The soil itself soon furnished a good substance for making brick. The top-soil was comparatively thin, but below was a yellow clay which was excellent for the purpose. I used often to pass a brick yard, and was much interested to see great moulds, well packed with the mixture spread out to dry. After it had dried sufficiently it was piled into kilns and fired. Because of this clay, more brick houses were erected in Quincy in the early days than there were in Springfield.

Other early industries in Quincy were a flour mill, and a stove factory.

This was long before the discovery of coal in Illinois, or the production of gas. We burned wood for all heating and cooking purposes.

IMMIGRANTS.

It is well known that owing to great dissatisfaction with governmental affairs in Prussia, there was, in the forties, a large immigration of Germans to the United States. Carl Schurz was among the number, and became noted as a very loyal and highly esteemed citizen of our country. A good many came to Quincy. They were as a rule a desirable addition to the population. Several were physicians, others were priests or teachers. A large proportion were trained mechanics of various trades, or gardeners, and one or two were brewers. I became aware of their arrival rather curiously. My sister and I had been left to keep house one day while mother was out. We were quietly playing when the outside door was opened and a strange looking woman appeared. She wore a peculiar headdress, a sort of stiff high cap with long ribbons hanging down behind, a tight waist, a white undergarment came above its neck, and furnished the long sleeves. The skirt was stiff,

full and short, and her shoes were wooden. She said something in a, to me, unknown tongue. I was a little frightened, and shook my head, and she departed. I soon learned what this apparition meant, as for a time one saw this costume on the streets frequently. The daughters of the immigrants proved quite a boon to Quincy housewives, and for many years were the main supply of "hired girls," as they were then called. The Germans for the most part settled on the south side, an as yet unoccupied part of town. They built cozy little cottages, surrounded by flourishing gardens. That district was for a long time known as "Germantown."

This class of citizens became in time quite Americanized, as they mingled more and more generally with the other people of the vicinity, and in the next generation intermarried occasionally with Americans. In later years their descendants would scorn being called anything else than American.

NOTABLE EVENTS. THE MORMONS.

There were several not very desirable events that occurred in Quincy during the forties. One was the advent of a large number of refugee Mormons, driven out of Missouri. They were generally, I suppose, of the poorer and more illiterate class. They were in such a distressing condition when they arrived that the good people of the town took pity on them and gave them temporary relief. My mother gave one old woman a home. She was expected to assist a little in light house work and sewing for her board. She had a nephew who often came to see her, and to report the activities of the other refugees. They used to hold meetings at which messages of instruction were received from Joseph Smith⁴ in Nauvoo, also from some "Heavenly authority," delivered in an "unknown tongue." It was said that the gift of interpretation was always bestowed upon some one attending the meeting. One day this boy, reporting to his aunt, said that there was a message given in a meeting the night before but no one could interpret it. "I could," he told her, "but I was too bashful." She believed him! but we did not!

⁴Joseph Smith the Mormon prophet founder of the Mormon Church, killed by mob in Hancock County (Ill.), jail, June 27, 1844.

Joe Smith and the larger part of the refugees had gone to Nauvoo to make that their abiding city, and great plans were laid for a wonderful temple, but as everyone knows they finally went to the far west to carry their plans to fulfillment, at Salt Lake City. Quite a respectable and intelligent appearing Mormon family lived for a time next door to us. They moved with the rest, and we learned afterwards that the man had become one of their very chief leaders, after Joe Smith died. Some miserably poor and ignorant families remained in Quincy. They were called "Jack Mormons" and were very much looked down upon. I could, however, if I would, tell quite a romance that developed out of one such family, showing that there was good blood in some of them, when there was encouragement for its development.

MORE EVENTS. THE CHOLERA.

Another unwelcome visitor that I remember was the second invasion of cholera. Precautions were of course taken and much good advice given. My parents behaved with coolness and good judgment during the scourge. We ate freely of good wholesome food, took the usual care for our health and my parents never seemed to be worried, so of course I was not. We were aware, though, of some very sudden deaths among acquaintances. One that made the most vivid impression on me was that of a brother of one of my young girls friends, an unusually healthy and strong looking young man. The family lived right across the street from us. I remember also the death of the fine wife of one of our most highly educated German physicians. The manner of his treatment of the case shocked us greatly. It was said he placed her on a board and dashed ice cold water over her! We could not believe that his theory of the treatment of the disease was very commendable.⁵

Quincy upon the whole was considered quite a healthy place, and especially favorable for consumptives if they came there early enough. But there was another scourge that afflicted a good many, one that is often occasioned by the turning up of new soil and poor drainage. That was chills and fever—or "ague," as it was often called. After one had an

⁵ A diary of my mother states that most of the deaths were among the foreign population.

attack it usually returned at the same season, year after year. Many very poor people who lived, as we expressed it, "Under the bluffs," seemed to have it most of the time, and looked it, too, with their very sallow complexions. It was only reasonable that it should be so, for the ground was low there and not drained, and there was always stagnant water about, a fine breeding place for mosquitoes.

But continued improvements in the way of grading, sewerage, and so forth, gradually caused this infliction almost entirely to disappear.

FASHIONS.

I have been asked sometimes about the fashions in Quincy during the forties. I suppose we were rather behind the times in that respect, and I don't remember being very deeply interested in them at quite so early a date. I know, however, that ladies of forty or fifty years of age generally wore caps that were more or less dressy according to the occasion. A dressy cap for a woman of my mother's age required, if she were going out for an evening's visit, a calash, so that its fur-below should not be crushed. I think the calash was constructed in this way, though I never saw one made:—a large triangular piece of silk, green, generally, had five or six little tucks made along the bias about an inch apart. These shirred tucks were cases for rattans, which were inserted, and gathered the silk to quite a fullness. A little crown was put in the back, which gave the gathered part a look something like a very large cap with strings attached to each front end of the shirred, rattaned tucks. This was big enough to wear over any cap, however elaborate, and would not crush it.

I remember some of the bonnets of that time, too. A younger very delicate sister of my mother always looked so pretty I thought. Her bonnets were made in style, had a crown and brim that flared a little, and the ends came down below her cheeks and were turned out somewhat. The brim was lined with crepe or lace, and flowers were on the side of each cheek, while ribbon bows, etc., were gracefully arranged on the outside.

For a number of years flowers were always on the *inside* of bonnets.

Bonnets usually had capes. I remember how bare a bonnet looked without a cape, when fashion decreed its removal.

A freak of style for a time pushed the bonnet so far back that the only way to keep it from falling off was to have a kind of hat pin put through the hair as close as possible to the neck, to make it hold its precarious position. Ties were generally used, too.

Hats for ladies came in fashion about Civil War times. Many felt these exposed their ears so much that they attached rosettes to ribbon ties, the rosettes thus covering the ears.

GOWNS.

Gowns for a great many years were made rather full, no gores, and gathered into the waist. Bishop or mutton-leg sleeves were the usual style. Waists were high necked, and plain or full, according to taste, though later echoes of very extremely low necks came from our nation's capital, and other cities. Hoops, and bustles, too, had their day, when the larger they were the better, apparently. Also dresses were very long—a lady would scarcely go on the street with one that did not trail.

I remember well the dress of a pretty young bride in the late forties. She came from the east, and the young couple lived quite near our home. The Sunday she first "appeared out" at church, was in the winter. She wore a light gray silk flounced gown, a black silk "vesite" handsomely made and finished, for a wrap. Her bonnet was rather a large white watered silk, with a long flowing white plume; a very large muff of a some light colored fur completed her costume.

We walked right behind the couple, and I thought it was such a good thing that she had a great big muff, for it was quite a cold day! And my sister and I had on our new pretty wool dresses and large wadded capes like the gowns, and were not too warm!

Little girls wore dresses that came several inches below the knee, and "pantalettes" covered the rest of the leg to a low boot top. We wore white "panties" generally, but sometimes in bad weather mothers put nankeen ones on us. We were very proud of pretty white ones, tucked, or embroidered, and tried to keep them clean.

We wore sun-bonnets for every day, and a little close bonnet for dress.

Ladies wore silk mitts, generally black. Little girls wore mitts, too. I remember having a pretty light blue pair when I was twelve or thirteen years old, from the fact that teachers were so few in the Sunday School at about that time that I was called upon one Sunday to teach a class of little girls. I had on my blue silk mitts and one of the children seemed much more interested in my mitts than in my instruction, for she said, "Say, Miss, when your mother dies will you give me your mitts?" I was rather stunned, and hardly knew what to say, but finally managed to reply, "Well, maybe, I don't know."

SCHOOL DAYS.

When I was five or six years old, the powers at home decided that it was time to send me to school. I could read very well, for my father, for the amusement of both of us, I presume, had taught me my letters when I was at the mature age of two, and for the same reason, probably, continued that pastime, with the result stated. There was a school not more than a block from home, but as I have already mentioned the unfinished condition of both Sixth and Jersey Streets left the ravine still unfilled. However, as the school was the nearest to my home it was decided to send me there. Sometimes after a rain the little stream in the ravine was too much for me to negotiate, but quite likely one of the big Wood boys going to the same school would lift me over. Big girls went there too, but they were all very good to me. It will be seen from this situation that there were as yet no graded or free schools. Boys and girls, big and little, went together.

Pretty much the only thing I remember about it is this: One day a good many of us had been playing around the hill, and were very late in coming in when the bell rang. Teacher was very much put out, and made us stand in a row while he talked to us; then he asked each one separately how he or she would prefer to be punished! to be whipped with a switch, feruled, or kept in after school! I stood trembling at the last end of the line, and when he asked me the question I truthfully replied that "I didn't want to be punished at all!" There was a little titter at this, but I was not punished—and I suppose

all the rest were! They congratulated me, however, and bore me no grudge.

I attended this school more or less steadily till I was seven. At that age I remember one day going home with my geography and passing as usual the cottage of a good Kentucky neighbor. She asked me why I was carrying my books home. I said, "Why, I am seven years old and father said I needn't go to school any longer."

And right here Mrs. Marshall, for that was her name, deserves a paragraph all to herself. Her little house was in plain sight from ours, right across the ravine, and I passed it every day. She and her daughter Rebecca lived there by themselves. Her front door was open almost always, except at night, even in cold weather. She had a big fire-place, before and over the fire of which she did all her cooking. We could see it easily from our west windows, and enjoyed the sight. She quite properly prided herself on her cooking, especially on her "pound cake," and made it for others when asked to do so. She no doubt was an excellent housekeeper, and seemed to be at home all of the time. We knew that she had one or two sons, but they were not with her, were probably at school or taking care of themselves.

Rebecca was two or three years older than I, and bye and bye when I was bigger, we went to the same school and were good friends. She was, however, much more studious than I, and doubtless learned a good deal more.

After I went away to school, Mrs. Marshall left Quincy, I presume to be with her sons, who as we learned had gone to Minnesota and had without doubt done well by themselves and could now help their mother and sister. Some years later we heard that Rebecca had married a very well-to-do merchant of St. Paul, a Mr. Cathcart.

We exchanged friendly letters, but I did not see her for many years. One summer, however, I went up to a small town on the upper Mississippi, for a little rest from the heat, near a family friend, and wrote Rebecca asking her if I might come and see her for a few days. Her reply was a cordial invitation for me to do so. I found her in a large and very pleasant home, evidently quite at ease financially. Her mother had died, but

for the first time I met her brother, who came to see me as an early friend of the family. He was a fine looking man, and was greatly respected, as was evident from the fact that he was then Republican candidate for Governor of the State. He kindly took me for a long ride, showing me all the country around, as well as Minneapolis, Minnehaha Falls, etc. In the course of our ride we rode over (I think) a snake and killed it, referring to his candidacy I said, "Now this is a good augury, and I believe you will be elected." Of course he laughed it off,—but I am quite sure he *was* elected.

I have never seen any of the family since, though I urged Rebecca to visit me, and I never found it convenient again to visit her. I presume she has gone as so many of my old friends have,—beyond the reach of mortals.

I did, however, attend other schools that were opened for a shorter or longer time, and soon public schools were established. Some of our parents were still prejudiced in favor of private schools, especially for girls. Of these the teachers were of varying ability, some with fads which they wished to indulge in. One quite prim young woman from Ipswich, Mass., whose school I attended, taught us calisthenics of a very moderate and limited variety, how to rise and bow to the singing teacher when he made his visits, how to enter a room, and how to greet visitors and introduce strangers.

We studied the usual "three R's," and some "ologies" but I fear I did not learn much. Two or three of my friends attended, so as usual we had a pretty good time. This teacher left after a year or two. Others came, and taught for short periods, among them a sister of Henry Ward Beecher. Meanwhile public schools were improving.

Two teachers of one of these schools which I attended for a time were refined and competent women. They were Miss Ketura Wood, a relative of John Wood, and Miss Helen Mar Moore, whose name we thought quite romantic.

It was this school, if I remember correctly, that was in the basement of the Methodist Church, across the street from the ancient burying ground. Most of the remains had been removed. It had been the frequent custom in the early days to surround graves with a picket fence, and it was not unusual to

see one of these enclosures standing, though unoccupied. These vacant enclosures appealed to us school girls as "such nice little rooms for playhouses," so we took possession, no one, apparently, having authority to object. I think we found enough old bits of board to roof it, so to speak, and we brought old rugs and other discarded articles from our homes, used our shawls for draperies, etc., etc., until we felt we had a very cosy and comfortable little house. Two of the larger girls would play father and mother, and we smaller ones the children. We would spread out our lunches when meal time came, and have quite a happy sociable meal. One girl friend, among other admiring visitors, was a gifted story-teller. Her theme quite often was "ghosts," and she narrated these tales in a very dramatic way, so that we would sit spellbound and shivering, yet so impressed with the reality of her spooks and so thrilled we scarcely dared look behind us for fear of seeing, perhaps, the ghost of the former tenant of our playhouse. Yet we enjoyed the playhouse, gruesome as it seems.

We did, however, sometimes have merrier entertainment. We skipped the rope, vying with each other as to how many times we could go without tripping. We played hide-and-seek, tag, etc., etc.

It was for several years an established custom to celebrate the first of May with a royal ceremony. We elected for Queen a girl who was either a great favorite, or whom we thought the most beautiful; then we selected a flower girl and maids of honor. These had all to practice their parts, of course, beforehand. We usually marched to some sylvan spot near town for the ceremonies, and subsequent fun. Watson Springs was the favorite spot. There was as the name indicates, a beautiful little spring there in the midst of a grove, with a grass carpet studded over with wild flowers. And by the way, I have found in this same grove, very far from any garden or cultivated spot, the most gorgeous pansies, as fine as ever grew.

We always dressed in white if possible, provided ourselves with lunches, etc. Strange to say, the first of May was almost always pleasant, sometimes pretty cool, but we didn't mind that. There were plenty of May roses and other flowers for our Queen's crown, and for the flowergirl to strew in her path.

This fete was usually supposed to be a strictly girls' affair; teachers went with us as chaperones, but somehow it always *happened* that by and by a few boys made their appearance, coming by very gayly on horseback, and stopping to see what was going on and finally making themselves quite useful, arranging and propelling swings, making bonfires, and even lending their horses to the girls who thought they would enjoy a little ride. On the whole we thought them quite good promoters of the fun. And so the day passed, full of enjoyment until time for us to go home, tired enough to sleep twelve hours, and wake in the morning to look forward to another May day.

A school of which I was quite fond was a singing school. I had, however, learned to read notes some time before this. It was held in the Congregational Sunday School room. I was fourteen or fifteen years old when I attended. It seemed that I was considered enough of a singer by this time to be invited to join the choir of our (Congregational) Church. It was quite a large choir. Besides the twenty or more singers we had a bass-viol, a cello, a violin, and a very active leader. I was asked to sing alto, principally because one was needed in that part more than anywhere else. So there were three of us altos. The principal one was Mrs. Keyes, wife of the pioneer. She knew how to sing, but she was past middle age, quite fleshy and could not sing fast even when necessary, rather to the annoyance of the rest of us, who were myself and a lad, the son of Judge Snow, and who had a really fine and well-trained voice. It was the custom for the congregation to turn around and "Face the music" when we sang, as the choir gallery was at the rear end of the church. Sometimes we had a really fine singer, who sang frequent solos. This was the Miss Ballard of the Mission Institute. But at all times I know we made a good deal of noise, and our leader was very proud of what he considered the result of his labors.

POLITICS.

The first political campaign that I remember was when William Henry Harrison was presidential candidate. His admirers were very enthusiastic. The John Wood boys built a complete little log cabin mounted on wheels, and furnished it appropriately for the occasion. It was brilliantly lighted, and

drawn through the streets at night by oxen. Those who sat inside were served with hard cider and other appropriate refreshments, flags were flying bearing the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and songs were sung. But as it sadly turned out, it was mostly "Tyler too" who was president.

Sometime during the 'forties my father and mother had visited Massachusetts, leaving my sister and myself with my aunt. While there they heard a good deal about the school that Mary Lyon had established, and from that time it was my father's aim to send me to it. I was much pleased with the idea, and did my best to be prepared to enter when I should be at the required age. I confess though, that it was rather difficult to study systematically with the miscellaneous curriculum of these differing schools and teachers as aids. I was accepted as a candidate for the school, and plans were made for me to leave Quincy early enough to permit of a term at an academy in Massachusetts, in order to assist my preparation.

As the time appointed for me to go was in 1850, that ends for about ten years my experience in Quincy.

By that time there had then been a great deal of grading done and side walks built, but the little city I was to leave, had no sewers, no public supply of water, no telegraph, nor telephone—no sewing machines, no furnaces in houses, no street cars. However, I did not realize these deficiencies as drawbacks and thought Quincy quite a lively little town.

Well—in short as planned, in the spring of said year, in the care of a married man, friend of my parents, accompanied also by the mother of other friends, both of whom wished to go east at that time, we started. Of course, we had to take the boat for St. Louis first, stayed in that city over night to be ready for a boat, "The Mountaineer," going up the Illinois. It came finally, and it took us as far as the stage of the water permitted, and then we boarded a canal boat that landed us in Chicago. We stopped there in a hotel that stood alone, looking out on a wide desolate sandy beach, the locality of which I have never since been able to locate, though in after years the entire beach became very familiar. The next "lap" of the journey was by boat, across Lake Michigan, and landing on the Michigan shore we met the first train of cars I

ever saw. On that we crossed the state to Detroit, and there embarked on another boat for Buffalo, where we could resume the journey to Albany and Massachusetts by rail. Traveling by rail was still for a number of years a very different proposition from the present. There were no dining cars, but trains stopped at certain stations for meals. Neither were there sleepers, and unless you preferred to take the chances of having a whole seat on which to curl up, you stopped off at some convenient point and went to a hotel, for the night.

The account of this journey is not for the purpose of narrating a personal experience but to show just how far modern improvements had by 1850 aided travelers. I must add, however, that it was every bit a week of delight for me, before we reached my destination.

When I made my first visit home I came by rail from Chicago to Joliet, or Peru, but as the Illinois was at that time at too low stage of water, for boats, travelers bound for Quincy obtained stage coach accommodations to the Mississippi, which made a very long, hot and dusty trip, bringing us to Oquawka, where with very poor accommodations we waited for a boat to take us the rest of the way.

After an absence of ten years, interrupted by visits of longer or shorter duration, I finally returned to stay. I then had a husband, and two little boys. I soon found a welcome place among former friends, as well as from those who to me had been, when I left, mature women, while I had been a young school girl to them.

As this narrative has now reached the period of the Civil War, which has been the theme of many able historians, I will only briefly mention my own insignificant part as one of the Quincy women, who did all they could for the care of our wounded soldiers. We, of course, needed much money to carry out our purposes, and for this end organized aid societies. "The Needle Pickets" gave dancing parties principally. The president was Mrs. Charles Morton,⁶ a brilliant woman, and niece-in-law to the Tillsons. The other society was "The Sisters of the Good Samaritan," the president, Mrs. I. O. Woodruff, with Miss Christiana Tillson as treasurer, and myself as secretary.

⁶ Mrs. Motron was the daughter of Archibald Williams a prominent lawyer of Quincy.

Mrs. John Wood, second, was affiliated with us, and was a valued helper. She had visited our soldiers' encampments and made herself acquainted with their needs and longings which otherwise we could never have so well realized.

We gave art exhibitions with portraits of historic characters, posed by the best available young people, and presented statuary also. I think I can honestly say that all these were a real success. We also gave concerts in costume, and finally organized a company to give "Old Folks Concerts." We had a fine leader in Dr. Nichols, who in his handsome black velvet suit, knee breeches, ruffled shirt bosom and ruffles at the wrist, a wig with a long cue tied with black ribbon, and buckled shoes;—looked and acted the part to perfection. The rest of us also dressed in the best looking old fashioned costumes we could devise. We sang old fashioned sacred music, interspersed with songs such as "Blue Eyed Mary," "The Last Rose of Summer," and "John Anderson my Jo John" given by some one of the lady singers.

These concerts were so popular that we were invited to give then in four or five other towns. When we could go by river the steamboats gave us our fare, and if by rail we were similarly favored, and citizens in the different towns entertained us; so we did make a good deal of money, and there is no use in denying that, though the occasion was so sad we really had a very jolly time. Our societies were glad when the war was over to be able to erect a monument to our soldiers. It stands now on the top of the highest Indian mound in Woodland Cemetery.

Quincy should have the credit of being the second city in the west to organize a woman's literary club, Jacksonville, (Ill.), being the first, I believe. Mrs. M. B. Denman, a lady of culture and leisure, was the moving spirit. She soon obtained the cooperation of congenial friends and "Friends in Council" came into being. She furnished a room for the regular meetings. There happened to be a little one storey building on the grounds near her home, that had been Mr. Denman's office, but was no longer used by him, and this was prepared and devoted to the use of the club. I was so fortunate as to be invited to "join," which I did with pleasure, so I can speak with confidence about this enterprise. There were a number of really fine

minds that assembled there, and very interesting programs were enjoyed.

News of our club reached even to Massachusetts, with the result that Mr. Alcott, father of the author of "Little Women," visited us. He was a sweet, placid and well-informed old gentleman, and we had several very interesting visits with him. Some sad changes occurred in the "Friends in Council," during my lengthy absences. Mrs. Denman died. The building occupied by the club had been deeded to it, so it was still the club's home, though the land on which it stood belonged to the homestead.

It frequently happened in new western towns that it would seem to a stranger that half of the people one met were related. It really was so to some extent in Quincy in the thirties and forties. Of course, when a marriage occurred between members of two families, the relatives of each were increased, and as similar occurrences were frequent, the result was a long chain of related families. Such a chain, perhaps the longest, embraced John and Robert Tillson, Charles and Edward Savage, the Godfreys, Wells, Smiths, Bennesons, Woodruffs, Kellers, Skinners, Lockwoods and Mortons. Another chain included the Messrs. Lorenzo and Henry Bull, the Bushnells, Keyes, Collins, Parkers, the McFadons, Richardsons, Rutherfords, Arthurs, Weems, Palmers and others.

But as years go by, families become scattered, relationships are more and more attenuated, till they perhaps become unrecognizable, unless, it occurs, as it did a few years ago in Springfield, when my friend Mrs. Shumway discovered that an aunt of hers and one of mine each married John and Robert Tillson, respectively, 70 or 80 years ago.

Other families have died, and the only reminders of them left are inscriptions on tablets in the Memorial Building of the Quincy Historical Society located in what was once the home of Governor John Wood described in this article, or on tombstones, or monuments, in Woodland Cemetery.

"Sic transit gloria Mundi."

Of marriages among old friends, one was that of John Tillson, Jr., and Ann Eliza Wood, daughter of John Wood the first. He died, and his family moved to some farther western town a few years later. John Wood, Jr., married Josephine Skinner, one of my intimate friends. She told me with much

apparent satisfaction that she visited at the "Mansion" in Springfield when "Father Wood was governor." She did not live many years, and the bereaved widower married afterwards his sister-in-law, a fine woman, but it would seem that he could never be happy after the loss of his first wife who had been his sweetheart almost from childhood, for he finally shot himself over her grave.

But, happily, all have not died. Daughters have married and gone to husband's homes elsewhere. My own Tillson cousins come under that head. The eldest married Maitland Boon of Watertown, N. Y., and after a few years residence in Quincy they went back to his native town, with all their family, and never returned. Her sister, Sarah, married Dr. Brinton, of Philadelphia, who was for some time editor of a medical and surgical journal. He was, however, very devoted to literature, was considered a fine expositor of Robert Browning's poems, and especially, in later years, of the Maya Indian literature. He received honors from European, especially Spanish, societies, on account of his work in that line. A special section of a Philadelphia College library is devoted to his works. His family have always lived in Philadelphia.

A daughter of Col. Edward Prince married Bishop Thomas of the Episcopal Church. They have never lived in Quincy.

A very fine family, the Eliphalet Blatchfords, lived for a time in a handsome country house in the environs of Quincy. While on one of my trips home from the east, we met, and they gave me very kind attention on the difficult part of the journey. They moved to Chicago not very long afterwards, and were for many years among the most highly esteemed north side residents.

Growing and prosperous Chicago became a lure to a number of Quincy families, and Quincy's loss became Chicago's gain. Several of the Messrs. Bull's families moved there, and many others also, of whom I had not heard till by chance meeting an early Quincy acquaintance during the Columbian Exposition each of us explained to the other "Oh, I have been living here several years!"

Others have found attractions elsewhere, as in the case of Mr. Henry Bull's family,—no one is left in Quincy.

My sister, Mrs. Kimball, has lived in Springfield, Chicago, Los Angeles and Boston, for perhaps forty years.

The first John Tillson's wife, daughter, and son Robert, left Quincy after the father's death, and went to New York to live.

CHANGES.

Among important changes that occurred during the late fifties or sixties, was the removal by Governor Wood of his first fine house to another location on his extensive grounds, and the erection of a much larger dwelling of a peculiar style of architecture, somewhat octagonal in form. After he and other members of his family died, *this* building was purchased for what is now known as Chaddock College.

The earlier family mansion was purchased for a building to be devoted to the memory of the city's early settlers. I visited Quincy a few years ago, and was kindly shown over the building by Mrs. E. J. Parker, the treasurer, and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lorenzo Bull, esteemed early friends. The tablets that lined the marble walls of the Memorial Hall of the Quincy Historical Society, bore almost without exception the names of well remembered friends.

The little home of "Friends in Council" had been moved to the grounds to which it had been given a legal right near the Memorial Building.

A water supply had finally been obtained through the efforts of Col. Edward Prince (uncle of Dr. A. E. Prince) and Mr. Wm. Bull now of Chicago.

One of the notable events to Quincy people was the fact that, by the death of Governor Bissell, our John Wood, Lieutenant Governor, became Governor of Illinois; and when Andrew Johnson became President, our admired and honored O. H. Browning was appointed Secretary of the Interior.

The establishment of Monticello Seminary has proved the means of bringing together some Springfield and Quincy girls. My cousin, afterwards Mrs. Maitland Boon, made the acquaintance there of the Misses Lamb, especially of her who is now Mrs. Palmer, the widow of General John M. Palmer, and of her sister. She visited in Springfield on several occasions, and used to tell interested friends of the receptions at the Mansion, and of the band playing under the "rotunda," and of the dancing, etc., quite to the envy of Quincy girls.

Another of my Tillson cousins went to Monticello a number of years later. My aunt asked me to go with her and introduce her. It was a very pleasant errand for me, as Miss Harriet N. Haskell and her assistant Miss Alden had been fellow students and friends of mine at Mt. Holyoke Seminary.

A niece of Governor Wood's one of my school girl friends, went to Chicago to teach, while I was elsewhere than in Quincy, "more or less." She was a woman of fine mind, and well educated. I visited her occasionally. She finally married the brother of D. H. Burnham, architect of the Columbian Exposition, and when I moved to Chicago we were both very happy to renew our early intimacy, and to introduce each other as almost *lifelong* friends. She died in 1923, aged 91 years. The last of my childhood friends.

Of the very early Quincy families who have no descendants in Quincy that I am aware of, are the Tillsons, Savages, Smiths, Brownings, Bushnells, Baldwins, Henry Bulls, Seamens, Mortons, Flaggs, Dimocks, Hurlburts, Palmers, Godfreys, Samuel Holmes, Shermans, Dr. Nichols, Lettons, and probably others of whom I have no knowledge, or whose names I do not recall.

The final history of my honored friends the Brownings is a pitiful one,—though he died before he learned the extent of his misfortunes, so his widow and adopted daughter were the greatest sufferers. Their severe trials were the result of their too great generosity and misplaced confidence, as too often happens in this wicked world.

As I look back through the fifty years since I ceased to be a citizen of Quincy, I cannot recall the name of one of my early friends of the "forties" who is now living.

These scattering and imperfect records of old time conditions and events in Quincy, and of the fine people who were its founders, constitute a very inadequate testimonial of my regard for the friends of those years and of the pleasant remembrance of my earliest home.

The marriages and deaths that I have recorded have been only of friends or near relatives. They show that I have scarcely a half dozen old friends left there, and no relatives, unless I claim the beautiful granddaughter of the Arthurs, a cousin of my son-in-law, Dr. Arthur Prince,—Mrs. W. G. Noll, as one.

EDITORIAL

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TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the auditorium of the new Centennial Memorial Building on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 22-23, 1923.

This was the first meeting of any kind to be held in this building, and it is appropriate that the Historical Society should be the first to use it as the Historical Library and Historical Society will be permanently located in the building. The first public address delivered in the building was that of Prof. Milo M. Quaife of Wisconsin, who presented the first paper at the meeting of the Historical Society. The title of this address is The Northwestern Career of Jefferson Davis. It is published in this number of the Journal.

The annual address before the Society was made by United States Senator Simeon D. Fess of Ohio on the subject The

European Situation and our Relation to it. The address was a masterly one and showed with clearness the speaker's complete acquaintance with American and European diplomatic history, especially during the past twenty years, which, of course, includes the period covered by the World War. There was a very large audience who heard Senator Fess's address with great interest. Extracts from the address have been published in the papers of the larger American cities and even in England. It is published in full, as are all other papers delivered at the annual meeting, in the transactions of the Historical Society for 1923.

Mr. Wallace Rice recited a poem entitled *Illinois and Time*, Dedicatory Poem, written by him in honor of the first occupancy of the Centennial Memorial Building.

One of the most interesting features of the annual meeting was the dinner at the Illini Country Club in honor of Prof. E. B. Greene who has resigned from the faculty of the University of Illinois and goes to Columbia University. An account of the special features of the dinner is given in this number of the *Journal*.

Other addresses presented at the annual meeting were: Benjamin F. Harris, an Illinois Pioneer, by Mrs. Mary Vose Harris, Champaign; The Prairie and the Railroad, by Mr. C. A. Harper, University of Illinois; Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth, first martyr of the Civil War, by Prof. L. E. Robinson, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois; The Influence of Tennesseans in the formation of Illinois, by Rev. E. B. Landis, D. D., Homewood, Illinois; Influence of Commerce on Union Sentiment in the Old Northwest in 1860, by Mr. A. L. Kohlmier, Indiana State University, Bloomington; The Life and Public Services of Mrs. John A. Logan, by Mrs. A. S. Caldwell, Regent Logan Chapter, D. A. R., Carbondale, Illinois, who was an intimate friend of Mrs. Logan. Mrs. Caldwell was unable to be present and her paper was read by the Secretary of the Society. The musical numbers given at the various sessions were greatly enjoyed.

The business meeting of the Society was held Wednesday morning at which time reports of officers and committees were heard. The report of the Secretary gave an exhaustive account

of the affairs of the Historical Society for the year ending May 22, 1923. This report is published in the annual Transactions of the Society. Members who heard the report urged that on future occasions the Secretary's report be read at the evening session when the audience is larger, in order that members and friends become better acquainted with the plans, endeavors and accomplishments of the Historical Society.

CHICAGO TO BUILD THE WORLD'S LARGEST HIGH SCHOOL.

Plans are well underway by John C. Christensen, architect for the Board of Education of Chicago, for the Theodore Roosevelt High School which it is claimed will be the world's largest and finest educational institution of its kind. It will cover two city blocks and cost approximately \$4,000,000. The site comprises an area of about eight and a quarter acres, and is bounded on the south by Wilson Avenue, on the east by Kimball Avenue, on the north by Leland Avenue.

The most striking feature of the new school, aside from its size, will be the Roosevelt Memorial Tower, which will reach a height of 135 feet, and as it stands on the axis of Bernard Street it will have a vista of ten city blocks.

Another memorial to former President Theodore Roosevelt will be an elaborate fountain to be erected on the school grounds, by the National Bureau for the Advancement of Patriotism.

The school will have a capacity including class and study rooms, of 4,076 pupils. Some idea of the huge size of the school will be gained when the list of rooms is given. For instance, there will be ninety-one class rooms, five study rooms, five type-writing and bookkeeping rooms, four sewing rooms, one textile arts room, one printing room, ten drawing rooms, two household science rooms, one growing room, and two music rooms. There will be two auto shops, three woodworking shops, a sheet metal shop, and two electric shops. There will be five first year science laboratories, two laboratories for chemistry, two for botany, one for zoology, and two physics laboratories. The athletic side of school life will be cared for by two girls' and two boys' gymnasiums also there will be two swimming pools,

one for boys and one for girls, with dressing rooms. Teachers will have a rest room on each floor. There will be a large library, and art exhibition room, a newspaper room, and administration offices.

The large assembly hall with balcony, will seat 2,000. In addition there will be a community room seating 500. The school's lunchroom will seat 1,000 at one time.

The main facade with the memorial fore court will be on Wilson Avenue. The east tower will face on Kimball Avenue and is the main motive for the community center wing. It is expected that plans will be completed in time so that contracts can be entered into and work started late in the fall of this year. It will probably be completed in the spring of 1925.

PLAN THAT TURNS VAST SAND BANKS IN HENDERSON AND OTHER ILLINOIS COUNTIES INTO AREAS OF FINE ALFALFA.

Chief Black Hawk's historic "yellow banks" of Western Illinois between Oquawka and New Boston are being transformed into productive fields through a unique system of sand farming developed by Alexander Moir of Burlington, Iowa.

On this huge sand bar, seventeen miles long, averaging two miles wide and 42 feet deep, cactus, sand burs and fire weeds are about the only plants that will flourish on the untreated fields; under the Moir System of treatment the farmers are able economically to produce from three to six tons of alfalfa, fifty-six bushels of corn, thirty-three bushels of rye and twenty-four bushels of wheat to the acre on this sand ridge paralleling the Mississippi River.

Farmers in the Mississippi bottoms and on the ridges skirting the long sand bar, covering an area of more than 20,000 acres, told Alex Moir that he was foolhardy to attempt farming in sand hills pitted with blow holes varying in size from tiny depressions to excavations more than 100 feet from the bottom to the top of the dunes around the rim. Fourteen years ago, when Mr. Moir started his project of reclaiming this barren land, no progressive farmer in that section would waste his time trying to grow crops on pure sand.

Alex Moir thought it a waste of time, too, until he became interested in the sleek coat of a grand champion bull at the International Live Stock Show in 1909 and found that the high finish on the winner was chiefly the result of feeding him alfalfa hay. Then he bought Joseph E. Wings' book on alfalfa and began trying to work out some crop on the abandoned sand land he bought for hunting ground at \$12.50 an acre. Through the personal advice of Mr. Wing and J. W. Coverdale from the Iowa Station, sandsamples were analyzed to see what was needed. Lime and humus were both lacking. Tests were made on a small scale where lime and manure were used. It was found that good crops of alfalfa and rye could be grown by applying three or four tons of manure and five tons of limestone to each acre. But with the sand skimming over the ground like fine snow the tender alfalfa plants were sheared off close to the ground or covered up in sand drifts.

After several tests were made, the new and unique feature of the Moir system was discovered. It was found that sewing oats in the fall about the last week in September that they would reach a height of six to twelve inches, die in the winter, leaving a protective blanket of dead oat plants matted on the surface to hold the sand in place. In the spring alfalfa could be drilled in the field with the dead oats where the young plants are protected from the cutting sand.

Supplying manure for 800 acres of sand land was a big task, but 500 car loads of litter and cleanings from live stock cars were brought from a railroad and piled along the tracks bordering Mr. Moir's land at Milroy Station. A clam shell dredge was used to unload the manure which was piled in heaps thirty to forty feet high, forming a ridge more than 300 feet long; after two-thirds of the mountain of manure had been used this method of supplying humus was discarded, the growing of cow-peas to take the place of manure was adopted and proved to be a cheaper and easier way of getting vegetable matter into the sand.

The simple system followed on the Moir land today can no doubt be adopted by other farmers, making it possible to put millions of acres of sand land in the United States under cultivation. His present method is to start by throwing brush,

straw, coarse manure and similar materials into the blow holes to hold the sand. In a short time the sand is blown back into the pits and the field is practically level. Five tons of limestone are put on each acre. The land is plowed in the spring to a depth of six inches and cow-peas are drilled, broadcasted, or planted in rows, the black-eyed variety is used at the rate of three pecks to the acre.

Cow-peas are grown for two years in succession and turned under with a breaking plow each summer when the plants have reached their full size. In the fall of the second year, about a bushel to the acre and a subsoil packer is used to firm the ground and prevent the blowing of the sand. The oats often grow a foot high before they are winter killed.

The following spring or the third year after the system has been started alfalfa is cross drilled at the rate of ten pounds of seed to the acre each time, or a total of twenty pounds to the acre. The seed is inoculated with dirt from fields where alfalfa or sweet clover has been grown. This is essential, to get a good stand. The first year, if the season is good, Mr. Moir gets one light clipping of alfalfa but the real harvest comes the second year when three cuttings are made during the season.

Three or four cuttings of alfalfa are harvested each season, yielding an average of three tons to the acre and in exceptional cases running as high as six tons to the acre. Alfalfa is constantly storing up nitrogen in the soil; the plants live for many years and produce a fair crop each year without being reseeded or cultivated in any way.

At his farm recently Mr. Moir took a party of Chicago men into a seventy-five acre field of alfalfa that was started eight years ago. "I get an average of about three tons to the acre every year from this field" he remarked as he stood in the field with the tops of alfalfa plants waving several inches above his knees. "We haven't touched this field since it was first seeded except to come here and harvest the crop. This land cost me \$12.50 an acre, including limestone, cow-peas and labor. When the cost is distributed over a period of years it is small and low enough that any farmer with sand land can afford to do what I am doing."

"I have never seen any better alfalfa grown on a \$200 an acre land," said a soil and crop expert as he drove around the seventy-five acre field. In another alfalfa field established thirteen years ago there is still a fair stand, yielding about three tons to the acre each season.

"The cost of growing alfalfa on this sand is low," added Mr. Moir. "My average return on this alfalfa, going back to the time when I first started with it, had been around \$12 or more a ton or \$36 an acre each year. The original cost of the land, the expense of working it into shape and getting a start with alfalfa is about \$25 an acre. I get all of this money back and \$19 an acre besides at the end of the harvest season of the fourth year after I start the system.

Rye is about the only crop that can be grown on this untreated sand but the yield is so low that it does not pay. From four to eight bushels of rye to the acre is the best farmers can get on the sand unless they use manure or cow-peas and lime.

With the Moir system the alfalfa can be turned under after it begins to get thin, and excellent crops of small grains, such as rye and wheat, can be grown. Rye almost six feet high is grown on the Moir farm. About two thirds of the 800 acres is now under this new system. All of the 1,200 acres owned by these two men is being put under this system as rapidly as possible.

Several thousand acres had been abandoned before Mr. Moir started his work. Some of the farms were sold for taxes. "It has not been many years ago since I bought some of this land at \$4 an acre and sold it for \$10," said Mr. Moir. "Soon after I demonstrated that crops could be profitably grown on this sand ridge the price of the same kind of land shot up to \$60 an acre."

Even with this new system being demonstrated in fields just over the fence some of the farmers along the "Yellow Banks" are continuing their practice of burning off the fields and trying to grow crops without the use of limestone and manure or cow-peas. In driving over the main road through this sandy section for more than eight miles only three shacks, one of them unoccupied were to be seen, apparently most of the people have given up farming believing it a hopeless task

to attempt the growing of crops on such land. The traditional fishing pole carried on the sand farmer's shoulder or tied to the side of his buggy is more common than the plow even at the present time. The sand is so loose in the road that the wheels of an automobile go down to the hub, leaving a snake track behind. In some places straw has to be spread over the road to make traveling possible. It is this kind of soil in which Mr. Moir has developed a system that is making possible the reclamation of thousands of acres of abandoned sand farms. Along the main highway of the sand ridge he is growing crops on seven different plats of from five to six acres each, demonstrating the possibilities of profitable farming on pure sand.

To futher carry out his ideas, Mr. Moir gave twenty acres of this land to the University of Illinois five or six years ago to be used in official experimental work. Soil and crop experts have been treating plots with different kinds of materials and have obtained excellent results.

Farmers in Muscatine and Lee Counties, Iowa, are operating thousands of acres of sand land quite similar to the land in Henderson County, Illinois, where Mr. Moir is farming. They are following his new system. He advises farmers with sand soil to start on a small scale, liming and growing cow-peas on five or ten acres, adding more acres each year.

AMBASSADOR JULES J. JUSSERAND MAKES
ADDRESS AT UNVEILING OF BUST OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Greatness came to Lincoln out of solitude," Jules J. Jusserand, ambassador of France said in an address at the unveiling of a bust of Lincoln in the University Hall of Fame, New York, May 22, 1923.

PROFESSOR JULIUS STIEGLETZ, RECEIVES
PRIZE AWARDED BY THE AMERICAN
CHEMICAL SOCIETY.

Prof. Julius Stiegletz, chairman of the department of chemistry at the University of Chicago, has been awarded the

Willard Gibbs medal, given annually by the Chicago section of the American Chemical Society.

A PART OF COOK COUNTY'S FOREST PRESERVE NAMED "BELLEAU WOOD."

"Belleau Wood," is the name given to a corner of the forest preserve at Rand and Ballard Roads, and thus became Cook County's first living memorial to her world war soldiers.

LIFE OF LINCOLN IN MOVING PICTURE.

"The Dramatic Life of Abraham Lincoln," now being filmed by the Rockett-Lincoln company, is almost complete and a copy of the film will be placed in a vault either at Washington or Springfield to be opened on the 186th anniversary of Lincoln's birthday celebration, or in the year 2109.

WILLIAM MATHER LEWIS, OF CHICAGO. HEADS GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY.

"William Mather Lewis of Chicago and Lake Forest, chief of the education service of the United States Chamber of Commerce, was elected president of George Washington University by the board of trustees, on June 1, 1923.

"Mr. Lewis was born at Howell, Mich., March 24, 1878, the son of James and Mary (Farrand) Lewis. He is a graduate of Lake Forest College where he received the Degree of A. B. in 1900.

"Mr. Lewis served as mayor of Lake Forest, Illinois."

ROGER SHERMAN NAMED HEAD OF STATE LAWYERS.

Roger Sherman of Chicago was elected president of the State Bar Association at a meeting held in Peoria, June 3, 1923.

RICHARD LOEB OF CHICAGO. YOUNGEST GRADU- ATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

The youngest student who has ever graduated from the University of Michigan is Richard Loeb of Chicago, who was

18 years old on June 11 and received his degree one week later. Loeb will return to the university for research work in history.

**CAPT. JAMES A. KEATING RECEIVES WAR MEDAL
FOR BRAVERY DURING WORLD WAR.**

A war medal was bestowed at the school graduation presenting the Distinguished Service Cross to Capt. James A. Keating for bravery and skill as an aviator during the World War. This ceremony closed the alumni reunion and military review of cadets and companies of national guard units and the 131st Infantry at Morgan Park Academy commencement exercises June 3, 1923. The review was made before Maj. Gen. George Bell, Jr., retired. Immediately after the review Maj. Gen. Bell, presented Captain Keating with the medal and read the citation telling of his patriotic service.

**MRS. EDNA A. STREETER, WIDOW OF CAPT. GEORGE
STREETER OF THE DISTRICT OF LAKE
MICHIGAN PETITIONS COURT
FOR AN INJUNCTION.**

"Ma" Streeter. Mrs. Edna A. Streeter, widow of Capt. George W. Streeter erstwhile major of the District of Lake Michigan, on June 7, 1923, petitioned the Circuit Court to issue an injunction compelling the city to repair her house boat and then keep their hands off the good ship "Vamoose."

**ENGINEERS HONOR CAPT. R. W. HUNT FOR LONG
SERVICE IN STEEL WORK.**

Capt. Robert Woolson Hunt, 86 year old veteran of the Civil War, was honored June 18, 1923, at the annual meeting of the Western Society of Engineers. He was presented with the Washington award "for his pioneer work in development of the steel industry, and for a life devoted to the advancement of the engineering profession." This was an inscribed tablet—an unusual recognition of the American whose work has been of the greatest benefit to the country, founded in 1916 by John W. Alvord. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, was given

the award last year. Captain Hunt who began work in rolling mills in 1856, was the first to establish a chemical laboratory in a steel mill.

BLACK HAWK PARK DEDICATED TO MEMORY OF HEROES SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1923.

Black Hawk Park at Fullerton and LeClaire Avenues, Chicago, was dedicated on Sunday, June 10, 1923, to the memory of the 100,000 men who passed under the colors of the 86th Division during the World War. The ceremonies were in charge of Black Hawk Post of the American Legion. Addresses were made by Col. A. A. Sprague, commissioner of public works, Col. M. M. Keck, U. S. A., chief of staff of the 86th Division, Capt. Myron Adams, manager of the Fort Sheridan Association, and Assistant Corporation Counsel, Frank Padden.

CHICAGO BANK WOMEN FORM AN ORGANIZATION.

Miss Edna Howard is the president of the newly organized Association of Chicago Bank Women, which was formed at a meeting and dinner held at the College Club on Friday night, July 6, 1923. Miss Howard is manager of the women's department of the Northern Trust Company. The other officers of this organization, the purpose of which is to bring together women who hold executive positions in banks to outline definite plans on how best to handle this new field opened to women, are Vice President, Miss Nina Y. Carter, manager of the women's department of the Peoples Trust and Savings Bank; Secretary, Miss Frances McKillip, manager of the women's department of the Garfield Park State Savings bank; Treasurer, Miss Mary Travers, manager women's department Lake Shore Trust and Savings Bank.

OLD TIME "MOURNERS BENCH" DISAPPEARS AT CAMP MEETING.

The "Mourners bench" at the DesPlaines Camp meeting has been removed, wood and all. For sixty-four years the "Mourners bench," as the long wooden plank placed in front

of the preacher's platform has been called, has been the center of interest as the spot where sinners have knelt in penitence. Whether it was considered a useless appendage to the modern style of camp meeting is a matter of conjecture. George Haberer, an old-timer called attention to its absence. "Nobody seems to miss it," Mr. Haberer said. A touch of the old time camp meeting was given July 12, 1923, by the Rev. F. F. Familoe, who has been a member of the Rock River Conference as a minister for fifty-seven years and who has celebrated his seventy-seventh birthday. He led the morning class meeting and spoke on the value of joy in religion. At the evening service a large bouquet of flowers was presented to him which concealed a number of bank notes.

DR. ERNEST DE WITT BURTON MADE PRESIDENT OF UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Dr. Ernest De Witt Burton, who has been acting president of the University of Chicago, since the retirement of Harry Pratt Judson last February, was formally elected president of that institution Thursday, July 12, 1923, at a meeting of the board of trustees. In choosing Doctor Burton the University still follows the precedent by naming a Baptist as the guiding genius despite the recent action of the Northern Baptists' Convention in letting down the denominational bars so far as the presidency is concerned.

Doctor Burton who is 67 years old and has been connected with the University for more than thirty years, himself expressed the opinion sometime ago that the trustees might seek a younger man for the office. Shortly afterward the Baptists broadened the field of choice for both president and trustees by deciding the president need not be a Baptist and that only three-fifths of the trustees need be of that denomination instead of two-thirds as heretofore. Several nationally known educators have been mentioned for the post. It is believed the action of the trustees was largely influenced by the intimacy and sympathy of Doctor Burton with the policies laid down by Presidents Harper and Judson. These include the extension of the research work without detracting from the development of

a group of eight or ten colleges or destroying athletics and the social life. "President Burton is a scholar of international reputation in his field, an educator of wide observation and an experienced and accomplished administrator" said Harold H. Swift president of the board of trustees. "His connection with the university from the beginning and his studies abroad admirably fit him for the important position to which he has been elected."

President Burton is head of the department of New Testament and early Christian literature, and for the last thirteen years has been director of libraries at the University. He visited China in 1908-09 as chairman of the oriental educational Commission of the University and was again Chairman of a commission to study educational conditions in China in 1920-21. From 1912 until recently he was chairman of the board of education of the Northern Baptist Convention. Frank H. Lindsay of Milwaukee was elected to the Baptist vacancy on the board.

CAHOKIA MOUNDS. ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE PASSES
BILL APPROPRIATING MONEY FOR PURCHASE
OF THE MOUNDS.

Despite bitter opposition from many persons who believe that the Cahokia Mounds in Madison County are natural hills and not Indian remains, the Illinois legislature passed the bill appropriating \$50,000 toward their purchase. The governor signed the bill. The tract containing the mounds will when the purchase has been made, pass to the control of the state. Of course this tract will include only a few of the mounds in the vicinity.

Some antiquarians contend that these mounds, sixty-four in number, are tombs of the kings of sun worshipers of many centuries ago. Menaced for years by the expansion of industries in their vicinity, fear has been expressed that the mounds would be lost to the public, if the state did not take action and convert the land into a public park. Thus researches by scientists will be possible. The Cahokia Mound is the largest and has a height of 102 feet and its largest axis is 998 feet, covering slightly more than sixteen acres.

In volume, the Cahokia is the greatest earth structure of the kind in the world. The builders of Cahokia are gone. The fire which burned upon the summit, through the watches of the night, is dead and the winds have scattered the ashes, but the temple remains. That pile, beautiful to see, rich in historical association, and the hope of archaeologists, remains in all its mystery. There may be a wonderful day in Illinois when these mounds like the tomb of King Tut are opened.

BRONZE MEMORIAL TABLET, ERECTED IN CHICAGO
TO THE MEMORY OF JANE BERNARD SKINNER,
PIONEER IN CHILD WELFARE WORK.

A bronze memorial tablet, erected to the memory of Jane Barnard Skinner in the name of the late Edward S. Shepherd the gift of his son, F. R. Shepherd, was unveiled July 26, 1923, at the entrance of the Chicago Avenue police station. Chief of Police Collins, in accepting the tablet on behalf of the people department, termed Mrs. Skinner one of America's greatest women; "unselfish, anxious to help humanity wherever her help was needed and always working so quietly that those next her scarcely knew what great work she was doing." Mrs. Skinner who died January 12, 1923, was active in welfare work for many years.

The inscription on the tablet reads: "Tribute to the memory of Jane Barnard Skinner, 1858-1923, a pioneer in the cause of child welfare. For twenty-two years a volunteer officer of the Juvenile Court, a staunch supporter of constituted authority, yet ever ready to help and guide the law's transgressors to better things. The major portion of her life was devoted to the cause of humanity and her ever recurring deeds of love that shunned the sight of all but heaven have scattered rays of sunshine into the lives of a multitude of erring sisters, and of the destitute, homeless, and neglected."

ILLINOIS FARMS GET LARGE SUMS IN FEDERAL
LOANS.

Illinois farmers have borrowed \$56,959,400 from the banks of the federal farm loan system, according to a tabulation of

these loans up to June 30, 1923, compiled from reports made to the federal farm loan board.

This is Illinois' participation in a grand total of \$1,160,659,516 advanced to farmers throughout the United States by the joint stock land banks and federal land banks. Of this \$56,959,400 to Illinois, \$24,007,500 was borrowed during the year which closed June 30, 1923. During the year closed on June 30th, 1923, the total of loans in the forty-eight states was \$466,389,813. Of this amount joint stock land banks supplied \$233,920,598, and the federal banks \$212,469,215.

The billion dollar mark for the federal farm loan system, which includes both joint stock land banks and federal land banks, was passed on June 30, 1923, when the statement of business done from organizations to that date gave the total of loans made by all the banks of the system is \$1,160,695,516. Of this amount the federal land banks have made \$787,460,304 and the joint stock land banks have made \$373,199,212.

**J. W. MIDDLETON, PIONEER OAK PARK RESIDENT,
DEAD.**

J. W. Middleton, 126 South Maple Avenue, Oak Park, President until a year ago of the J. W. Middleton Company, 111 West Monroe street, died at his home on Sunday, April 8, 1923, at the age of 88 years. Mr. Middleton was born in New York City and came to Chicago in 1853. He had lived in Oak Park for many years. The First Baptist church there was founded in his home fifty years ago. He is survived by one daughter, Mrs. J. W. MacDonald, of Oak Park. Funeral services were held from his residence.

**THE REV. DANIEL F. MCGUIRE, PASTOR OF OAK
PARK CHURCH, DEAD.**

The Rev. Daniel F. McGuire, for thirty years pastor of the Visitation church, Oak Park, died April 2, 1923, at the Oak Park hospital, following a brief illness. He retired three years ago and lived with his nephew, Edward B. McGuire, 203 South Euclid avenue, Oak Park.

MRS. LAVANCIA PLUMB, HEAD OF STREATOR BANK,
DIES AT 81.

Mrs. Lavancia Plumb, for twenty-four years president of the Union National bank of Streator, died April 11, 1923, at her home at the age of 81 years. She was one of the founders and treasurer of the National Temperance hospital in Chicago, now the Frances Willard hospital, and was a personal friend of Frances Willard. She is survived by three daughters, Mrs. Mary Harris, Mrs. Jessie Schryver, and Mrs. Bertha Frazier, and one son, S. W. Plumb, vice president of the Streator bank.

BUSHRODE E. HOPPIN, DIES IN BOSTON AT AGE
OF 94.

Bushrode E. Hoppin, personal friend of Abraham Lincoln and one time member of the New York and Illinois legislatures died at his home at Boston, Mass., April 20, 1923, at the age of 94.

Mr. Hoppin came to Chicago with his wife in 1875. For many years they lived on Michigan avenue between 32d and 33d streets. Of late years they had made their home with one of their married daughters until the death, a few years ago, of Mrs. Hoppin, when her husband moved to Boston. For many years he was prominent in Republican politics, while Mrs. Hoppin was equally prominent in Chicago Women's clubs.

EMERSON HOUGH, NOTED NOVELIST, DIES.

Emerson Hough died in Evanston, Ill., April 30, 1923. He was born in Newton, Iowa, on June 28, 1857. He was educated in the public schools and University of Iowa. His first book was published in 1895. He married Miss Charlotte A. Cheeseboro of Chicago. He lived in Chicago until 1922, when he moved to Highland Park, Ill. He wrote "The Mississippi Bubble," "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," "The Covered Wagon," etc. He was a great hunter and fisherman.

**CAPT. E. R. LEWIS, WIDELY KNOWN AS A PATRIOT,
DIES.**

"Capt. E. R. Lewis, well known in Grand Army Circles and in Chicago, died at his residence, 7458 Normal Avenue, May 31, 1923. He was born in Northfield, Cook County, June 19, 1841. He compiled a "Roll of Honor" which is a record of all the soldiers and sailors who have fought in all the wars of America and have been buried in the Cemeteries of Cook County.

DEATH OF JUDGE THOMAS G. WINDES.

Judge Thomas G. Windes, dean of the Circuit Court, died at his home, 530 Cherry Street, Winnetka, Illinois, June 4, 1923, at the age of 75 years. Few men in the public eye possessed a more interesting life story than Judge Windes.

He was born in Morgan County, Alabama, January 19, 1848, son of Rev. Enoch and Mary A. (Ryan) Windes. He was educated in the Morgan County Public Schools 1853-1863; attended the academy at Huntsville, Ala., 1866-67; studied law at the University of Virginia and privately at Huntsville, Alabama and Jasper, Tennessee. He married Sallie C. Humphrey of Madison, Ala., December 3, 1868. To this union were born Frank A., Zel F., Susan A., and Thomas Guy. He served in the cavalry division, C. S. A. 1864-1865. Taught school during the years 1868-70; farmed 1871-1872; and became a law clerk and practicing attorney 1873-1892. He was Master in Chancery Circuit Court of Cook County, 1880-1892; Judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County since 1892; chief justice 1908. He was a member of the Illinois State and Chicago Bar Associations. He was also a member of the American Bar Association.

**SEYMOUR HURST, MEMBER OF THE FIFTY-THIRD
ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1923, DIES
IN PARIS, ILLINOIS.**

Seymour Hurst of Marshall, Illinois, Democratic member of the Fifty-third General Assembly died in a hospital at

Paris, Illinois, July 1, 1923. Mr. Hurst was in Springfield during the closing days of the legislature and became ill in Paris, Ill. He served two terms as Mayor of Marshall.

**WILBUR MESSER, WORLD LEADER IN Y. M. C. A.,
DIES IN CHICAGO.**

L. Wilbur Messer, LL. D., internationally known as a leader in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, for thirty-five years the General Secretary of the Chicago Y. M. C. A., died on July 15, 1923, at the Presbyterian hospital, Chicago, after an illness from which he was unconscious since March 20. Funeral services were held at the Hyde Park Methodist Episcopal Church of which Mr. Messer was a member. Burial was made at Lewiston, Maine. He is survived by his widow and a daughter, Mrs. Virgil D. Earl of Astoria, Oregon.

Dr. Messer was born in 1856 at Somersworth, N. H. His first secretaryship of the Y. M. C. A. was at Peoria, Illinois. From there he went to Cambridge, Mass., where he served four years, coming to Chicago in 1888. On January 11th, 1923, Doctor Messer resigned as General Secretary. He was given a consultative relationship and retained as a member of the executive body. On March 9, he collapsed in his room at the University Club and was taken to the Presbyterian hospital. When Doctor Messer came to Chicago the Y. M. C. A. was located in Farwell Hall on Madison, near La Salle Street, and in four small but well placed buildings for railroad men. He led in the construction of the present Association building at 19 South La Salle Street and in the expansion of the work of the Y. M. C. A., until it now has assets of more than \$4,500,000, including the Y. M. C. A. hotel on South Wabash Avenue.

**WILLIAM HOLABIRD, WORLD FAMOUS ARCHITECT,
DIES IN EVANSTON.**

William Holabird, senior member of the firm of Holabird and Roche, Architects, died at his home at 1500 Oak Avenue, Evanston on July 19, 1923, after a long illness. Mr. Holabird was one of the pioneer builders of Chicago, holding a foremost

rank among the architects of the country. He was the originator of the skeleton type of building which revolutionized the industry, not only in Chicago and America but throughout the world.

It was under his direction that the first building of this type in Chicago, the Tacoma building at Madison and La Salle streets, was constructed. And it was under his supervision that the last of the type to be put up before his death, the New Chicago Temple building at Clark and Washington streets was designed.

Mr. Holabird and his firm were closely connected with the Chicago Tribune in its building projects. Holabird and Roche were the architects responsible for the Tribune building at Madison and Dearborn Streets, erected in 1902, and it was in this building that Mr. Holabird's suggestions for the use of sub-basement space, now in ordinary use, were first adopted and utilized.

Mr. Holabird was born in New York State on September 11, 1854. He was graduated from the high school in St. Paul, Minn., and in 1873 entered West Point, remaining two years. Afterwards he came to Chicago and entered the office of W. L. B. Jenney, remaining there several years before organizing the present firm of Holabird and Roche. He was a member of a large number of clubs including the University, Chicago, Union League and Mid-Day and the City and Glen View Golf Clubs. He was also a member of the Loyal Legion and a Knight Templar in the Evanston Commandery.

Mr. Holabird is survived by his widow, Mrs. Maria Angur Holabird, one son, Col. John A. Holabird, and two daughters, Mrs. William Cruikshank and Mrs. John D. Towne. Funeral services were held at the home, 1500 Oak Avenue, Evanston, on July 21, 1923. Burial was made in Graceland Cemetery.

CELEBRATE GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY.

Mr. and Mrs. Warren C. Coffin, 322 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, celebrated their golden wedding anniversary at their home April 4, 1923. Mr. Coffin, is one of Chicago's best known musicians, for fifty years he has directed many of the largest church choirs in the city and for more than thirty years

has been a member of the musical faculty of the Moody Bible Institute. He is a charter member of the Apollo Musical Club and the only surviving member of the original imperial male quartette. Mr. Coffin is 79 years old, and Mrs. Coffin is 72.

CELEBRATE GOLDEN WEDDING ANNIVERSARY.

Mr. and Mrs. William Stavenger of LaGrange, Ill., celebrated their golden wedding anniversary, Sunday April 8, 1923, at the home of their daughter, Mrs. J. H. Hoyt, on the R. P. Henry farm on the Joliet road. Mr. and Mrs. Stavenger came to this country from Holland in 1867 and have made their home in Cook County ever since. They have seven sons and two daughters, all married, and twenty-nine grandchildren.

MR. AND MRS. JAMES W. DEXTER CELEBRATE THEIR FIFTY-NINTH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY.

Mr. and Mrs. James W. Dexter of Galva, Ill., were married fifty-nine years ago June 30, 1923. They celebrated the occasion by a family reunion and house party at which their five children and fifteen grandchildren were present. Mr. Dexter who is 84 years old is a Civil War veteran. He served in both the Army and Navy and is one of the few surviving G. A. R. men in Galva and vicinity. Mrs. Dexter who is 77 years old, is a Pennsylvania Quaker and came to Illinois by ox-team in 1854.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CALLS PROF. G. J. LAING FROM M'GILL UNIVERSITY.

Prof. Gordon J. Laing, dean of the faculty of arts of McGill University, Montreal, has accepted the invitation of the University of Chicago to become editor of the University Press, professor of Latin and dean of the graduate school of arts and literature.

Prof. Albion W. Small, present dean of the graduate school, has asked to be relieved at the beginning of the autumn quarter, and Professor Laing will take up his new duties on October 1, 1923.

Dr. Laing is a Canadian, born in London, Ont., and holds his Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins University. He spent a great many years in Rome in the study of Latin literature, afterwards coming to the University of Chicago, where he was chairman of the department of Latin from 1899 to 1922.

GIFTS OF BOOKS, LETTERS, PICTURES AND MANUSCRIPTS TO THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

Black Hawk Statue at Eagle's Nest Bluff, Oregon, Ill.

By Lorado Taft. Program of Unveiling Ceremonies, July 1, 1911.

Gift of Mr. Wallace Heckman, Room 1838, 230 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago, Illinois.

Seventy-five Years in Chicago. Morton Salt Co., Pubs. 1923.

Gift of the Morton Salt Co.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Letitia Green Stevenson Chapter, Bloomington, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. George D. Sitherwood, Bloomington, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Shadrach Bond Chapter, Carthage, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. Mary L. T. Newcomer, Carthage, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Elgin Chapter, Elgin, Ill. Year Book, 1923-24.

Gift of Miss Laura C. Kimball, Elgin, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Geneseo Chapter, Geneseo, Ill. Year Book, 1922-1923.

Gift of Mrs. Ella N. Taylor, Geneseo, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Benjamin Mills Chapter, Greenville, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. C. E. Davidson, Greenville, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Louis Joliet Chapter, Joliet, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of the Regent, Joliet, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mary Little Deere Chapter, Moline, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Miss Lucy D. Evans, Moline, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Puritan and Cavalier Chapter, Monmouth, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. John H. Hanley, Monmouth, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Illini Chapter, Ottawa, Ill. Year Books, 1921-1922, 1922-1923, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. Fred A. Sapp, Ottawa, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Pierre Menard Chapter, Petersburg, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. G. F. Luthringer, Petersburg, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Rockford Chapter, Rockford, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. Charles E. Marsh, Rockford, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

Fort Armstrong Chapter, Rock Island, Ill. Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of Mrs. Edwin G. Frazer, Rock Island, Ill.

Daughters of the American Revolution.

National Society. Report of the War Work of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution from August 14, 1914, to November 11, 1918.

Gift of Mrs. John H. Hanley, Monmouth, Ill.

Ewing, (Hon.) James S.

Short Addresses by James S. Ewing. 133 pp., 12°, Bloomington, Ill. Pantagraph Printing Co.

Gift of Mr. Spencer Ewing, Bloomington, Ill.

Finley, John H.

The Debt Eternal. Published jointly by Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. 1923.

Gift of Dr. John Finley, New York City, N. Y.

Genealogy.

Beusse and Evans Families. By J. H. Evans, Athens, Ga.

Gift of J. H. Evans.

Grant, (Gen.) Ulysses S.

The Statesman General, Ulysses S. Grant. By Chas. A. Love, Aurora, Ill. (Typewritten) 1923.

Gift of Chas. A. Love, Aurora, Ill.

Griggsville, Illinois.

Community High School, District 171. Financial Report, 1921-1923.

Gift of Mr. James A. Farrand, Griggsville, Ill.

Hart, William S.

A Lighter of Flames. By William S. Hart.

Gift of Mr. William S. Hart, Los Angeles, Calif.

Hauberg, Marx D.

Memoirs of Marx D. Hauberg. Hillsdale, Ill., 1923.

Gift of Marx D. Hauberg.

Illinois State Bell Telephone Company.

Directory, Illinois Bell Telephone Co., 1923.
Gift of the Company.

Illinois State.

Illinois Canal Scrip Fraud. Report of Evidence in the investigation by the grand jury. Sangamon County, Illinois, 1859. 60 pp. 8°. Springfield, Illinois, 1859. Illinois State Journal, Printers.

Gift of James A. Farrand, Griggsville, Ill.

Illinois State.

Conference Missionary Society for the Conference Year of 1850-51 ending September, 1851. M. E. Church.

Gift of Secretary of State, Hon. Louis L. Emmerson, July 19, 1923.

Illinois State Horticultural Society.

Original book of notes taken in the years 1852-58. By O. B. Galusha, Secretary of the Illinois State Horticultural Society.

Gift of the grandson of Mr. Galusha, Dr. Arthur G. Smith. Suite 511, Central National Bank Bldg., Peoria, Ill.

Illinois State.

Lake Michigan. A brief History and the legal standing of the District of Lake Michigan. By Niles.

The Military Government of the District of Lake Michigan. By Niles.

Gifts of Prof. Francis W. Shepardson, Chicago, Ill.

Illinois State.

Report of Home and Industrial Education. Especially including Floriculture, Horticulture, Arboriculture and Landscape Gardening. Smiley Shepherd, Chairman of Committee. Press of Reade, Brewster and Co., Chicago. n. d.

Gift of Mrs. R. M. Pritchett, Dana, Illinois.

Illinois Voter's Handbook, 1923.

Gift of Mrs. L. Belle Goodman, Champaign, Illinois.

Letters.

Yates, Richard, War Governor. Original letters of Jonathan Baldwin Turner to War Governor Richard Yates. Dated 1852 to 1868. 16 letters.

Gift of the son of the War Governor, Congressman at Large, Richard Yates, Springfield, Ill.

Lincoln, Abraham.

Barton, (Rev.) William E.

Abraham Lincoln and the American Ideal.

Abraham Lincoln, Kentucky Mountaineer.

The Education of Abraham Lincoln.

The Lincoln's in Their Old Kentucky Home.

"Old Theories Upset". A report of an address on Abraham Lincoln's Lost Grandmother.

Gift of Rev. William E. Barton.

Lincoln, Abraham.

Barton, (Rev.) William E. The Education of Abraham Lincoln. An address delivered before the Faculty and Students of Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois, February 7, 1923. By William E. Barton, D. D., LL. D., 21 pp. 8°. Jacksonville, Illinois. Courier Print., 1923.

Gift of Dr. Charles E. Rammelkamp, President of Illinois College.

May, Emmet C.

The Empire of Life Insurance. By Emmet C. May, President Peoria Life Insurance Company, Peoria, Illinois. 286 pp. 8°. Peoria, Illinois.

Gift of the Author.

Methodist Episcopal Church.

Rock River Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Eighty-third Session, October 3-9, 1922. Held in Princeton, Ill.

Gift of the Conference.

"Minnie Ball" and Description.

Gift of Roscoe C. South, Watseka, Ill., Sept. 8, 1923.

Nagle, Theodore M.

Reminiscences of the Civil War. By Theodore M. Nagle, Pub. Erie, Pa., 1923.

Gift of the author.

New Jersey State Library.

New Jersey Archives. Series one, Vols. 28, 29, 30, 31. Series two, Vols. 4 and 5.

Gift of the New Jersey State Library.

Newspapers.

New York Herald, April 15, 1865.

Gift of C. R. Rosborough, Moline, Ill.

Parker, Marion Jane.

The Children's Party Book. By Jane Marion Parker, Rogers and Co., 1923. Chicago, Ill.

Gift of the Compiler.

Plymouth, Mass.

Plymouth Land of the Pilgrim's Pride.

Gift of the Plymouth, Mass. Chamber of Congress.

Presbyterian Church.

Caldwell, Edward. New York City. Some notes on the Founders of the Presbyterian Church and the "other Pioneers of Thorn Grove". A paper read at the Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago Heights, Ill., 1923.

Gift of Rev. Harry N. Mounts, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago Heights, Ill.

Rock Island, Illinois.

Woman's Club, Year Book, 1923-1924.

Gift of the president, Mrs. Frank W. Bahnsen, Rock Island, Ill.

Springfield, Illinois.

Public Schools. Directory, 1923-1924. District No. 186.
Gift of the Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Ill.

Torrens Office.

Sessions of the Senatorial Investigations of the Torrens Office under Senator Clark's Resolution No. 45. Hearing in Chicago, Ill. Chicago, April 23 and 25, 1921.
Gift of A. R. Livingston, Springfield. Reporter.

Waverly, Illinois.

Waverly Woman's Club Year Book 1923-1924.
Gift of the Club.

Will.

Williams, Frederick. Copy of the will of Frederick Williams, Revolutionary Soldier as recorded in Edgefield, Co., South Carolina. Dated 7th day of September, 1806.
Gift of Mrs. George F. Meade, Member of the DuQuoin Chapter, D. A. R., Du Quoin, Ill.

William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The College of William and Mary becomes a University, 1923.
Gift of the College.

Wyoming, Illinois.

Tuesday Club of Wyoming, Illinois. Year Book, 1923-1924.
Gift of Mrs. W. R. Sandham, Wyoming, Ill.

NECROLOGY

WILLIAM EPLER, 1835-1922.

William Epler died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. A. L. Watkins, 626 Broad Street, Lake Charles, La., Saturday, February 4th, 1922, at 11:45 o'clock p. m., aged 86 years, 9 months and 20 days. Funeral services were held Monday afternoon February 6, 1922, and the remains of the deceased were buried at Graceland Cemetery, Lake Charles.

According to the request of Mr. Epler, the pallbearers included three friends from Welsh and three from Lake Charles. The three from Welsh were, Messrs. Geo. W. Cosner, C. E. Carr and A. R. McBurney, Dr. L. G. Lewis, another old friend, also attended the funeral.

Mr. Epler was born near Virginia, Ill., April 15, 1835. He first came to Louisiana in 1900, and has made his home here practically the entire time since. Up to a few years ago he was engaged in surveying. Among his many acquaintances in this section are a number who prided his close friendship. A volume could be written of the beauties of his fine character. His early life was closely interwoven with the early history of the great northwest and the details are best recounted as they were written by him, at the request of members of his family on his 80th birthday, April 15th, 1915, here made public for the first time:

BIOGRAPHY.

"This, April 15, 1915, is my 80th birthday.

"I was born in a log cabin in Morgan County, Ill., April 15, 1835, a son of John and Sarah Beggs Epler. My boyhood was passed on my father's farm and attending the common schools of the neighborhood. I attended Illinois College, at Jacksonville, in the fall of 1853, and because of ill health left college in February, 1856.

"In April, 1856, in company with Samuel Montgomery, a neighbor friend of about my own age, also in bad health, hop-

ing that roughing it would improve or entirely cure our illness, traveled with a mule team, camping out by the way, across Missouri and out into Kansas, as far west as Ft. Riley, at the mouth of the Smoky Hill Fork of Kansas River, thence southerly across the country to Council Grove, on the great Santa Fe trail; thence eastwardly on said trail to Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River; thence up said river, first on the west side and then on the east side to Council Bluffs, Iowa, and Omaha, Neb.

"After a few days sightseeing we resumed our journey eastward across Iowa to Dubuque, at which place we arrived a few days after the 4th of July. Here at Dubuque I suffered my last serious illness, also, here at Dubuque, we were joined by Abram S. Bergen, who had just graduated from Illinois College, and a nephew of my companion, Samuel Montgomery; also, here at Dubuque, we disposed of our mule team and all took steamer for St. Paul, head of navigation on the Mississippi River.

"After a few days in and about St. Paul, visiting St. Anthony Falls, now Minneapolis, and the Falls of Minnehaha and Ft. Snelling, we left for Taylor's Falls on the St. Croix River. From Taylor's Falls we traveled afoot on an Indian trail to Superior City, where we arrived August 5, 1856.

"My companions, Montgomery and Bergen, at the end of the week, left for Chicago, on their return home, on a steamship, by way of the Lakes, myself remaining. At Superior City, the September following, I joined a company of U. S. land surveyors engaged in surveying on the north shore of Lake Superior. I had studied surveying while in college and liked it. While in camp I gave it some attention, under instruction of William Burt, a son of William A. Burt, of Detroit, Mich., inventor of that most perfect instrument designed for land surveying, 'Burt's Solar Compass.' William Burt was a veteran surveyor of the western peninsula of Michigan, in the copper districts.

"Until the spring of 1860 I continued in the business as chain carrier and compassman and U. S. Deputy.

"At Duluth, April 12, 1859, I was married to Miss Jane Abigale Woodman of Paw Paw, VanBuren County, Mich. Miss

Woodman was spending the winter with her sister, Mrs. Col. J. B. Culver, receiver in the U. S. land office in Duluth, when we first became acquainted. It may be worth mentioning that we were the first white people married in Duluth, then scarcely a village but now a great commercial city. Ours was the second marriage license issued, the first was issued to a Frenchman, or half-breed, but was solemnized down at the Grand Portage, near the Canada boundry. In May, 1860, we left Duluth, via Lakes Superior and Huron, for Detroit, on our way to visit kindred in Michigan and Illinois. At my father's house within fifty feet of where I was born, in a log cabin, our daughter, Nellie, was born August 10, 1860. She is now Mrs. Nellie Epler Mills of Virginia, Ill.

"About the first of October following, we left kindred and the friends at the old home and went to Omaha, Neb., I, as a U. S. Deputy Surveyor, thinking I should go where there were public lands to survey. We remained in Omaha until the spring of 1861 and then we parted company, she and our dear little daughter, Nellie, to go east to Michigan and Illinois to abide with kindred temporarily, I to go to the far west, where I felt assured good business in my line awaited me. I left Omaha May 22nd, 1861 for Nevada Territory—my wife and our dear little daughter Nellie had left a few days previous for the east. After a very interesting and pleasant trip across the plains I arrived at Carson City, Nev., August 27th, 1861. Arriving in Carson City, without delay I joined a camp of U. S. Surveyors in charge of Butler Ives of Detroit, a veteran surveyor of Michigan and the Pacific Coast. It was he who started the public surveys in the state of Oregon, then Oregon Territory. Mr. Ives proved to be one of the best friends I ever had and I have had many good friends. He lost his life in the service of the Central Pacific Railroad of California. I continued with Mr. Ives, as his compassman until driven from the field by deep snows which overwhelmed us while engaged in the survey of the east shore of Lake Tahoe.

"The honor of measuring the south half of the east shore of Lake Tahoe is mine. We were encamped at the celebrated Shakespeare Cliff one night about the middle of November when the snows came, compelling us to abandon the field. In

January following I was appointed by James W. Nye, governor of the Territory, county surveyor for Humboldt County. I had gone out to Humboldt County December preceding. In March, 1862, was elected to the office and held the same until my resignation in August, 1865.

"Mrs. Epler, with little daughter came to San Francisco from New York, via the Isthmus of Panama, I meeting them there as they landed. After a week's rest and sightseeing we journeyed over the Sierra Nevada Mountains to Nevada and on to Star City in the Humboldt Mountains, which was to be our home, arriving there in April, 1863. Mrs. Epler had a brother, W. W. Woodman, who with his wife, Melissa, and their daughter, Florence, were living in Star City, therefore she did not feel that she was utterly cast away from kindred and friends. I grieve to state, even at this distant day, that she died October 2nd, following, leaving her little daughter, then three years old in the care of her good aunt, Mrs. Woodman, and as before stated the child is now Mrs. Nellie Mills of Virginia, Ill.

"In the fall of 1863 I was elected to represent Humboldt County in a convention called to frame a constitution for the new state of Nevada, which was expected to be organized and admitted into the Union in the near future. The constitution we framed was voted down by the people. Under that constitution I was elected to the state senate, that is the senate that was to be, but as the constitution was vetoed by the people there was no senate created in which for me to serve. Another constitutional convention was called the following year and formed a constitution which the people adopted. Our constitution is known in the history of the state as 'the first constitutional convention.' Mark Twain was also a member of the convention. We became personal friends of long standing.

"In August, 1865, I received a contract from the U. S. Surveyor General of California, office in San Francisco, to extend the 4th standard parallel of the Mt. Diablo Base and Meridian 150 miles farther east in the state of Nevada. During the winter of 1865-66 assisted in subdividing a large Spanish grant back in the mountains west of Petaluma, Calif. The subdivision consisted in dividing the grant into 63 equal parts—

not in acres, but in value. It was a huge task, involving voluminous calculations and extensive surveys in the field.

"During the year 1866 I was in the employ of the Central Pacific Railway of California, topographical department. The work extended from the Sierra Nevada mountains to Great Salt Lake City, Utah. I frequently boasted to friends that I knew every bunch of willows from the Sierra Nevadas to Salt Lake. It was in these bunches of willows that we usually found our water, thus they became of great importance and worth remembering.

"In 1867 I received a contract from the U. S. Surveyor General's office of Nevada, located in Virginia City, to locate and survey the Humboldt River Guide Meridian to begin at township corners 35 and 36, east of Mt. Diablo base and meridian, and extend the same north to the Oregon boundary line, also to survey and locate township lines in the Humboldt river valley, extending these north so as to include all of Paradise Valley. Returning to Virginia City after the completion of the contract, we camped at the French Bridge on the Humboldt River October 18th, 1867. The three or four people living at the bridge came to our camp and informed us that they thought of starting a town at the bridge and requested that we survey and locate a few blocks for them in the embryo city. On the 18th of October we made said survey. We surveyed Main Street extending out southerly from the bridge, staked corners of three or four cross streets. All thought that quite sufficient for a starter, and indeed it was. The projectors were pleased to give the name of 'Winnemuca' to the projected city. Since, it has grown to be a beautiful little city of several thousand people, and is the capitol of Humboldt County.

"In February, 1868 I was appointed U. S. Mineral Deputy by the Surveyor General of Montana for the district composed of the counties of Deer Lodge and Missoula. Arrived in Helena, Mont., April 10, 1868, making immediate arrangements to take up the work. The trip from Virginia City, Nevada to Helena, Montana, 1200 miles, was made by stage coach.

"In 1866 my brother, Myron Leslie, then located in Chicago, in the practice of law, in quest of health crossed the plains from St. Joseph, Mo., to Helena, Montana. A month after his arrival at Helena he died—Sept. 5, 1866. He was

buried in the City Cemetery located in a nearby valley that proved to be rich in placer gold. My parents learning of this and understanding that his grave would have to be removed earnestly requested me to exhume the body of my brother and bring it home, a request I could not refuse. Consequently early in August I raised my brother's remains and had them prepared for shipment. The day I opened the grave miners were at work within 100 feet of it. Doubtless mining was continued until all the cemetery was worked over.

"My journey home from Helena was so interesting in so many ways that I feel justified in giving an account of it in detail. On the 30th of July left for home via Ft. Benton and the Missouri River. We took stage coach from Helena to Ft. Benton, arriving on August 3rd. No steamboats were there, but were hourly expected. On the 4th the good steamer 'Success' arrived in port. We went aboard and engaged passage. The rate was \$125 to St. Louis, which we paid and secured stateroom. The 'Success' was to remain in port for several days, so on the morning of the 10th left Ft. Benton in company with the two pilots and mate to visit the Great Falls, distant above about 30 or 40 miles. We engaged a light team with driver. Tuesday, August 11, 1868, my diary reads as follows: 'Visited the upper, middle and Lower Falls. The upper falls are beautiful, the middle falls very nice, the lower ones sublime, being 80 or 90 feet high, the whole immense river falling this great height.' These falls are seldom visited by white men (I speak of the time we were there,) they are out of the way of general travel, besides, the Indians have always been bad. No where about did we see signs of life, or that anyone had ever been there, excepting away down on the river bank, below the lower falls, as we stood on a high cliff we saw a lone Indian leading a pony. We did nothing to attract his attention, perfectly willing he should go his own way. Indeed it was a wild situation (not so now) at the upper falls. On the south side there stands a busy city, having among other objects of interest, a chimney built for a smelter, one of the largest and tallest in the world. We returned to the Fort at noon on the 12th. The boat had steam up ready to go and was waiting for us. Lines were cast off and the good steamer 'Success' headed for her long voyage down the Missouri River to

St. Louis. Aboard there were about 200 passengers, composed generally of miners, mountain men and men of the plains, going to the states to spend the winter and to be once more with friends. For more than 1000 miles after leaving Ft. Benton there were no wood yards. Wood for steam had to be gathered, as was needed along the river. The boat would land where there seemed to be plenty of wood, captain, officers, members of the crew, and maybe an hundred of passengers would go ashore and scour the adjacent timber for dry trees or any kind that was good to make steam. Great stacks would be brought in and piled on the boiler deck and forward, and while the boat was out in the stream going down, the roustabouts would cut it up into suitable lengths. Passengers as general rule would be glad to get ashore to have an outing in the woods, for they were mostly men who were accustomed to the open. Confinement on the boat, to them, was irksome.

"For 600 miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, during the warm part of the day, herds of Buffalo, countless in number would come down from the high, dry interior for water. After drinking they would stand for hours along the river, and especially on all the sandbars. Our boat would turn a bend above coming suddenly in full sight when they would, in their fright stampede. A part would rush for the nearest bank, while others would plunge into the water for the other shore. By the time they got fairly in mid stream the steamer would be upon them. Our humane captain would check the speed of the vessel, or turn to one side, blow his whistle and ring the bell, thus giving them a chance to get out of the way. No Buffalo was ever touched. Shooting the animals from the upper deck was indulged in at the beginning, but we soon created a sentiment against such wanton cruelty that put a stop to it.

"After passing old Ft. Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone we saw a great many Indians but no Buffalo. The Indians seemed to be especially numerous at once in the vicinity of old Ft. Berthold. I have frequently remarked that I never felt farther from home than when our boat touched the shore at Ft. Berthold. The high bank was lined for half a mile with Indians dressed in every imaginable garb. Above the mouth of the Yellowstone we saw but few or no Indians. I think that accounts for the buffalo being there. The Indians did not show

themselves, because they were bad along the upper stretch of the river. Lower down, in the vicinity of where Bismark is now we passed through the Montana Indian Nation. I saw them in their buffalo-hide boats, and they looked very foreign and strange to us. These boats were round, not long and narrow.

"Another day brought us to a tie up not far below Ft. Rice. We only traveled in the day time, making fast to shore at night. Near our landing we saw the Indian method of caring for their dead. In a small prairie near the landing, we saw numerous scaffolds, upon each of which a departed Indian reposed, enveloped securely in a buffalo hide. Many other things of interest might be mentioned. Suffice it to say we reached St. Louis September 2nd, having been on the voyage 21 days. I arrived at home on the 6th of September, delivered my precious charge to parents and friends. On the 7th we re-interred the remains of my brother in the family lot in Zion church yard.

"I had been absent from home eight years, lacking one month.

"In January, 1869, I returned to California via New York and Panama, and on arriving found that Mr. Woodman and family had left Petaluma, removing to San Bernadino, to which place I also went, where we remained a month, visiting San Diego and other points in extreme southern California. In March, 1869 I received a contract from the Surveyor General of Nevada to survey and locate the boundary between Nevada and Utah, beginning at a certain degree of longitude on the Colorado river, running thence north to Idaho. After investigating I found the appropriations insufficient for the work and therefore surrendered the contract.

"Feeling the want of change from the strenuous life of a U. S. Government Surveyor in the trans-Rocky Mountain regions, I repaired to the place of my birth for temporary respite. July 5th, 1870, was married to Miss Matilda Ellen Conover, daughter of Levi and Phoebe Conover, whose farm adjoined that of my father. It is something worth mentioning that our bridal trip was made to Duluth, the place of my first marriage to Miss Woodman, eleven years before, and seven years after that good woman's death in Nevada.

"From Chicago we went via the Lakes to Duluth. It was an incident in our trip that on our return we routed via St. Paul and the Mississippi River. We were passengers on the first passenger train that ever run from Duluth to St. Paul—the Duluth and St. Paul Railway had just been completed—had to wait at Duluth a week to get the train. The train was started amid the strains of the music of brass bands and the acclaim of the people.

"After a residence of four years on the farm, was elected sheriff of Cass County, Ill., in 1874. Held the office one term two years. Served as president of the Centennial National Bank of Virginia, Ill., for ten years.

"In December, 1900, left Illinois, going to Louisiana, where I again took up surveying—rice farm surveying—and rice planting to some extent. In the fall of 1901, my family coming from Illinois, joined me, we taking up our abode in Lake Charles.

"Because of the ill health of Mrs. Epler, my wife, making hospital treatment necessary, we removed back to Illinois, making Jacksonville our home. While residing in Jacksonville our daughter, Clara, who had graduated in the Lake Charles High School with the class of 1904, attended Illinois College. In 1910 we removed back to Louisiana taking our abode, as before, in Lake Charles.

"Because of failing eyesight in 1912 I retired from business, and on this, my 80th birthday, am residing quietly with my family at 917 South Division Street, Lake Charles, La."

AN ABBREVIATION.

"Was born in Morgan County, Ill. (now Cass), April 15, 1835, son of John and Sarah Beggs Epler; received my education in the country schools of the neighborhood and at Illinois College; was U. S. Deputy Land Surveyor, given contracts for surveying by U. S. Surveyor General's Offices located at St. Paul, Minn., San Francisco, Calif., Virginia City, Nev., and Helena, Mont.; assistant engineer in survey of C. P. R. R. of California and Salt Lake City in 1866; member first constitutional convention of Nevada 1863; sheriff of Cass County, Ill.,

1874-76; was president of Centennial National Bank of Virginia, Ill., for ten years; came to Louisiana December, 1900 and resumed surveying, continuing until failing eye-sight made retirement compulsory; was first married at Duluth, Minn., to Miss Jane Abigale Woodman, sister of Mrs. Col. J. B. Culver, April 12, 1859, she dying October 2nd, 1863 at Star City, Humboldt County, Nev., leaving one daughter, now Mrs. Nellie Epler Mills of Virginia, Ill.; married second time to Miss Matilda Ellen Conover of Cass County, Ill., July 5, 1870, who is still living, the mother of Mrs. A. L. Watkins and Mrs. R. P. Goforth of Lake Charles, La., and of Myron Leslie Epler of the New England National Bank, at Kansas City, Mo.; has resided with his family, for the most part since 1901 in Lake Charles."

MRS. BENJAMIN M. GRIFFITH, 1831-1923.

Funeral services for Mrs. B. M. Griffith, mother of Dr. Barrett B. Griffith, 1115 South Second Street, and Mrs. Eloise G. Pitner of Jacksonville, Ill.; and widow of Dr. B. M. Griffith, were conducted at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon, January 4, 1923, at the First Presbyterian Church, Rev. John T. Thomas officiating. Interment was made in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

The remains arrived in Springfield Friday afternoon and were taken to Thos. C. Smith's Sons undertaking establishment, where they were prepared for burial. Mrs. Griffith died in Deland, Fla., early Wednesday morning January 1, 1923, where she had been spending the winter.

A long life devoted to noble service finds its end in peace and leaves behind it memories that awake responsive chords of affection and gratitude in many hearts. Mrs. Alice A. (McElroy) Griffith, daughter of William Irvine and Jane Muldrow McElroy, was born near Palmyra, Mo., September 20, 1831, and her early life was spent on a farm near Perry, Mo., where the work was done by inherited colored labor. Her father died before she was sixteen years old and she began her struggle for an education with the intention of fitting herself to be a school teacher in a time when there were no libraries, indifferent schools and few cultured surroundings. An opportunity to complete her education was offered by her cousin, Col. James A. Barret of Sangamon County by which she was enabled to attend the Illinois Woman's College at Jacksonville.

She came to Springfield in 1850 and in a brief autobiography she records her first meeting with Abraham Lincoln at the home of Major John T. Stuart, which was one of the treasured memories of her life. She graduated from the Illinois Woman's College in July, 1852, as the salutatorian of the first class graduated from that institution. Then she taught for four years in Woods Academy, Louisiana, Mo., and studied Latin and German one year in Fayette, Mo., under President Lucky. She taught for two years at Collinsville, Ill., with Dr. Samuel Willard and Dr. Merrill.

June 1, 1859, she was married to Dr. B. M. Griffith, a practicing physician at Louisiana, Mo., and they moved to Spring-

field in 1865 where the family home has been since that time and where Dr. Griffith occupied a high place in the ranks of his profession until his death. Mrs. Griffith was not only a reader and a student of life and affairs, but being deeply religious by nature and training turned naturally to the activities of higher intellectual culture and the church. As a member of the First Presbyterian Church she took a prominent part in its work. She has through life been especially interested in home and foreign missions. She was a charter member of the Author's Club of 1882, a member of the Bible Class, the Via Christi Class, the State Historical Society, the Springfield Woman's Club, the Alumni Association of Illinois Woman's College. She is survived by her son, Dr. B. B. Griffith of Springfield, and her daughter, Mrs. Eloise Pitner of Jacksonville and two grandchildren.

REV. JOHN A. KUMLER, 1838-1923.

John A. Kumler, began his mortal march in Butler County, Ohio, April 20, 1838. His parents, Michael and Nancy Beam Kumler, were humble folk, living on a farm, and John, like many a distinguished man, first saw the light of life in a log cabin. He early became a toiler on the farm, working 16 hours a day. His educational facilities were primitive and meager. His first school book consisted of a shingle with the large letters pasted on one side of it, and the small ones on the other, and which was also sometimes used for disciplinary purposes. His first schools, private and public, were attended from two to three months in the year till he reached the age of 16. He next entered the Otterbein University, from which he graduated, after a course of four and a half years, with the degree of A. B., and from the same institution in 1865 he was given the degree of A. M. In 1862 he entered the Law Department of the University of Michigan, and in 1864, this school conferred on him the degree of LL., B. On his birthday, that same year, he was united in marriage to Miss Susan Meharry, of Montgomery County, Ind., who went to her reward from Springfield, Ill., December 19, 1900. She was the daughter of Hugh Meharry, a philanthropist of large means and prodigal liberality. The same year of his marriage, Brother Kumler settled in Danville, Ill., and began the practice of law. For some years he was prosecuting attorney for Danville, and filled other important legal positions, for which he was eminently fitted. But his paramount life-work was that of a minister of the gospel. In his 17th year he was converted and joined the United Brethren Church, of which his ancestors for several generations, had been members. For years he was active along religious lines before entering the ministry, as a Bible class teacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and as president of the Vermilion County Sunday School Association, and during all this time he was called on for many Sunday School addresses all over the county as a "Lawyer Preacher." Convinced of his call to preach, he closed up his law business, and in 1868 entered the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Church. His assignments have been: Rossville; Fairmount; Saybrook; University Charge, Bloomington; Bement; Griggsville; Jack-

sonville District; Second Church, Springfield; Virden; Clinton; Chancellor of Illinois Wesleyan University; Prentice Church, Springfield; Superintendent of the Domestic Missionary and Church Aid Society, of which he was the father and incorporator; and President of Walden University. Since 1913 he had been on the retired list, living on a farm with his two surviving sisters near Hamilton, Ohio. The Illinois Wesleyan gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1897.

Doctor Kumler was elected as a delegate to the General Conferences of 1896 and 1900. He was a faithful pastor, a strong preacher, a high class administrator, and a successful Presiding Elder. During his pastorate in Second Church, Springfield, he paid off a crushing debt of \$25,000, of long standing, contributing liberally to the cause himself, and in the Conference year of 1899-1900, that church recognized his services, honoring both him and herself, by officially changing her name from "Second Church," to "Kumler Church," as a memorial to her former beloved pastor. His active ministerial life covered a period of 45 years the last eight of which were given to the presidency of Walden University, at Nashville, Tenn. He continued in this relation till he reached the age of 75, when he retired on his own initiative, though urged to continue as head of the school by the Board of Trustees. He was also one of the charter members of the Board of Trustees of Meharry Medical College. He was called the Saint John of our Conference because his personal gifts, characteristics and effectiveness were so similar to those qualities of that beloved disciple. More than 2,000 saved souls are stars for his crown.

Though in retirement, Dr. Kumler was so constituted that he could not long remain idle. For some years he served temporarily as pastor of the First Congregational Church in Hamilton, and he was in frequent demand for special services near his home and elsewhere.

His three sons have passed on, but his daughter Mrs. George E. Anderson, survives him.

The funeral services were held in his memorial church in Springfield, April 10, 1923, conducted by Dr. E. M. Antrim, District Superintendent, who delivered the memorial address; assisted by Drs. G. E. Scrimger, W. A. Smith, and others. His

ministerial brethren acted as pallbearers, and his body was consigned to repose by the remains of his wife in beautiful Oak Ridge Cemetery, not far from the sepulcher and monument of the immortal Abraham Lincoln.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF MRS. JOHN A. LOGAN.

By MRS. A. S. CALDWELL, Regent Logan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, Carbondale.

Mrs. John A. Logan! A Southern Illinois woman, with what pride we claim her! She who achieved the distinction of being one, among the greatest American women. The keystone of her life was Service. Patriotism, loyalty to her husband, home and friends were her chief characteristics. Thinking not of self she gave her untiring energy to her country, to her illustrious husband and to humanitarian organizations, thereby building for herself a name immortal in history. Surely the bread cast upon the water has returned to her in many fold.

HER PIONEER LIFE.

History recounts in detail her life as maid and wife in Southern Illinois. How she was married at the age of seventeen at Shawneetown, Illinois to Lieut. John A. Logan, a young officer who had served in the then just closed Mexican War under her father, Captain Cunningham. Young Logan went to visit his Captain after the war and met and loved the Captain's daughter Mary. When he had wooed, won and married her, they journeyed overland from Shawneetown to Benton, Illinois. There Lieut. Logan was prosecuting attorney, and there Mrs. Logan made a home and friends. To this day the house where they lived is shown visitors as Benton's chief historic spot. Later they took up their residence in Marion, Illinois. At the beginning of the Civil War Lieut. Logan resigned his seat in Congress, where he was then serving and organized a company and entered the Civil War of 1861-65. This period of Mrs. Logan's life reads like a wonderful romance. Her time was divided between the camp of her husband where she comforted, cared for and nursed the sick and wounded soldiers, and in Southern Illinois where she superintended the making and sending of supplies to the front. She also greatly helped, advised and encouraged the families left behind. She truly entered into the joys and sorrows of every man, woman and child in that section of Illinois.

For the last three years the writer of this sketch has been a close associate of Mrs. Logan and has noted with surprise, after the lapse of several decades, her ready memory of every name in Illinois which she then knew and her keen interest in them, their children, their marriages and successes in life.

HER LIFE AS THE WIFE OF A MAN IN PUBLIC SERVICE.

After the Civil War, history again records General Logan's public life. He ably represented the twenty-fifth Illinois district in Congress and later served as United States Senator. During this time Mrs. Logan was her husband's private secretary and closest confidant. She had a deep interest in politics and in the reconstructing of our government. Along with this she reared and highly educated her children and made a home in which were entertained the highest in the land.

HER PART IN MEMORIAL DAY.

One of the most beautiful holidays of our year, Decoration Day or Memorial Day as it has come to be called, was inspired by that generous hearted woman, Mrs. Logan. The following is as she herself told it:

"The late Colonel Chas. L. Wilson, editor of the Chicago Journal of that day, invited a party consisting of his niece Miss Anna Wilson (later Mrs. Horatio May), Miss Farrar, his fiancée (all now dead); General Logan, and myself, to visit the battlefields around Richmond in March, 1868. The importance of some measures then pending in Congress prevented General Logan, at the last moment, from going, but he insisted upon my going with these friends. We made a tour of every battlefield, fortification, temporary barricade and cemetery around the erstwhile Confederate capital, driving about in old tumble-down vehicles, drawn by lean, jaded horses, driven by thinly clad, poorly fed men, who had survived the long siege of Richmond. We saw the colored men, women and children digging out the lead and iron which had been shot into the fortifications, almost the only support of these wretched people. Visiting cemeteries and church yards, we were deeply touched by the withered wreaths and tiny flags that marked the graves of the Confederate dead. In the bleak March wind and light-falling snow, the desolation seemed most oppressive.

GENERAL LOGAN HEARS STORY.

Returning together to the old Willard Hotel, where we then lived, sitting in our parlor after dinner, we recounted to General Logan the incidents of the trip and how deeply touched we were by the devastation and ravages of war. In the church yard around an old historic church at Petersburg, every foot of the ground seemed occupied by the graves of the Confederate dead. Upon them lay wreaths once beautiful flowers now crumbling, which had been placed there by loving hands. Little faded Confederate flags marked each grave, mute evidence of the devotion of the Southern people to their loved and lost. General Logan was much impressed by our description, saying, "The Greeks and Romans in the day of their glory, were wont to honor their hero dead by chaplets of laurels and flowers, as well as in bronze and stone," and that as commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic and member of Congress from Illinois, which he then was, he would issue an order establishing Memorial Day, then called "Decoration Day." He declared at the same time that he believed that he could secure the adoption of a joint resolution making it a national holiday and national ceremony. He then took up a pencil and piece of paper and wrote the matchless order No. 11, and remarked he would submit it to his staff of the Grand Army of the Republic. He read what he had written to Colonel Wilson, who expressed his appreciation of the order and predicted it would be received with great enthusiasm all over the country."

HER LATER DAYS IN WASHINGTON.

And so the sunset of Mrs. Logan's life after such a remarkable career, was spent as she had desired it to be in beautiful "Calumet Place." The home is situated on a favored site overlooking the beautiful city of Washington. From its front windows may be seen the historic Potomac River, and beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, with Arlington and the home of Lee plainly visible. In the foreground you may see the dome of the Capitol, set on its Roman hill, with its terraces, flowers and trees, also within the view is *the* monument, the enduring, slender shaft that was placed there in honor of the founder of his country.

"Calumet Place" itself is a shrine where patriots from every state in the Union visit and are heartily welcomed. The house is massive and is filled with the rarest of furnishings and decorations from every country in the world. It was a gorgeous setting for its illustrious mistress Mrs. Logan. Here she lived so tenderly, cared for by her beloved daughter Mrs. Tucker. Here she held court, receiving statesmen, diplomats, ambassadors, and the most humble Americans. Her proudest boast was "I am an American!"

Of her, as well as of the soldiers, might these words of Longfellow be said:

"Rest, comrades, rest and sleep!

The thoughts of men shall be

As sentinels to keep

Your rest from danger free.

Your silent tents of green

We deck with fragrant flowers;

Yours has the suffering been,

The memory shall be ours."

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MRS. MATTHEW
T. SCOTT.

In the passing of Mrs. Matthew T. Scott, our beloved Honorary President General, on April 29, 1923, we, the members of the National Board of Management of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, at the meeting on June 12, 1923, wish to record, not so much our sorrow at the loss this Society and this Country have sustained, as our surpassing pride that for twenty years—since her election as Vice President General from Illinois, and on through her two brilliant administrations as President General and the magnificent war relief work which she organized and directed, her last and crowning public service—it has been the privilege of this Society to claim in a special way, this woman whose great intellect, high devotion and distinguished personality have made her an outstanding and inspiring figure in our national life.

Tracing her ancestry through generations of forbears, distinguished for leadership in the patriotic, military and religious life of Virginia and Kentucky, her heritage of race and of blood inspired her with a patriotism that was more than a tradition and proved a challenge to service, an incentive to carry into her manifold activities and dealings with others, the spirit of the motto which was the keynote of her life—“*Noblesse Oblige*.”

We recall her commanding and beautiful presence, her queenly bearing, her ready tact and understanding sympathy, her splendid oratorical powers, her passionate idealism, her trained talent for business administration and her exceptional ability as a parliamentarian, which led a justice of the United States Supreme Court to declare her the greatest presiding officer Washington had seen in more than a decade.

We recall too, her unfailing sense of humor that saved so many difficult situations—how often some happy bit of repartee from her, broke in upon and broke up, a heated argument or tiresome discussion! But most of all, we cherish those qualities of her heart, those exquisitely human traits, that endeared her to all who know her, and made her the beloved leader and inspirer of thousands of “Daughters” who rise up now and call her blessed.

In this hour tender memories crowd our minds and hearts and bring that gracious figure vividly back to us. With an un-failing interest in her friends and in all that was passing in the world, with far reaching sympathies and a breadth of outlook that was not only national, but international in its scope, up to the last, her zest in life was unabated. Death can have no dominion over such a spirit.

After the burden and heat of the day, full of years and full of honors, with the serene consciousness of a race well run, she paused at the turn of the road where her path diverged from ours, to take for a little, the rest she had won. The Faith that illuminated her life threw a rainbow bridge across the gulf of the unknown and made even the Valley of the Shadow light for her as she passed on her shining Way.

“Death, ere thou hast slain another,
Learn’d and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.”

—Ben Johnson.

From the Year Book
Letitia Green Stevenson, Chapter D. A. R.
Bloomington, Illinois.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. ARTHUR HUNTINGTON.

An impressive memorial service for the late Mrs. Arthur Huntington was conducted at the regular monthly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Young Women's Christian Association, held at Camp Glen Olive. Mrs. Huntington was a charter member of the Board of Directors of the association, and beautiful tributes to her memory were paid. Mrs. Huntington's daughter, Mrs. Henry J. Rossbacher and children were present at the meeting.

The board met in the morning and at the close of the business session, the members were guests of Mrs. Olive B. Wheeland at luncheon. Miss Knudson presided at the meeting. Miss Pearle Leonard, general secretary, in her report gave the dates for the vacations of the different secretaries as follows: Miss Ruth VanNattan, from June 15 to August 1; Miss Gordon, August 1 to September 1, which she will spend at her home in Lexington, Ky.; Miss Louise Jacobs, June 25 to July 25; Miss Agnes Phillips, July 15 to September 1; Miss Iretta Robinson, the month of August; Mrs. Isla Reinhart, the month of August; Mrs. Fannie Wegener, July 15 to August 1. Miss VanNattan will spend six weeks at a Chicago training school. Miss Phillips goes to Lancaster, Pa., her former home and Miss Robinson will spend her vacation at Farney, Texas.

Miss Leonard spoke of the Bible conference now in session and in her summary of the year's work, spoke of the new equipment which had been added at Glen Olive camp, including a new Ford truck, garage, new canvas curtains for sleeping porches, three new tents and a dressing room. Miss Evelyn Downey will take charge of the camp Monday and will serve until July 1 when Miss Edith Balwebber arrives from Battle Creek, Mich. Miss Balwebber will direct the camp activities during the months of July and August.

In the monthly reports, Mrs. Ralph Withey reported the attendance at the vesper services for the month as 275. Mrs. Fannie Wegener reported that 418 girls and women had been assisted through the Travelers' Aid. Fourteen regulars and twenty transient guests were entertained at the association house during the month. Miss Louise Jacobs reported 137 members secured during the month. Miss Ruth VanNattan

gave a summary of the activities in her department during the month, and spoke especially of the federation girls assisting in sending Miss Gladys Myer to summer school at Bryn Mawr. The attendance at all meetings in her department was 1,394. Miss Iretta Robinson, girls' work secretary, in her report, spoke especially of the annual track meet, which 500 persons attended. The Girl Reserves made the 20,000 poppies which were used in the poppy campaign. She also told of the observance of Girls' week.

Miss Flora Gordon, physical director, in her report told of the annual gymnasium demonstration and the numerous other activities.

Following the luncheon, W. Sterry Brown gave a swimming demonstration in the pool at the camp.

The memorial to Mrs. Huntington follows:

MRS. ARTHUR HUNTINGTON.

Mrs. Fannie Wegener read John 14 and Matthew 25 and made the following remarks:

"I thought these words of Scripture were appropriate in speaking of the life of our dear friend, Mrs. Huntington.

"It is a privilege and honor to be on the program today, and I am glad to have the opportunity to speak of our friend, Mrs. Huntington.

"For twelve years I have been in Travelers' Aid work, under her guiding hand. Many difficulties have arisen, but with her good judgment, quick decision and able management, the work has been established in our city, and now stands as a monument to Mrs. Huntington, which will never be forgotten. She was a member of the State Travelers' Aid Committee and attended many meetings in Chicago. Her name was known throughout the State in this work.

"There was never a time when she was too busy to answer any call for help. She would come to the police station to talk with wayward girls and persuade them to return to the paths of rectitude. She felt the burden and responsibility of the work, and during the days when the domestic science girls were arriving from all parts of the State, strangers in our city, she went

down at 4 o'clock one morning and took some frightened girls to her house for breakfast, and then to the fair grounds.

"Springfield will never have another Mrs. Huntington. Her many activities may be carried on by others, but her place cannot be filled, and our hearts are sad today in thinking of our loss.

"She was most unselfish, constantly giving of herself in unbounded measure, and though we know her work is finished here, we will believe that there is only a curtain between us—

"Between the beyond and the here,
Those whom we think dead have not left us;
Nay, they were never so near."

Miss Pearle Leonard led in prayer.

"A Tribute to Mrs. Arthur Huntington" was given by Miss Alice Orendorff, who was closely associated with Mrs. Huntington in her work.

"There is no death; the stars go down
To rise upon some fairer shore,
And bright in Heaven's jeweled crown
They shine forevermore."

One of Springfield's noblest women has been removed from our midst. Mrs. Arthur Huntington was one of the best known and most widely loved women of our city, she had a charming personality and a beautiful character, a wise mind with which to council and a tender heart, quick to feel. Her life was spent in loving service for others. Mrs. Huntington was the youngest daughter of John and Susan Dubois Adams, she was born in 1864 in a brick house on South Eighth Street across the street from the Lincoln Home, and the two families were close friends, both parents died before she was seven, and she then lived with her grandfather, Jesse K. Dubois, auditor of the State of Illinois, two brothers, Kilgore and John Adams, and a sister Ida were reared by other relatives and never lived in Springfield.

"When she was sixteen her grandparents died and she continued to live in the old Dubois homestead, now occupied by the Dominican convent, with her uncle, Major Lincoln Dubois, from whom she was never separated during her entire life time.

He was the first namesake of President Lincoln and has a cane used by the president and given to him after President Lincoln died.

"On Sept. 27, 1888, Miss Agnes Adams and Mr. Arthur Huntington were married in the Dubois home on West Governor street. Mr. Huntington's father, George L. Huntington, was mayor of the city for several terms, and belonged to one of the pioneer families of Springfield. Mr. Arthur Huntington was a musician and painter, and had made a wonderful collection of flags. They had two children, the eldest Arthur, who lived only one year, and Agnes, who married Dr. Henry J. Rossbacher, of Chicago. The three grandchildren are named Dubois, Harriet and Agnes.

"In 1891 Mr. and Mrs. Huntington moved to 914 North Fifth street, and ten years later they made their home at 1107 South Fourth Street, where Mr. Huntington died November, 1922, after a lingering illness, and where Mrs. Huntington passed away just six months later.

"Mrs. Huntington was a consistent member of the First Presbyterian church, a member of the Missionary society and of Mrs. Partridge's Bible class. She was a charter member of the board of the Young Women's Christian association and was serving as secretary of the board at the time of her death. She was active in King's Daughters' work, a member of the Mary Lawrence circle and served in various capacities in this organization. Mrs. Huntington was a prominent member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was instrumental in having the bronze tablet placed at Tenth and Monroe Streets where Lincoln made his farewell address to Springfield friends. She spoke at the dedication of this tablet to an audience of many thousand people.

"She was a member of the State Historical society and did much research work in this connection, just recently having written some articles on the early churches of Springfield.

"As chairman of the philanthropic department of the Woman's club, Mrs. Huntington did a fine piece of work; money was raised by sales of various kinds and at the end of the year a gift was given to each of the charitable institutions of the city. The Girls' club room at the Young Women's Christian association was furnished by this committee. She was a

member of the Springfield Art club and interested in the Garden club, one of its branches, also serving as chairman of the Springfield flag committee.

"Of all her many activities the one that was nearest her heart was the Travelers' Aid, it was through her efforts that the work was started here, and by her fine judgment and enthusiasm that the Travelers' Aid has attained its present success. Mrs. Huntington had the courage of her convictions, and started out to establish a new work in Springfield. With fifty cards of warning to girls to put in the stations and only volunteer workers the Travelers Aid was organized in 1909. It was the vision and determination and fine management of the leader, that convinced the public that Travelers Aid work was needed in our city. The first few years of the work Mrs. Huntington, during Fair week, visited each station every day, often staying at the desk far into the night and taking girls home with her who had missed their trains. Seeing children playing on the station platform and in the street, she conceived the idea of having a Travelers' Aid play ground for the tenement house children next to the jail. A place was given for the play ground, and here one day each week through two long hot summers Mrs. Huntington and her committee entertained the children. She "gave herself with her gift" in full measure. good deeds, and her heart was full of sympathy for the unfortunate.

"She was the daughter of the King
Her kind heart did enfold,
The friendless little children
And the helpless who were old,
She guided them with tenderness
And kept them from the cold.
She was a faithful daughter of the King."

"A verse she often quoted at Travelers' Aid meetings was:

'If you had a kindness shown, pass it on, pass it on.
It was not done for you alone, pass it on, pass it on.
Let it travel down the years, let it dry anothers tears.
'Till in Heaven the deed appears, pass it on, pass it on.'
"The last line is true today."

Mrs. E. S. Scott, who was president of the Young Women's Christian Association for nine years, spoke of Mrs. Huntington as a charter member of the board, always responding to any call, happy and unselfish in all of its relations never physically strong, but gave freely of herself in willing service. In the early days of the organization she was always ready with a word of encouragement and sympathy.

The Travelers' Aid department under her management was never a care to the board of directors or the general secretary. Mrs. Huntington was a charming Christian character, beloved by all.

It is impossible to estimate the number of lives that she has touched in loving service, and the reward that shall be hers in Heaven.

Mrs. Henry J. Rossbacher, daughter of Mrs. Huntington, and her two children, Dubois and Harriet, were present at the memorial service. A memorial drinking fountain is to be placed in the association building by Mrs. Rossbacher, in memory of her mother.

Mrs. Ira B. Blackstock read appropriate resolutions from the board of directors expressing their sympathy. Mrs. Huntington was the only member of the board to die while in active service. The resolutions, signed by Mary Hardtner Blackstock and Enola M. Irwin, follow:

"Whereas: It has pleased Almighty God in His infinite wisdom to remove from the activities of this life, our dearly beloved friend and co-worker, Mrs. Agnes Adams Huntington; and

"Whereas: In the death of Mrs. Huntington, the Young Women's Christian association has lost a most loyal charter member; therefore be it

"Resolved: That the board of directors expresses its most profound regrets and offers its deepest sympathy to her daughter and the other members of the family; and be it further

"Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family, a copy be entered upon the records of the board and a copy be sent to the city press."

List of Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

No. 1. * A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. * Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. * The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. * Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. * Alphabetical Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6 to 30. * Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1900-1923. (Nos. 6 to 18 out of print.)

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. I. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1903.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. CLVI and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. III. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Lincoln Series, Vol. I. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1908.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IV. Executive Series, Vol. I. The Governor's Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. XXXII and 317 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V. Virginia Series. Vol. II, Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. L and 681 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1909.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I, Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. CIV and 610 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1910.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. CXVIII and 469 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1911.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. CLXVII and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

* Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. LVII and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XI. British Series, Vol. II. The New Regime, 1765-1767. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. XXVIII and 700 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1916.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XII. Bibliographical Series, Vol. III. The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. CXLI and 730 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIII. Constitutional Series, Vol. I. Illinois Constitutions. Edited by Emil Joseph Verlie. 231 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XIV. Constitutional Series, Vol. II. The Constitutional Debates of 1847. Edited with introduction and notes by Arthur Charles Cole, XV and 1018 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1919.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. XV. Biographical Series, Vol. I. Life of Governor Edward Coles. By E. B. Washburne. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 435 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, Ill., 1920.

* Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. 38 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

* Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 2. June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. 34 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1906.

* Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. I, No. 1. November, 1905. An Outline for the study of Illinois State History. Compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

* Publication No. 18. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

* Publication No. 25. List of Genealogical Works in the Illinois State Historical Library. Supplement to Publication No. 18. Compiled by Georgia L. Osborne. 8 vo. Springfield, 1918.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1. April, 1908, to Vol. XVI, Nos. 1-2. April-July, 1923.

Journals out of print, Vols. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, No. 1 of Vol. IX, No. 2 of Vol. X.

* Stars indicate out of print.

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AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(MEMBERS PLEASE READ THIS LETTER.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to Illinois and the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to all wars in which Illinois has taken part, especially the collection of material relating to the recent great war, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire—

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great rebellion, or other wars; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village and neighborhood in

the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents and school committees, educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' messages and reports of State Officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of the past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery, paintings, portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings, portraits, engravings; statuary; war relics, autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of prominent chiefs, orators, and warriors, together with contributions of

Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the State Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Your attention is called to the important duty of collecting and preserving everything relating to the part taken by the State of Illinois in the great World War.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(Mrs.) JESSIE PALMER WEBER.

Life of
Stephen Arnold Douglas

BY

Frank E. Stevens

LIFE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

BY FRANK E. STEVENS.

The Journal in this number publishes a life of that great son of Illinois, Stephen A. Douglas.

This biography is the result of many years of painstaking labor by Mr. Frank E. Stevens of Sycamore, Illinois. Mr. Stevens has a high appreciation of the greatness of Senator Douglas, the nobility of his character and the magnanimity which he showed during the last months of his life when the secession of the Southern States threatened the life of the Nation. The Historical Society is glad to have the opportunity of publishing this appreciative account of the life and services of one of the greatest Americans. Though more than sixty years have passed since the death of Douglas his fame is undimmed and thinking people of Illinois and the Nation are seeking more and more for the story of his life.



EARLIEST PICTURE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

LIFE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

PART I.

It was Senator Benton who remarked that Douglas never could be elected president because the skirts of his coat hung too close to the ground. Short he was, but Douglas required no artificial elevation as Zaccheus did to look over the heads of others. Quite as easily he could see "quite through the deeds of men" like Cassius of the lean and hungry look. Douglas could discount distance too with an accuracy achieved by no other man of his period. Wise and politic as was his truly great rival, Lincoln, Douglas' grasp of present events subtracted from future ones was more comprehensive and accurate, and Douglas more than any man in public life brought their logical conclusions directly into view and, like the skillful surgeon in the clinic, he exposed the cause of the trouble and prescribed correctly the only remedies then possible to prevent future recurrences of the disorder. The coatskirts of the man may have come close to the ground, but he was the longest headed man in the United States Senate. In stature he may have been short but stature did not prevent his rise into the absolute control of his party and its decrees. He became the idol of that party in the north and the scholarly and dignified leaders of the south yielded graciously to that leadership and for the purpose of showing how that stature and that leadership were regarded by others who would not permit jealousy to influence judgment an extract of a letter written by the editor of the Newbury, Massachusetts, Herald will be quoted. This letter was written while the editor was traveling through Illinois and who found himself upon this occasion close to Douglas while the latter was pushing one of his campaigns:

"That man with a big round head, a brow almost as broad as Webster's and a quick, active eye that rolls under

the heavy projecting brow, watching every other man, and not allowing a motion to escape him—with arms too short for his body, which is full and round as though it never lacked the juices that supply life; and with small duck legs, which, had they grown as thick as his back-bone (and they would, probably, if Providence had not foreseen that he would want back-bone more than legs in his battle of life,) would have made him of respectable stature,— that little man is no less than the great politician of the west, who has attracted more attention in the last four years than any other man of the Nation, and done more to give direction to public affairs than even the President, with a million and a half of voters at his back, and the army, navy and treasury of North America at his command. It is the Little Giant, Stephen A. Douglas.”

Douglas reached a position in the affairs of the nation so lofty that Lincoln in 1856 found himself compelled to recognize it in the most pathetic manner:

“Twenty-two years ago, Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted: We were both young then,—he a trifle younger than I. Even then we were both ambitious,—I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure,—a flat failure; with him it has been one of splendid success. His name fills the nation, and is not unknown even in foreign lands. I affect no contempt for the high eminence he has reached,—so reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the elevation, I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch’s brow.”¹

Again in the 1858 campaign Mr. Lincoln said: “There is still another disadvantage under which we labor, and to which I invite your attention. It arises out of the relative positions of the two persons who stand before the state as candidates for the Senate. Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who had been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the President of the

¹ Holland, 177. Quoted in Lamon 408.

United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exhuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope; but, with greedier anxiety, they rush about him, sustain him and give him marches, triumphal entries and receptions, beyond what, even in the days of his highest prosperity, they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be president. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages, all taken together, that the republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle and principle alone.’”²

When Douglas’ measure is thus taken by a well rounded intellect like Lincoln’s, how inapt was Benton’s! Indeed the 1858 reference while caustic in a way, was in better taste than Douglas’s measure of Lincoln made in the Ottawa debate:

“In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln on it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem. He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world’s goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school teacher as I could; and, when a cabinet-maker, I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with anything

² Page 409 Lamon.

else; but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot-race, in pitching quoits, or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all of the boys of the town together; and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse-race or fist fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties; and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided, or became submerged; and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the abolition tornado swept the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican war, taking the side of the common enemy against his own country; and, when he returned home, he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged, or obliged to retire into private life, forgotten by his former friends. He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase and Fred Douglas, for the republican party to stand upon. Trumbull, too, was one of our own contemporaries.’³

Men who grappled with Douglas’ mental and patriotic stature found in those contests the occasion to testify to their stalwart character. He was so big and stalwart that no party, no set of individuals and no set of conditions unhorsed that intellect or that patriotism. Death was the only enemy he could not meet in a struggle on superior terms.

³ Lamon 409 et seq.



BIRTHPLACE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
AT BRANDON, VERMONT.

It was the bigness of the man which prevented his election to the office of president of the United States!

Following a line of chronology, this story properly should begin with the year 1813, the month of April and the 23rd day, the time of his physical birth and Brandon, Vermont, as the place; but while birth of the child cuts an important figure in the lives of most men, the birth of deeds thereafter so far outshines dates and a place that an introduction to the man in the zenith of his career will be received with much greater interest than can be secured from the presence of a bundle of swaddling clothes, no matter who they may have wrapped.

The childhood life of Douglas was sweet and winsome and his childish traits were those of the lovable man who succeeded to them. In defeat while a child he was a bigger and more likeable child just as he was biggest and greatest in the biggest and greatest defeat of his life; the defeat which cost him the presidency,—paradoxical but true! Tragedy played its part with the opening pages of his life and tragedy closed the book. The exciting times which comprehended the public life of Stephen Arnold Douglas were filled with tragedies. The compromise measures of 1850 had their tragic feature when for his affirmative vote, Daniel Webster was refused the use of Faneuil Hall in which to explain his vote. In that measure Douglas became one of the leading spirits:

“The controversy being reopened with increased violence, and my position at the head of the Territorial Committee requiring me to take the initiative in some plan of fair and just settlement, I brought forward my original proposition to extend the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific in the same sense and with the same understanding with which it was originally adopted. This proposition met the approbation of the Senate, and passed this body by a large majority, but was instantly rejected in the House of Representatives by a still larger majority, * * *.

“At the opening of the next session, upon consultation with the friends of the measure, it was generally conceded

* * * that there was no hope left for the Missouri Compromise, and consequently some other plan of adjustment must be devised. I was reluctant to give up the Missouri Compromise * * *. But public duty demanded that all considerations of pride of character and of opinion should be made subservient to the public peace and tranquility."

Speech of Senator Douglas, in the U. S. Senate, December 23, 1851.

In those words, Stephen A. Douglas explained the circumstances which brought about his efforts to establish the compromise measures of 1850, with their "great fundamental principles of popular sovereignty," for which he battled so long and so furiously and for which at last it may be said truthfully, he laid down his life, and that too at a time when that life was sweetest and when it was needed most to assist in directing the exciting scenes which followed his death.

From this distance every move made by Douglas in behalf of popular sovereignty may be seen to dovetail harmoniously into his peaceful plan for the ultimate extinction of slavery, his declaration that he cared not whether it was voted up or down being but a figurative expression intended to withdraw his personality from the equation. Vexatious conditions hovered around his peaceful plan, Douglas better perhaps than any other man, was qualified to handle all of them. He knew the North and he knew the South and the possibilities of the nascent West as no other American knew them. His belief that if left to a domestic economy, the political economy which regarded slavery with favor would be settled peacefully in the midst of it, is received generally at this time as an accurate measurement of a tremendous political quantity. His insistence that force would be resisted by war the most stupendous in history scorns every lukewarm admission. Across the sands of every southern state the bloody record of his wisdom has been written. And that policy might have succeeded even in Kansas where friction was to be expected from the first experiment but for the force of fanaticism by both sides which was underrated, and

the stupid Dred Scott decision which came opportunely to disturb the Douglas plan.⁴ For such disturbing influences with which Douglas had no sympathy, man and measure suffered a period of eclipse which happily has passed and is revealing the true Douglas,—patriot and statesman in his true light. For his opposition to the slave power Douglas was crucified. For the same opposition to the extension of slavery, Lincoln, his great rival has been carried to immortality!

In any forum Douglas was a gladiator who accepted odds with eagerness. Unlike others who were overwhelmed, greatest apparent peril strengthened Douglas. He was quick to think and act; his recuperative force was marvelous and most of his adversaries fell before his artillery. Yet he was courteous to the last degree, permitting captious interruptions almost without number during some of his fiercest battles. He was patient; he was dignified and without doubt, he was proud of his position. But he never so far forgot his old farmer friends back in Illinois as to decline to ask for a chew of tobacco. Charged with an abundance of animal spirits, it was his nature to love his fellow man and to meet him on common ground. He was generous, almost to a fault. In his family, he was the most lovable of men and happiest when within the family circle. If he was ambitious, what self-respecting man can say of himself that he is not? Of those incidents in life which are denominated faults, it must be admitted by all candid men that while he had grave faults, in his fierce political engagements, they were magnified to grotesque proportions. Neither can it be denied that possible mistakes of judgment were only too frequently charged against him as faults. He was a party man to be sure, but he was a patriot. He held the Union to be greater than any of its constituent parts and he loved it. And if we may receive the word of men high in the knowledge of events which centered around the civil war he would have been made a major general to defend it along with his old time Illinois

⁴ Watkins' "Douglas, Lincoln and the Nebraska Bill," 19.

friends and especially of that celebrated Tenth General Assembly whose names will shed a lustre upon her fair name so long as the State of Illinois shall endure.

Uninterrupted development within and expansion without with all their intricate and delicate adjustments enlisted his tremendous energies almost from the day of his entrance into Congress. His two committees in the Senate, Territories and Foreign Relations permitted him to pursue those inclinations although his almost constant duties as chairman of the committee on Territories which had so much to do with the constantly recurring and irritating subject of slavery overshadowed his work upon other branches of legislation, even Foreign Relations and one is apt to conclude that he took little part in the duties which that highly important committee demanded.

Death snatched him away when upon the threshold of a career whose bounds no writer should pretend to set.

From a study of the Douglas ancestry one must conclude that Stephen Arnold Douglas came honestly by the traits of character which came to the attention of every person familiar with his life. It would be foreign to the purpose of these pages to go into that branch. It is sufficient for this story to take him as we find him with no more than a brief abstract of title as it were for the man.

The Douglas ancestry is set out carefully in a letter written by Mr. Eugene J. Granger to Joseph Wallace, late of Springfield, Illinois, who at his death was just completing a rare biography of Douglas:

“Clifton Springs, Ontario Co., N. Y., April 21, 1878.

“Dear Sir:—In reply to your letter of the 17th, I would state:

“First:—That Senator Douglas’ sister, who married my father, Julius N. Granger, was named Sarah Arnold Douglass and she was married Feb. 14, 1830. There were three children—myself, Sister Emma, now Mrs. Sidney D. Jackson, and Adelaide, afterward Mrs. J. F. Hoyt. Mrs. Hoyt died the 12th of April, 1860.

“Second:—The christian name of my grandfather Granger, was Gehazi. He was married to Mrs. Sally Douglass, mother of Sarah A. Douglass and Stephen A. Douglas, November 27th, 1830.

“Third:—The occupation of Benajah Douglass, (grandfather of the senator) was farming, after he came to Brandon, Vt.⁵ and he died there. Cannot say whether he was a soldier of the Revolutionary war.

“Fourth:—Both of the grandmothers of Senator Douglas were named Arnold.

“Fifth—My mother’s knowledge of matters embraced in your fifth inquiry consists of general memoranda as follows: William Douglass (the first) was born in Scotland in 1610 and emigrated to America, date not known; but the birth of his son, William, is recorded in Boston, Mass., in March, 1645. William Douglass, born in 1610, was married in 1640, to Mary Ann, daughter of Thomas Marble, of Northampton, England. He died July 26th, 1682, in his seventy-second year. William Douglass (2nd), born March 1, 1645, was married December 16, 1667, to Abiah, daughter of William Hugh of New London, Conn.,⁶ where the father and family had removed from Boston. William Douglass (the second), had two sons and five daughters. His oldest son (also William by name), was born April 19, 1672, and removed to Plainfield, Connecticut. By his wife, Sarah, he had eight sons and three daughters. The youngest of these eight sons was Asa, born December 15, 1715, and died November 12th, 1792. He married Rebecca Wheeler who was born August 26th, 1718, and died June 12, 1809. Asa Douglass had thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters. Benajah Douglass (the youngest of these sons and the maternal great grandfather of E. J. Granger), was born December 15, 1760, and died October 2, 1829. My mother has no means of informing you when my great grandfather came to Brandon, Vt. Our records show

⁵ He was one of the earliest settlers of Brandon and accumulated considerable property for the times.

⁶ In the first census of 1790 of New London, Conn., one Stephen Douglas was enumerated a citizen.—Correspondence of Charles H. Miner.

that the first William known to us resided in Boston, Mass., and moved from there to New London, Conn., with his family,—the second William afterwards removing to Plainfield, Conn. * * *,”

Both grandmothers were descended from William Arnold, who was one of the associates of Roger Williams in Rhode Island and whose son was appointed governor of that colony by Charles the Second when that king granted the famous charter under which the state continued to be governed until after the establishment of the American Union.

From persons best calculated to make the statement with confidence, it would seem that the Senator's talents were inherited mainly from his grandmother Martha (Arnold) Douglass, who is said to have been a woman of uncommon intellect and force of character.

Inscriptions on the family tombstones⁷ in the cemetery in Brandon indicate that some of the paternal ancestors of Douglas spelled their surname with a double “s”. Douglas in speaking of the matter stated that he dropped the final “s” from his signature after reaching Illinois.⁸ The close of the year 1845 is given as the time.⁹

Stephen Arnold Douglas was born in Brandon, Vermont, on the 23d day of April, 1813. His father, Dr. Stephen A. Douglass, born at Stephenson, Rensselaer county, New York, removed while a youth, with his parents, to Brandon where, after a regular course at Middlebury College, he studied medicine and, returning to Brandon, he became distinguished, as physicians went in those days. He married Miss Sarah Fisk, the daughter of an extensive farmer at Brandon, by which marriage two children were born, a daughter, mentioned more

⁷ Publication No. six, Illinois State Historical Library, 113.

⁸ Joseph Wallace who made the examination, so wrote in the Illinois Transactions.

⁹ Under date of December 15, 1908, Hon. Robert Martin Douglas wrote: “The fact that my father spelled his name with two s's excited some comment, especially as he afterwards changed the spelling to one s. I am informed by family tradition that the changes arose in the following manner: His father originally spelled his name with one s; but having a cousin of exactly the same name, he agreed to spell his name with two s's to avoid the confusion resulting from their identity in name. Sometime after my father moved to Illinois, he learned the fact from his Mother, and as there was no longer any reason for the change, re-adopted the single s as the correct name of his ancestors.”

particularly in the foregoing letter from Mr. Granger, and a son, the subject of these pages. On the first day of July, 1813, Dr. Douglass died suddenly,¹⁰ of a disease of the heart, or as some have said, apoplexy, while holding his little son, Stephen, within his arms and while the little daughter was playing about the father's knees.

Ann DeForrest, the nurse, is authority for the statement that the child weighed 14 pounds at birth, about one-seventh the weight attained by him when at 20, the prairies of Illinois had been reached.

It has been stated too that when the stricken father's arms relaxed, Baby Stephen fell forward into the fire of the open grate, before which the father had been seated and but for the opportune arrival of John Conant, a neighbor, who snatched him up, the child would have been burned to death. In support of the statement, a scar on the face of Douglas has been called upon to attest the truthfulness of the story.

While it is always impertinent to doubt a statement related with so much precision, fortified by a scar, it nevertheless is difficult to suppress an itching desire to know why even in Vermont, a fire should be required on a day in July unless the season was an uncommon one.

The maternal grandfather of Douglas had owned a property about three miles distant from Brandon, said to be the finest farm on Otter Creek, an enlargement of which to this day, is called Otter Pond. The treachery of this pond was well known to the district school teacher whose constant admonition to his pupils when swimming was to "keep this side of the rock in the middle, don't try to cross."

When later, Mrs. Douglass removed to that farm to live with her brother, Edward Fisk, and Stephen was sent to this district school, about the first thing young Stephen did when in swimming, was to disobey and cross without mishap. The master could not but admire the exploit, but in expressing that admiration he took pains to phrase it in language of such doubtful admiration that the other youngsters would not try

¹⁰ In the 32d year of his age.

to emulate Stephen's foolhardiness. He was dubbed by the master for that exploit, "a tough one," and that closed the incident. Very soon the schooling was confined to winter months when the creek was frozen over.

The eight or nine months of hard and unpromising¹¹ farm work imposed upon and performed intrepidly by the boy who at that early age was compelled "to make a hand" in part payment for his board and schooling, were made better than tolerable from the privilege permitted him during the three winter months of attending that district school. And when with increased stature, increased burdens followed, they were accepted with boyish pride because of the expectation, if not the positive assurance, that they were to be followed by the greater privilege of entering the Brandon academy so soon as he should reach an age to justify it.¹²

There can be no doubt that during this expectancy, the sunshine of the mother's love had much to do with infusing into a young and generous nature the glow and warmth which never departed from Stephen A. Douglas, until with the spirit, it took flight from the lifeless body.

The homely habit of industry was not an acquired one with Douglas. He performed his severe duties upon the farm without the necessity of urging. Without lagging he clung tenaciously to his tasks, expecting only for the future that at the proper time he should enter the academy. That same industry, though not cheerless and sodden like the old New England drudgery of farm life, clung to him through life and it may be asserted with truthfulness that the terrific strain required of him for his last campaign for the senate and the one following closely for the presidency, literally killed him. It is doubtful if another of his station ever possessed his indomitable pluck, unconquerable energy and endurance. And when considering the havoc which early and long sickness wrought in his frail body and his not too robust constitution,

¹¹ Upon a few rare occasions the uncle permitted the boy to work overtime picking apples, for which he received one bushel in every ten picked, aggregating in amount about one dollar for the season, at prevailing prices.

¹² Douglas was made an honorary graduate from Norwich University, at Brandon, Vt.

especially when young, his years of unceasing work present a record altogether incredible. Five feet and four inches in height, weight 104 pounds, 20 years of age when reaching Jacksonville, Illinois, to begin that meteoric career, his health undermined with fevers and ague; pale, haggard, friendless and with but \$1.25 in cash resources, his very first feat of endurance might be classed superhuman: From Exeter he walked ten miles to the little village of Winchester to seek employment. Until the very last hour when stricken by a mortal illness at the Tremont House in the city of Chicago, he subjected himself constantly to what in others would be considered insufferable hardships.

Cheerfulness had much to do with sustaining him under the great weight of his physical labors. The same spirit which put a smile upon the boyish face when returning, worn and hungry from the fields at night, as a child, carried him half way across the continent to keep an engagement which well enough he knew would avail little or nothing in his campaign. The man's personality was as wonderful as his genius and his uninterrupted successes and it must be owned that it contributed to those successes not a little.

When at fifteen¹³ a number of his young acquaintances were preparing to enter the Brandon academy, the young man, considering that the appointed time had come, applied to his uncle for that understood permission which had been held out to him, to enter the academy with them. But hard conditions had interdicted. Besides the native thrift of the uncle which removed a dollar just as far as possible from its expenditure, a wife had come to the bachelor uncle's establishment and in due time an heir followed. What therefore more natural than that the uncle should remonstrate that it was as much as the ordinary man could do to educate his own children without adding to his expense account the tuition charges of another man's children? That was the uncle's suggestion and that was his ultimatum, softened only by the advice that the wage of the farm hand being far more certain than the career of the average professional man, the young

¹³ Spring of 1828.

man would find himself better off to continue his then present employment. That cheerfulness, fortified by the habit of industry inspired the boy to seek a trade, which would yield money enough to pay for that schooling, unhampered by morbid thrift, marriages and the arrival of unexpected heirs. Accordingly he kissed his mother and sister an affectionate good-bye, trudged over to Middlebury, a distance of fourteen miles and by the same night he had apprenticed himself to a cabinet maker named Nahum Parker.¹³

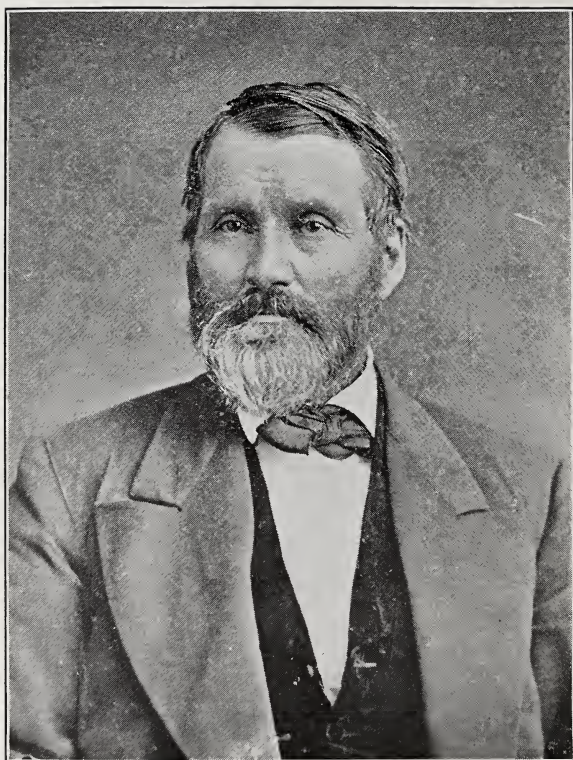
The reasonably truthful tradition has been handed down to us that Douglas as a boy and man was an inveterate whittler; but its concomitant story must be denied, that his mother was caused so much annoyance thereby that she inspired the boy to take the trip to Middlebury where the boyish and frivolous habit might be worked out of him when applied practically to hard wood and harder work. He apprenticed himself without suggestion and for no reason other than to earn some money with which later to prosecute his studies at the Brandon academy.

Douglas' pugnacity when a youngster, though it served to make him reliant in pushing his fortunes, and redoubtable in supporting a friend's never plunged him into regrettable situations. If at all, that passion was given undue latitude, it was whenever in his presence his boyish political diety, Andrew Jackson was assailed.¹⁴

Over at Middlebury that pugnacity which ever was held as a reserve power, served the youngster several very good turns by putting him early upon excellent terms with the boys and girls of the little village.

In common with all little places, the girls lavished their smiles on the stranger and on the boys their scowls. Resolved to teach the young apprentice that he should serve an apprenticeship with love as with wood, a plan was laid to ambush him when returning from the home of his companion

¹⁴ "It is stated that one of his earliest acts in behalf of the Democratic party was the organization of a band of Jackson boys at Brandon, who proclaimed a war upon the coffin handbills; and who managed to destroy those placards as soon as they appeared on the walls and fences of the town." Sheahan, page 6.



LORENZO WOOD.

to the weekly singing school. After taking the young lady home safely, young Douglas returned by a route the best calculated to spring an ambush on him. The store corner, the point of contemplated attack was reached, but no boy possessed the courage to begin the attack. Disconcerted but not discouraged, the crowd substituted a volley of jibes, jests and taunts, hoping thereby to draw their victim into anger and a rush. Douglas declined to rush. Thus encouraged, one boy made an unchivalric remark concerning the young lady. That aroused the fighting spirit of Douglas and the slanderer picked himself up demanding fair play. "Very good," said Douglas, "you shall have it." A ring was formed around the two combatants and in another instant the slanderer went to the ground, flat, and so did one other member of the circle. "Now boys," said Douglas without show of anger, exhaustion or nervousness, "if that's not enough, come on and I'll take you all together!"

It seems that the boss, Nahum Parker, who had been "trying cider in the store cellar," attracted to the scene by its noise, laid his hand upon the shoulder of his young apprentice with this encouraging remark: "Well, Steve, you air a tough 'un! What! Whipped two on 'em an' want summore? Come along home!"

The late Judge Lorenzo Wood of Dixon, Illinois, has left another record of the prowess of young Douglas in the field of Middlebury athletics. Says Judge Wood: "In my boyhood days, I played some pranks upon Stephen A. Douglas, who then was working at cabinet making. He was the most determined fellow I ever saw. He ran after me, finally caught me and spanked me soundly with a jackplane; a righteous punishment!" Judge Wood was born and raised at Middlebury.

But Stephen was not a tough 'un in a tough sense. He was ever the gentleman. One of his shopmates while referring to Douglas's days of apprenticeship has said, "he wa'n't much for rowdyin' round." He simply would not submit to imposition. That manly spirit asserted itself towards the

end of the year when Parker, the employer, insisted upon impressing the apprentice into the performance of menial household services. The boy rebelled and returned to Brandon where he entered the cabinet shop of Deacon Caleb Knowlton as a journeyman workman and continued for a year, husbanding his wages for use against the time when he should need them for entering the Brandon academy.

Love for his work grew with his application to it and his industry drew from his master many glowing tributes of satisfaction. Upon later occasions when the apprentice had achieved national fame, that master was fond of asserting that he, the apprentice, "was a likely hand at making secretaries and bureaus."

The physical breakdown¹⁵ which terminated Douglas' cabinet making career came as something of a business tragedy. It may seem strange, but so it was, his love for his business had crowded hard upon his love for study which had been pursued with diligence at night time.¹⁶

Of those two years, he later was wont to affirm them the happiest of his life and but for the departure of health and strength, no consideration of future preferment could have influenced him to abandon his cabinet work. With the funds thus earned Douglas entered the Brandon academy.

Life at Brandon and Middlebury, particularly the former place, should not be dismissed without noting the now student's fondness for debate.¹⁷ At the district school he would prefer an argument to position at the head of his class and singularly enough for one so youthful and inexperienced, a political discussion attracted him most. With his return to school,¹⁸ with more years and more experience, his passion for debate found some gratification in a debating society which

¹⁵ Winter of 1829-30.

¹⁶ In his little autobiography published in full in the *State Historical Society Journal*, Douglas tells us that his readings were of political works mostly.

¹⁷ His sister, Mrs. Sarah A. Granger has said, "The first promise Stephen gave of becoming an orator was when eleven years old, at a country-side debate, when he answered a man who was past fifty and used him up at every point too."—Miss Helen A. Hawley.

¹⁸ Douglas studied at the Brandon academy under the direction of J. N. Chipman. His only known other teacher was named Chester Winslow. A tradition has him teaching for a little while the little district school.



SARAH GRANGER
(Mother of Stephen A. Douglas.)

he was permitted to join. With that return, too, it should be inferred naturally, that something of pride in dress should appear; but such was not the case. The habits of student life have been remarked by writers and eye-witnesses to have fastened upon him a negligence of dress which was not affected later in life for the purpose of vote getting among a somewhat rough constituency. That slovenliness of dress was overcome only when he had become established in Springfield and had entered society.

PART II.

When in the course of human events, two young people marry, the incident being but a repetition of millions of other like events which have gone before is quickly forgotten in the midst of many things. In general they are of such slight importance and of such slender interest to the reader that to bring them to notice is an unwarranted expense of time and paper. But an event of this nature had such an influence on the life of young Douglas that to omit it would be an unpardonable sin. Julius N. Granger of Ontario County, New York, came over to Brandon and on the 14th day of February, 1830, married Sarah Arnold Douglass and took her back to his home in Ontario County to live. The little sister of sunshine had grown to sweet young womanhood and with her advent in New York, she very quickly caught the discriminating eye of her husband's father, Gehazi Granger who must have reasoned wisely that so much of sunshine in part at least must be reflected from a bright and charming mother. Certain it is that not long thereafter, the father disappeared without notice and to all appearances without a motive, and when later he surprised his family by as sudden a return, it was to bring with him Mrs. Gehazi Granger, formerly Mrs. Douglass¹⁹ and her son, Stephen A. Douglas.²⁰

¹⁹ They were married November 27, 1830.

²⁰ Douglas in his autobiography fixes his departure for Manchester Center, Ontario County, New York, in December, 1830, which would indicate that bride and groom may have remained in Brandon a few days.

What a change for the last named! Gehazi Granger, a man of means, placed him in the beautiful old Granger homestead between Canandaigua and Clifton Springs²¹ and to the unspeakable joy of the young man, Mr. Granger at once placed him in the noted academy at Canandaigua. There he was assigned, as room-mate,²² with Marcius Willson, who has written about those days at the academy in a feeling manner. Both young men were practically of the same age; Douglas was born in April and Willson in December of the same year. They continued as room-mates until their academy days ended in the year 1833. Their studies being almost identical, they studied their lessons together. Their Latin they read and wrote together. They belonged to the same debating society. They sat at the same table at meals and it is doubtful if two brothers ever got on so well together.

The late Senator E. G. Lapham, of New York, was fond of telling a story of that same table at which he was positive, originated the pet measure of Douglas to the last day of his life—squatter sovereignty. It seems that one Victory Birdseye, a member of the table, absented himself from his chair for about a fortnight during which time another boarder pre-empted it. On Birdseye's return, his anger rose to fighting pitch and he demanded its surrender. The new occupant declined to surrender it with a firmness which indicated to Birdseye that he would better not be too insistent. To settle so important a matter in a manner becoming the academy, a court martial was ordered to try the squatter at which Mr. Willson acted as judge advocate. Douglas defended the squatter. The trial was fought bitterly but at its conclusion Douglas was declared to be right when he said it was the privilege of another to squat into and hold any vacant seat of which there appeared no claimant. Senator Lapham laughingly added that the case was the first of which we have any record of a practical adaptation of squatter's rights and squatter sovereignty.

²¹ Ten miles from Canandaigua and one-half mile from Clifton Springs.

²² It was the habit of Douglas generally to spend Sunday at the homestead, walking the distance more frequently than riding.



ACADEMY AT CANANDAIGUA, N. Y., AS IT WAS WHEN
DOUGLAS WAS A STUDENT THERE.

In Latin Douglas never progressed further than Virgil. While much has been said of his thirst for learning²³ once at Canandaigua, with no thought for a precarious future staring him in the face, he was not a hard student. His passion for the political history of his country increased, but he never studied it closely. He took no interest in writing; he never wrote²⁴ for the prize on the subject: "Excellence of Representative Republican Government," which was annually awarded. But he ever was anxious to participate in debates before the academy debating society. In common with every society of the kind in the country the probable guilt of Andrew Jackson in his various enterprises was brought before that body for discussion, as Jackson himself in a larger sense had brought himself and some of his rather high-handed methods into discussion before the whole people of the country. Jackson's smashing tactics were reviewed and argued in the student rooms, in the campus, in the halls and across the academy fence. So much importance became attached to the subject that it was determined to settle the question of guilt or innocence for all time before the debating society of the Canandaigua Academy. Very naturally Douglas refused to permit his political idol to be condemned without an effort to sustain him. And he was selected to defend the pig-headed old president. At the time set for hearing the first argument, it became evident that the question was a larger one than apprehended at first and it was postponed accordingly. One or more postponements were required before Douglas considered himself competent to defend Jackson. But when he did make that defense, we have the word of at least three who heard it and whose judgment in after years commanded the highest respect, that the defense made by young Douglas was worthy the attention of the most respectable deliberative body in the country. In after years when

²³ "I became a student in the academy at Canandaigua under the superintendence of Prof. Henry Howe, where I continued until the latter part of 1832." *Autobiography*.

²⁴ J. W. Forney in writing about Douglas states, that the latter never wrote for magazines with the possible exception of the *Harper's Monthly Article*, but that he was a veritable treasure house to those who did.

Mr. Willson complimented him upon his masterly speech to reimburse Jackson for the fine imposed by Judge Hall, Douglas replied that he but repeated his speech of 1832, which he, Willson had listened to.

Before that society Douglas manifested many characteristics which became so familiar on the floor of the United States Senate. There were the highly charged temperament, the rolling voice, the large, flashing eye, the easy, almost endless flow of words,²⁵ the waving of the head and tossing of the great shock of hair; the positiveness; the intense earnestness; the absence of humor; the courage and the energy and fire and withal the unfailing courtesy with which he tolerated interruption. Minus age and experience, the same Douglas battled by the same methods he used in Congress. In debate, words came to him without effort. From his very first effort back at Brandon, he possessed the confidence of a veteran. That mania for debate followed him into unconsciousness. It is related of his days at Canandaigua that the son of a physician or of an apothecary smuggled some form of laughing gas into the campus one day which he generously offered to divide with any one who had the courage to try it. Within a few seconds after the banter, the bottle had been emptied and followed with varying results upon the victims. Some of them manifested an inclination to fight; another to cheer; another to sing; but Douglas, mounting a stump, proceeded to debate a variety of questions which had to do with a little of everything susceptible to debate, but very largely with the old hero, General Jackson whose name came and went with a lack of form and order and dignity that might have pained the old president, had he witnessed the performance.

On one occasion only have we a school instance of any return of that belligerency which appeared at Middlebury, though it is not fair exactly to call the incident by so harsh

²⁵ It was the common admission of Douglas that he could not write a speech for delivery. His usual course if he desired to think out a speech, was to secure his authorities and begin speaking]. Then and then only could he command his thoughts.

a name: Two of his classmates, in a spirit of mirth, cut the cords of his old-fashioned bedstead in the very natural expectation of hearing something to their humor when Douglas with his customary habit of carelessness tumbled into bed. Upon that particular night, however, Douglas was suspicious perhaps, anyway he was circumspect for the first time in his life, by sitting lightly upon the edge of his bed to disrobe. With even so slight a disturbance as that, one corner of his bed collapsed. Full of indignation he bounded into the hallway or corridor where as expected he found the culprits awaiting his discomfort. In a rage he fell upon them "hip and thigh" and sent both rolling down the stairs.

Douglas at school was of a social turn, though confined entirely to the society of men. He had no young lady acquaintance and he preferred the society found in the debating club to the ballroom, the concert or the "entertainments" of those days which included so many school functions. He was beloved for those same social qualities which were of the manly sort. He was temperate in practice and principle and with Mr. Willson when not at the homestead he attended the Congregational church for the purpose of listening to the pastor's (Eddy) remarks, after which, when the church had been left, it was the invariable custom of the two young men to debate the sermon with as much earnestness and gesticulation as when fighting for the greatest principle ever brought before the debating society.

By January 1, 1833, he had left the academy and entered the law office of Walter and Levi Hubbell as a law student. There he pursued his law studies diligently five days in the week. The sixth he spent in reviewing his classical studies. On June 24, 1833, he left for the west, he says in his autobiography.

Those two years were very happy years for Douglas. Attachment for the old Granger homestead had become strong. His mother and sister enjoyed all the blessings which surround devoted family ties and without restraint he had enjoyed prerogatives which before that time he never had permitted his

loftiest boyish flights to consider and it is doubtful if any spot elsewhere had for him the veneration of the old Canandaigua home. We have been told that at first he made his Saturday visits over to the homestead to satisfy himself that it had not vanished as things do in dreamland and to try to see his mother through the windows for no other purpose than to confirm his belief that she was supremely happy. On the last day that he was to spend in Canandaigua before starting out for the west to seek that fame which came so quickly, he parted from his mother at the gate of the old homestead and there he said good-bye. Note that mother's last words: "And when shall we expect you to come home to visit us, my son?" "On my way to Congress, Mother," he answered. And ten years afterwards, almost to the month, at thirty years of age, he made that promise good—with his certificate of election in his pocket.

That mother's influence must not be under-estimated for it was she who listened to his boyish fancies. It was she who encouraged them. It was she who put them into order and it was she who directed them towards the United States Senate and inspired those hopes which she lived to see gratified so soon. In fourteen years from that farewell at the gate, Douglas was a United States Senator!

At the academy gate he parted from his room-mate, Marcus Willson, to take up his journey for "the West," with almost the same short dialogue as that which passed between Douglas and his mother. To the expressed hope that Douglas in the field of politics wherein he expected to make his mark, would reach the United States Senate, Douglas replied: "That is my ambition." From what state he expected that honor, he had not determined. He was going west which meant any of a myriad destinations. Destiny and perseverance were to do the rest and they did it.

From this narrative to date it must have been noticed that Douglas had not secured much "schooling," neither had he been a particularly hard student while at work. His learning thrust itself upon him.



DANIEL P. RHODES.



S. J. ANDREWS.

From Canandaigua Douglas fared forth to Cleveland, Ohio, where with a first cousin, Daniel P. Rhodes, he expected to stop for a brief period to take his bearings and arrange for the continuance of that trip westward towards some definite point.

Early in June, 1833, the young emigrant reached Cleveland, expecting to remain no longer than a few days. But as in that entire trip, he seemed to have no control of his destiny, he was compelled to wait a long while before pursuing it further. Almost immediately he made the acquaintance of Hon. Sherlock J. Andrews, then a lawyer of note and subsequently a member of Congress. As was the case ever, Douglas made of him a fast friend and out of sheer love for the young man, Andrews offered him the use of his office and his library until he should have pursued his law studies, the statutory period of one year within the state, when after admission to the bar a partnership was offered. Nothing could be more to his taste, and with the privilege of his cousin's home, nothing could be easier to accomplish and Douglas accepted and entered upon his duties with enthusiasm and at once. But in less than a week the young law student found himself stricken with "bilious fever," the scourge of the prairie country, and he was confined to the house of his cousin until the month of October²⁶ had brought cooler weather. At that time, emaciated, weak and worn, though full of courage and hope, he got out upon the street again for the first time. The physician advised that a return to Canandaigua would mean a return of the fever, from which he might never hope to rise, and that to remain in Cleveland might be attended with results equally disastrous in the spring. Intent upon one thing only—success—he left Cleveland, with about forty dollars in money, about the middle of October, more than ever at sea, but with a firm and steadfast resolution never to return one

²⁶ The illness irritated him, not for its consequent loss of flesh or its aches and pains, but for the loss of valuable time. At his constant exhibitions of nervous restlessness, the physician remonstrated, "Sir," said he, "if you allow yourself to fret in this manner, you will certainly frustrate my efforts and die."

"Not now," replied Douglas, full of courage. "There's work ahead for me, Doctor."

step eastward until he had secured a substantial success somewhere in the great west. From Cleveland to Portsmouth on the Ohio river we are told he traveled by canal and river, thence down the river to Cincinnati, where for a week he sought employment by means of which he could recruit his health and strength before meeting what might turn out to be great hardships physically. Finding nothing there he pushed forward to Louisville where another week was spent with no better success. Without recuperation of money or strength, nobody but Douglas would have dared turn his face still further from home. He did it. We are told further that in a so-called western emigrant's book, recently read, he found therein much in praise of a place in Illinois called Jacksonville, so named in honor of his political pole star, and that when Louisville afforded him no chance for employment, he bought a ticket for St. Louis, resolved to take up his home in Jacksonville so soon as he could reach there. This decision was superinduced by young Mr. Samuel Wolcott, who was aboard the same boat and whose father, Elihu Wolcott, lived in Jacksonville and who suggested employment there in case Douglas could find none in St. Louis.

As fellow passengers on that boat, Dr. Linn, United States Senator, and Col. Miller, then Governor of Missouri, were carried, with both of whom Douglas easily formed an acquaintance. At St. Louis Douglas made the further acquaintance of Edward Bates, to whom Douglas applied for a situation in the Bates' office. Bates was an excellent lawyer, a man of exceptional ability and he enjoyed a fine practice. That gentleman took a deep interest in Douglas. He advised with him freely; he encouraged him to remain in his office until admitted, but the pressing need of immediate money compelled him to decline the offer, pay his tavern bill and push on to Jacksonville but not before also making another effort to enter the office of a Mr. Spaulding.²⁷ He crossed the river to Alton on the Illinois side, from which point the stage

²⁷ Douglas Autobiography.



MAJOR MURRAY McCONNEL

for Jacksonville was taken and Jacksonville was reached the day following, something after the middle of November, 1833. In figuring over his cash means, he found upon reaching Jacksonville that he possessed \$1.25. In figuring his years, we find he still lacked something like five months of being twenty-one.

When seeking employment in the conservative cities of Cincinnati and Louisville where the employer naturally wanted and expected his money's worth, the haggard appearance of young Douglas, as well as his size, very likely had the effect of sending a cold chill over those who looked into his chalky face and his frail body for some promise of day's work. How different his reception in Jacksonville! The difference was noticeable the instant he stepped from the stage. In Jacksonville, all were youthful, if not in actual years, in action and inspiration. Here was the open-handed freedom of the young West; the state was but fifteen years old. There was manifested the wish to see everyone enjoy a sufficient income to cover the ordinary wants of life at least, and the appearance of that delicate figure with its almost childish face, pale, worn and appealing to the generous impulses of a generous community, excited interest. The young man wanted nothing so much as employment as clerk, schoolmaster, anything by which money might be obtained to provide for his living expenses for the moment. With no more money left than would pay for a day's board at the tavern, he sold for a few dollars a few school books brought along to use while teaching should he find the school and need to do it and he took up his lodgings with a Mr. Heslip, pending his search for employment.

He carried a letter of introduction to Major Murray McConnel,²⁸ then one of the most prominent men of the state. He was a leading lawyer; he had secured renown the year before in the Black Hawk War and he was the right hand man of Gov-

²⁸ After Major McConnel had occupied the office of Fifth Auditor of the Treasury under Pierce in 1855, for some time, he discovered he had to thank Douglas, that same unconquerable youngster, for the appointment. Douglas had secured it for his old friend without asking.

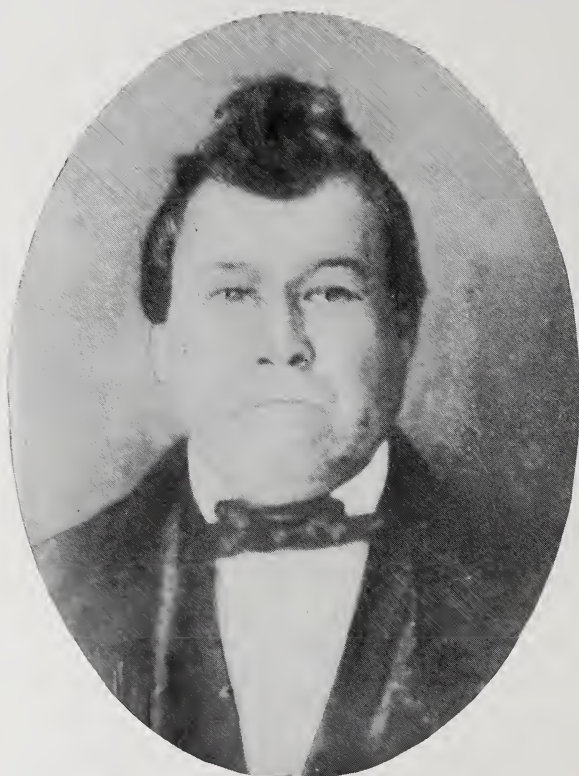
ernor John Reynolds, then at the zenith of his career. Looking into the boyish, upturned face, McConnel was moved. Rather than accept employment which meant delay in beginning his professional career, Douglas was advised to go to Pekin, on the Illinois river, and open an office at once. At that unexpected promise of a future, Douglas was compelled to confess that he never had practiced; that he had no library and what was more disastrous, he had no license to practice. Major McConnel promptly offered to furnish a sufficient library for \$30 and to wait for his pay until Douglas could make it.

He advised Douglas furthermore that the license was of no especial consequence just then because the legal work was transacted almost exclusively before a justice of the peace before whom no license was required and that the license could be secured at leisure after the location and the business had been secured. Full of hope, Douglas packed his things and set out for the little village of Meredosia on the Illinois river to take the steamboat up-stream for Pekin.

Note in this instance the little influence Douglas appeared to have in shaping his future! For a week he waited for the boat that was to carry him to Pekin. At the expiration of that period he learned that the only boat expected to pass up-stream had blown up at Alton and that no more boats would try to ascend the river until the next spring.

Here was a crisis in the affairs of Stephen A. Douglas! He could secure no employment in the little village; upon paying his tavern bill he had but fifty cents left which would not pay his expenses out of town. He could neither stay nor leave. Overhearing his inquiries for a possible school to teach, a farmer residing a few miles distant cheered him with the information that it was his belief Douglas might secure a school at Exeter, ten miles distant, and if Douglas would go home with him that night, he would take the young man over to Exeter and intercede with friends he hoped to interest.

Leaving his trunk at Meredosia, Douglas, mounted behind the farmer, whose name cannot be obtained now, on the



IRA ROWEN
WHO AIDED DOUGLAS IN
SECURING PUPILS AT WINCHESTER.

same horse, rode over to the farmer's house. The next day both went over to Exeter where the farmer spent the day trying to enlist the interest of its citizens in the establishment of a school. But not one pupil could be secured. The only promise held out to Douglas was by one of the men interviewed to the effect that over at Winchester, eight or ten miles further on, a school actually was wanted by the community. Evening had approached. Douglas was almost out of money and still too feeble to perform arduous labor. He was too proud to beg, but not for an instant did he hesitate. Thanking the kind farmer friend who so generously had assisted him he threw his cloak over his arm and walked the distance over to Winchester that night.²⁹ Of such stuff was Douglas made when but twenty years of age and at a time when he should have been husbanding his strength in bed!

Upon a corner of the little shanty town he paused to take his bearings. Footsore and weakened almost to exhaustion, he stood erect and brave, his great, wide, bright, questioning eyes radiating everything but discouragement. Across the street he noticed a tavern which he entered with confidence and explained to the landlord that he had but three bits in money—thirty-seven and a half cents—nevertheless he desired accommodation for a while. Would the landlord permit him a credit until he should secure a school to teach? The landlord agreed and, more than that, on the following day went with him upon the street, introduced him everywhere and very soon Douglas had secured a subscription list of forty pupils at three dollars per quarter per pupil. After that success, employment and prosperity came along without solicitation.

On the second day after his arrival, while watching the formation of a crowd upon the street, the delicately boyish, yet singularly bright and reliant figure of the young man attracted the attention of a bluff, hale and hearty man named John Pickering, who clapped Douglas on the shoulder, saying,

²⁹ Autobiography. His speech quoted later in this part. Sheahan.

"Young man, you look to me as though you could write and figger. We want another clerk. Can you do the job?"

"I guess I can,"³⁰ answered the boy and he was hired upon the spot and without delay he proceeded to enter upon his duties as assistant to the auction crier's clerk in an administrator's sale of the effects of a deceased Winchester merchant.

As the day progressed, the countryside increased the *dramatis personae*. It was a time in Illinois history when men traveled miles to save a bit and make a bargain. Like all Yankees, Douglas was inquisitive. He asked questions enough to learn that the very large stock of general merchandise which belonged to the late Winchester merchant named Elihu Martin, was being sold at auction, item by item, by Bennet Gray, the administrator; John Pickering, the crier, and I. B. Hardisty, the clerk. Douglas was alert. With his transcendent genius for making friends, no more than a few minutes were required to convince the administrator that he had secured just the man for the emergency. Should anyone else have interest enough in the sale to inquire the amount of money first earned by Stephen A. Douglas in the State of Illinois, the following item of expense obligingly furnishes a reliable statement of it:

"Paid Stephen A. Douglas, clerk hire, 2½ days, \$2.50."

The sale continued three days, as follows: November 22, 23 and 26, 1833.

With but 37½ cents in money and a contract on his hands to pay board, the natural supposition would call for rigid economy. But without regard for consequences, he anticipated and spent his new supply with reckless abandon. Notice from the crier's sale bill:

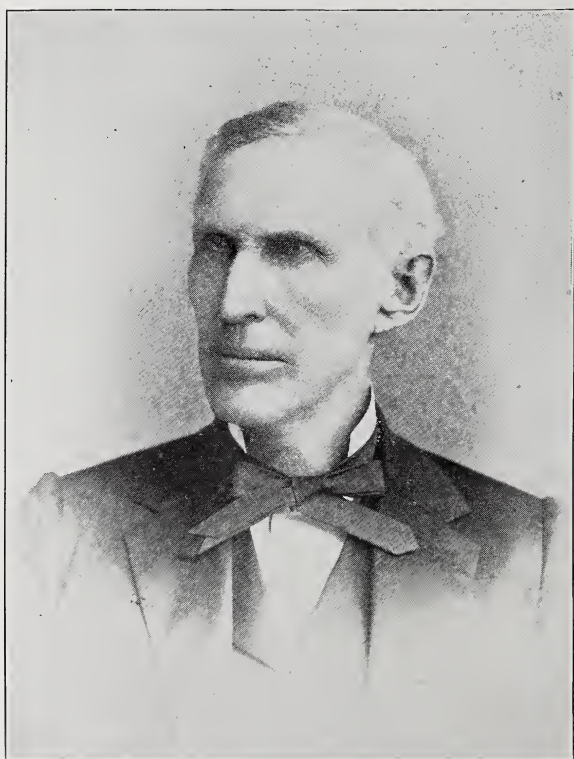
"S. A. Douglas, 2 pen knives, 34c.....	68c.
S. A. Douglas, 1 lot newspapers.....	14"
S. A. Douglas, 3 linen collars.....	54". ³¹

³⁰ Statement of Mrs. Sarah A. Granger, sister to Douglas.

³¹ Probate records of Morgan County, wherein Winchester was located at that period.



SCHOOL HOUSE AT WINCHESTER WHERE DOUGLAS TAUGHT.



EDWARD GRIFFITH MINER.

During the progress of the sale, Douglas captivated the villagers of Winchester and its neighboring people, enlisting their warmest attachment and holding the same unto the second generation. The country 'round about Winchester was democratic, a fact soon learned by Douglas. He grasped the names of bidders, he excited interest in the bidding, influencing thereby a spirited rivalry and increased receipts. He impressed those about him as being an altogether unusual young man. By intuition almost, he learned the ways of the West. Without practicing the vulgarities of speech so commonly affected by the politician of the day, not excepting Governor Reynolds himself, he made himself one of the people, whose homely western ways were manly ways. He handled little cases before the local justices of the peace³² and upon one occasion when a Whig lawyer from Jacksonville came over to speak against Jackson before the Lyceum, he answered him on the spot and made a great hit with the Winchester people.

Mr. E. G. Miner, a bachelor, a native of Vermont, a local merchant, took an especial interest in Douglas. He slept in his store like most unmarried merchants of the times, and to further assist Douglas in his little economies, he invited the young school teacher to share his room with him, which he did.

Mr. Miner and Douglas cooked their own meals; "batched it," as it was called, until toward the close of the term of school, when we are told ³³ that Mr. Miner fixed a day for his marriage and asked young Douglas to be his best man. The story further runs that Douglas expostulated that he had no "boiled shirt," for so important a function. "Don't let that distress you," said Mr. Miner, soothingly, "I'll furnish one," and he did, and Douglas played his part.

In March, 1834, his school quarter ended, and finding himself possessed of \$120 in money, less a trifling expense account, enough to support him for a year, back at Jacksonville, to which place he had determined to return, he left Winchester,

³² Mr. E. G. Miner in *Winchester Times*, March 5, 1897. Autobiography.

³³ S. A. Douglas, Jr.

to begin that career before the people which never has been seriously rivaled. On March 4, 1834, having previously applied to Supreme Judge Samuel D. Lockwood, he was licensed to practice before the Supreme Court—about seven weeks before reaching his majority.

The humble efforts of Douglas to try cases before the village "squire" must not be regarded lightly. Those homely forums permitted him to exploit his talents, which he did with what seemed to him, far greater eloquence than he afterwards exerted on the floor of the United States Senate. No records have been left us of the fees earned from those flights of eloquence, but we are assured by a person no less than himself, that he put more industry into them than he ever put into his greatest effort on the floor of the Senate. He loved Winchester and when running for the Legislature in the year 1836, Winchester, being in his senatorial district, was the place from which he expected most of his support and to Winchester he traveled to make his canvass. It is related of him³⁴ that during that canvass he went out to Geneva to meet his friends at a "log-rolling" in the double acceptation of the term. After the work was done, Douglas made the log-rollers a speech from the porch of an unfinished house in the village. The proprietor of the unfinished house was so well pleased with the candidate and his speech, that he took the handspike used by Douglas and dropped it between the walls of the building, to be preserved, as he said. The house was finished and very much doubt might have rested on the story but for an incident which followed in the year 1868. At that time, Mr. James M. Branson, the then owner of the house, was about to wreck the building, preparatory to using the material in the construction of another house. Before the work of destruction was commenced, a Mr. Samuel Lewis who had been present at the log-rolling, made the statement that between the walls of the house would be found a certain handspike which had been used by Stephen A. Douglas, who had assisted

³⁴ Mr. Riggs. History Scott County.



LIZZIE ROWEN HEXBY, A PUPIL OF DOUGLAS.



PHILIP ROWEN AND WIFE, PUPILS OF DOUGLAS.

at the log-rolling, and he related the story of its use and the deposit which followed. When the walls were wrecked, there was the handspike, just as Mr. Lewis had predicted, and Mr. Branson has now in his possession the identical handspike, or at least so much of it as has not been given away for souvenirs. The story may not be especially entertaining, but as illustrating one side of the many-sided Douglas, it should have its use.

Many years afterward, Douglas visited Winchester; at a time³⁵ when minutes were precious; at a time when Douglas was overwhelmed with work; when the greatest senatorial canvass of all time was impending; when Illinois had become the storm center of great political issues; when Douglas was fighting the fight of his life, against the democratic administration of Buchanan on the one hand, and the greatest stump speaker and one of the greatest men of all time, upon the other. At such a time, Douglas found time to go to little Winchester to make a speech to his old friends and their sons, now voters. The attendance was very large and he was greeted with unbounded expressions of delight. The Rev. Perry Bennett, of the Baptist church, introduced him, and Douglas responded as follows:

“Ladies and Gentlemen—fellow citizens: To say that I am profoundly impressed with the keenest gratitude for the kind and cordial welcome you have given me in the eloquent and too partial remarks which have been addressed to me, is but a feeble expression of the emotions of my heart. There is no spot on this vast globe which fills me with such emotions as when I come to this place and recognize the faces of my old and very good friends who now surround me and bid me welcome. Twenty-five years ago I entered this town on foot, with my coat upon my arm, without an acquaintance in a thousand miles, and without knowing where I could get the money to pay a week’s board. Here I made the first six dol-

³⁵ August 7, 1858.

lars³⁶ I ever earned in my life,³⁷ and obtained the first regular occupation that I ever pursued. For the first time in my life I felt that the responsibilities of manhood were upon me, although I was under age, for I had none to advise with, and knew no one upon whom I had a right to call for assistance or friendship.

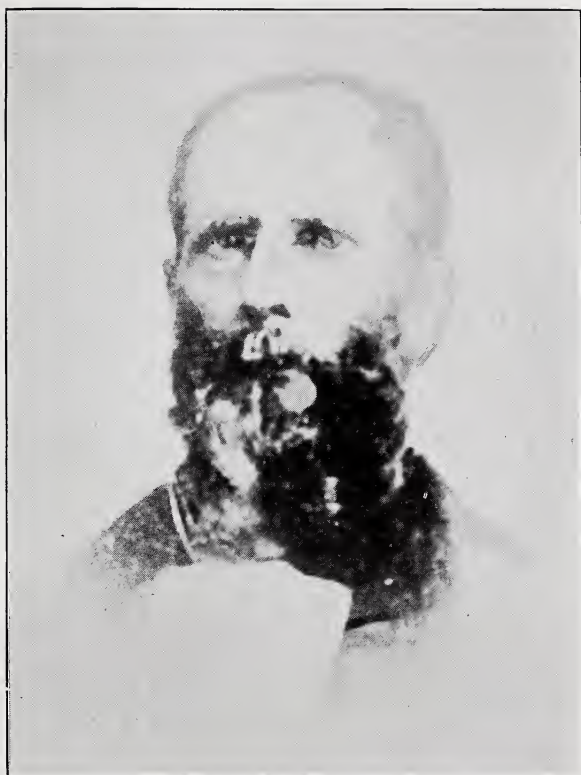
“Here I found the then settlers of the county, my friends. my first start in life was taken here, not only as a private citizen, but my first election to public office by the people was conferred upon me by those whom I am now addressing and by their fathers. A quarter of a century has passed, and that penniless boy stands before you with his heart full and gushing with the sentiments which such associations and recollections necessarily inspire.”

Before leaving the Winchester period of Douglas' life, another incident should be recorded. It took very little of that young man's time, but it had a powerful influence in his destiny when he returned to Jacksonville. Among other things, there floated into his schoolroom, one day, a circular, issued by S. S. Brooks, editor of the “Jacksonville News.” More properly it might be called a prospectus, holding out for the News, the promise to live and support Jackson democratic principles and candidates, provided only the editor of that paper could secure enough subscribers to warrant the undertaking; a rather startling promise to make in that small community of people, not then of a reading tendency. At a glance, Douglas saw what a fine leverage the good offices of such a friend might give a young and struggling lawyer in Jacksonville, and Mr. Brooks received a very great surprise. These are his own words:³⁸ “My prospectuses were circulated throughout Morgan and the adjoining counties, and, immediately after the publication of the first number of the paper, most of them were returned with lists of names of sub-

³⁶ The record shows that he received but \$2.50. If any more was paid him it must have been as a bonus from the private funds of the administrator. In his autobiography, he places the figure at five dollars.

³⁷ He made money picking apples as a child at Brandon and as a cabinet maker he made money, so that he must have meant, “In Illinois.”

³⁸ Sheahan.



S. S. BROOKS.

scribers on them. Among the returned copies of the prospectus, was one from Winchester, with a large number of names, accompanied by a very complimentary and encouraging letter, signed, 'Steph. A. Douglass.' Naturally desiring to know something more of my unknown friend than the name, I found upon inquiry, that he was a young man from the State of New York, engaged in the humble but honorable occupation of school teacher. A few days afterward, say about the first of March, Mr. Douglas visited Jacksonville, and a personal introduction followed. In anticipation of his visit, I expected to see a young man, for of such was composed the corps of 'Yankee schoolmasters' in this state at that time; but, in this, my first interview with Douglas, I was surprised to see a youth apparently not exceeding seventeen or eighteen years of age. He was not quite 'twenty-one,' but was beardless, and remarkably youthful in appearance for that age. I was more surprised, however, in the strength of his mind, the development of his intellect, and his comprehensive knowledge of the political history of the country."

In that little village of Winchester,³⁹ said by Peck's Gazetteer⁴⁰ for the year 1834, to consist of about sixty families, began the great career of Stephen A. Douglas; And while upon the subject of beginning it should not be regarded as out of place to call attention to the beginning of another career, so intimately connected with that of Douglas, to-wit: the career of Abraham Lincoln, who had floated into a still smaller village in the adjoining county of Sangamon, and who, poor and struggling, had his eyes then upon the beginning of his career, over in the legislature, at Vandalia.

PART III.

The career of Douglas at Winchester was a success. While nothing was achieved to create a distinct reputation,

³⁹ Winchester was in Morgan County, until 1839, when Scott County was carved from it. Peck in his *Illinois Gazetteer*, p. 143, states that in February, 1834, Morgan County had a population of 25,000.

⁴⁰ p. 351. "Four stores, one grocery, a large tannery, mechanics of various kinds, one tavern, three physicians, a Baptist meeting house, and sixty families."

he had busied himself so pertinaciously with making valuable friendships, and studying Morgan County conditions, that when he arrived at the county seat to begin his professional career, he needed but the money earned at Winchester to back up his self-reliance against the opportunity he coveted and which he expected to summon so soon as the proper moment presented itself. Through political acquaintance and influence, Douglas expected to win a practice and that tenure of office which came to him so soon and which clung to him, or he to it, through so many notable years. He acted with patient care and a persistence which should explain so many of his youthful and phenomenal successes, apparently without the asking. He was a good man of business. Perhaps his genius for organization was prompted largely by his thoroughly good business sense. In the line of good business judgment, he rented an office in the court house on the day of his return to Jacksonville, and, following his wise and well-matured plan, he caused the fact to be announced to the public, through the columns of the News. The wisdom of that move which secured the editor so many new subscribers, can now be appreciated thoroughly. Brooks, too, had aspirations. Brooks was a Jackson Democrat, but by reason of the pugnacity, as well as obduracy of his old idol, those aspirations were for the present, more or less obscured in Morgan County.

When it is attempted to explain the astounding political success of Douglas upon the theory that he was ever upon the popular side of politics in Illinois, and that thereby he was permitted to eclipse his great rival, Lincoln, and Hardin and Stuart and all the shining array of Whig celebrities who never succeeded in getting higher than the National House of Representatives, little reliance should be placed upon that hypothesis. Locally, the Jackson branch of his party was in a hopeless tangle, and without a local triumph, recognition in the politics of the state at large was improbable. That fact was understood by Douglas. He early discovered the absence



MORGAN COUNTY COURT HOUSE, JACKSONVILLE, ILL., 1834.

of all organization among the Jackson Democrats of Morgan County and he believed the cause for their helplessness to be specious and transitory. Without delay, therefore, his actions had to do with changing those conditions in Morgan County, as well as to set in motion the machinery for making the very much needed triumph. And let it be noted at this period of earliest planning, that no rule in mathematics ever worked with greater precision than the Douglas rules of political action, when the outcome had to do with the fortunes of Stephen Arnold Douglas, the individual.

Jackson had dismissed cabinet ministers. He had ordered the withdrawal of the Government deposits from the United States Bank, which institution, in consequence, had been compelled to call in its loans and decline future financial support to business operations which had grown to depend upon it or its influence, in times of necessity. This contraction of credits, together with the fear which naturally spreads under such distressing influences, precipitated a general state of incertitude, from which the country was then suffering all manner of inconvenience. Especially was this unfortunate influence felt in Illinois where speculation had been carried to extravagant heights and to whose borders large sums were expected to come from banks, directly or indirectly influenced by the United States Bank, in order to push forward a great number of internal improvements, and which of course were stopped. The consequences were charged to Jackson by his foes and by very many strong Democrats in Morgan County. In fact, it would not be putting the case too strongly to state that the sentiment against Jackson was almost overwhelming in Morgan County when Douglas returned to the county seat. To such lengths had the feeling of dissatisfaction gone, that it was almost impossible to find a man stout enough of heart to justify Jackson's behavior openly. Members of the Jackson party were afraid to venture any kind of a showing at that particular time, lest their temerity might be visited with annihilation. Much safer they argued, to calmly await a revulsion

of feeling and the coming of the man as well. Very naturally the Whigs took advantage of this disorganized and scattered party condition to cement their own lines, which they did by including Whigs, the dissatisfied and the nondescripts in one general party which was styled the Opposition. Party feeling in those days ran so high, that social and business intercourse was confined, so far as practical, to political friends. But a few men, however, there were who dared rally to the support of Jackson's political fortunes in Morgan County, of whom was numbered the editor of the News. Thus it will be seen that Douglas was not ever upon the popular side of Illinois politics. His very first venture was made in a community where his associates were overwhelmingly outnumbered.

The first point urged by Douglas was that Jackson had been able to carry the state, which must be taken into consideration, and his next point was that if Democrats had carried the state, the present antipathy must be ephemeral. Wherefore he launched his scheme to bring his political saint back again to his own, almost within twenty-four hours after he had reached Jacksonville. How? He had observed that it was the custom of the countryside to come to the county seat every Saturday; the men to exchange produce, talk politics—the absorbing topic of conversation in those days—to drink a little whiskey which too many times developed a disposition to back opinions with a free fight, to swap horses or run a race and to gossip, while the ladies were permitted to study the shop windows, market some yarn or linen and get together the few little necessities needed for the wardrobe's repair, and find out what was going forward at another end of the county. Every Saturday was in the nature of the county fair times of later days. Douglas laid his plans before Major McConnel, Brooks and the few leaders of his way of thinking in Jacksonville, and with the exception of support from Brooks, those plans were condemned as suicidal or fatuous, nevertheless they listened attentively to their young author. His personality at least attracted them. He had

begun to take on flesh. He appeared to them a dark-blue-eyed youngster, compactly built, with a finely developed head, much larger than the average, covered with a tremendous growth of black hair. His never failing flow of animal spirits imparted to manners naturally polite, almost deferential and winning, a feature of sincerity and whole-heartedness which made him and his pretensions irresistible. His conversational power at that age was so remarkable that the oldest of those political war-horses were astounded if not convinced of the boldness of the youngster. No objection was raised by the conservatives but Douglas argued it away as trifling. His courage was supreme as his audacity was contagious and though frank and courteous, it was discovered at once that he easily could be made powerfully aggressive. He stoutly maintained that as Jackson Democrats, they should show their colors, define their position and test their strength in Morgan County as well as the power of the Opposition. There appeared a disposition in the little caucus which he called, still to object, notwithstanding his eloquence. Rather than surrender his views, he at last declared that though compelled to act upon his own responsibility, he should invite the Jackson democracy of Morgan County to a public meeting⁴¹ upon the following Saturday⁴² to discuss the political situation and certain resolutions which he proposed, looking to an endorsement of the President and his actions in each and every particular. By a few conservatives, the move was pronounced to be the gambler's move of desperation containing every element for rank failure. Hand-bills were, nevertheless, circulated in every township of the county, inviting every friend of Andrew Jackson to come to Jacksonville on the following Saturday, there publicly to discuss the actions of his President.

More people flocked to Jacksonville on that memorable day in March, 1834, than ever had been there before. They came in ox-carts, in wagons, on horseback and a-foot, and by

⁴¹ During his first week's residence in Jacksonville the Whigs held a large meeting. To counteract its influence, Douglas urged haste.

⁴² During his second week's residence.

noon, it was thought the plat of that county seat would not be large enough to contain the multitude. But very few found room to stand in the courtroom and still amidst fears for its success, the meeting was called to order.

Douglas had prepared his set of resolutions to be introduced by an older person. He had pleaded his youth—not yet twenty-one. He had urged his recent arrival and apparently he had secured the services of the most influential Jackson man in the county, to introduce them; but at the last minute the influential Jackson man quailed, and passed them over to Douglas with the demand that the latter introduce them and follow with a speech of endorsement, protesting by way of excuse that unless Douglas introduced them, they would not be introduced at all and that the opportunity might prove to him the most important and influential of his life in making for himself a name. No one realized that latter point more than Douglas himself, and he introduced them with the brief statement that he held in his hands certain resolutions which should meet the approval of all Democrats, he was sure. He read and explained them and after a short speech in their support, permitted them to become the property of the meeting for discussion.

Josiah Lamborn, an old war horse, subsequently Attorney General and a man of commanding influence in that part of the state, in a speech of unusual bitterness attacked them and the President in a manner that seemed to justify every prediction made for their disaster. He went to the extent of contradicting a statement of fact made by Douglas, inviting by so doing, all the consequences which follow such an act, and in those times, those consequences were generally of a serious nature. His conclusion opened the way predicted for Douglas to acquire a reputation, and in his reply, he rendered an account of his stewardship which is treasured to this day in Jacksonville. Lamborn fled the room precipitately to save what little of reputation remained to him. The resolutions were carried with rousing cheers, without opposition.

The crowd closed in on Douglas.⁴³ The scene which followed was one of those volcanic ovations which are given but rarely in a lifetime and come to but few men. Surging and almost fighting their way to the front, about a dozen men picked up the little fighting orator and bore him upon their broad shoulders out of the building, and through and around the public square. Such greetings as "High combed Cock," "Little Giant," and the like, were hurled at him during his triumphal tour. And that occasion originated the sobriquet which clung to him to the last day of his life, "Little Giant." That was his first political triumph. It united the Morgan County Jackson Democracy and spread the fame of the orator the length and breadth of the State of Illinois⁴⁴ as the little David who had slain the great Goliath—Lamborn. The time and the place, but principally the man, placed Stephen A. Douglas upon the popular side of politics in his adopted State of Illinois. He could anticipate a friendly response to a popular chord. He might anticipate a recovery, in a moment of enthusiasm, of retired party strength; but he couldn't anticipate the vanquishment of Josiah Lamborn. Douglas the man did that. How and why he was able to do it, are more or less character studies pursued throughout future pages.

Douglas at once bounded into a prominence which brought enough law business to his office to satisfy his modest wants while pushing his political fortunes. Had he applied himself to the conservation of that which came and had he exercised the zeal for more, which he put into his efforts to make political friends, he might have secured a share equal to that of much older practitioners. As it was, he was found

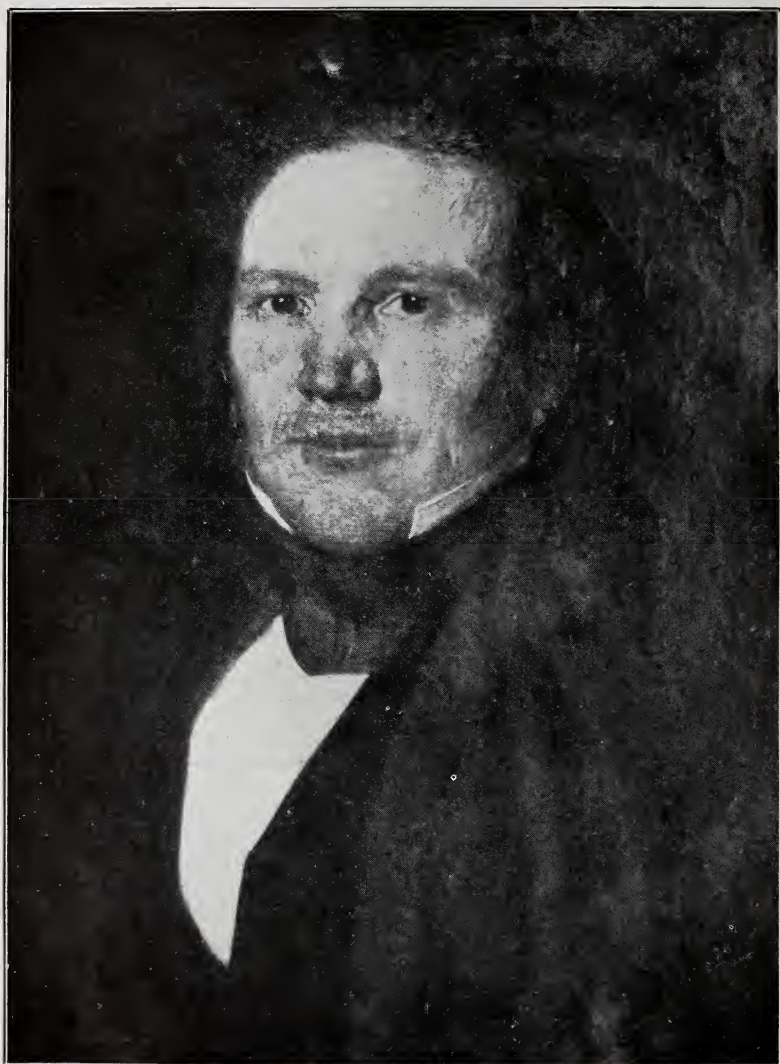
⁴³ A scene very similar occurred when Benjamin Mills, of Galena, Whig candidate for Congress against William L. May, spoke at a Whig meeting in the Jacksonville Court House. Mills was an able man, a fine speaker, and had made a good impression. At the end of the meeting, Douglas was seized and thrust, not unwillingly, upon the platform to reply. He did it with such spirit that he was greeted with great applause and cries by a stout Kentuckian, "Hit 'im again, little fellow! Give 'im a pair of gaffs."—Daniel Roberts.

⁴⁴ "The next week, *The Patriot*, the organ of the opposition, printed and published by James G. Edwards, Esq., devoted two columns of that paper to me and continued the same course. * * * The necessary consequence was, that I immediately became known * * * within one week thereafter I received for collection demands to the amount of thousands of dollars * * * ." Autobiography.

upon the streets most of the time, making friends and promoting an organization of the forces of the Jackson democracy, to notice which properly and sequentially, the subject of his law practice must be deferred to the page following that which concludes his services upon the bench and his relations with the legal profession.⁴⁵ His office, therefore, became the cynosure for Morgan County Jackson Democrats.⁴⁶ Plans, calculated to wrest political power from the all-powerful Opposition in Morgan County, were matured as acquaintanceship increased and as capacity developed in those desired for local lieutenants. Organization was preached by Douglas to the first man who came to his office and to the last man. If the novelty of such a proceeding were objected, it took Douglas but little time to persuade the individual objector into the speaker's way of thought. Did half a dozen Jackson men aspire to one position, the usefulness of the caucus and convention system of selecting one of the number on whom the solid Jackson vote might be concentrated was urged as no man but Douglas could urge. Opposition to it was strong at first. The people had accustomed themselves to the old free-for-all scramble and old notions were not easily eradicated. Vigorous efforts were required to convince half a dozen or a dozen men that they should not waste party strength by uselessly scattering it when it would be hard enough to elect a man with the field to himself. But with dogged persistence, Douglas overcame the opposition. He had not time to put his machinery into working order by the approach of the next election, but he had secured a tractable following with which to lay the foundation for the convention event of 1835.

⁴⁵ "Clients were rare visitants at his office, nor was he a close keeper of his office for either business or study; but he was out among the 'boys,' assuming the part of politician from the start." Daniel Roberts, law partner of Maj. Murray McConnel in Vol. 87 Harper's Monthly Mag. 957.

⁴⁶ "Young Douglas took in the situation at a glance and with a ready instinct doffed his eastern dress and manners, and assumed a suit of Kentucky jeans and an arm in arm intimacy, in street and in saloon, with men of that uniform and of the Jackson stripe. Social and friendly in manner, he soon became a favorite with the Jackson men, and was put forward as their champion in political meetings and conventions." Daniel Roberts in Harper's Monthly Mag.



GOV. JOSEPH DUNCAN.

At the election first following his return to Jacksonville, the Democratic party elected its candidate for Governor, Joseph Duncan,⁴⁷ a Member of Congress at the time. Although formerly an ardent Jackson man and a warm supporter of his policies, Jackson's action in smashing the United States Bank, had alienated that friendship to a considerable degree, exactly as it had alienated the support of so many other Morgan⁴⁸ County Democrats. But the blow which had estranged him altogether, was Jackson's veto of the bills containing appropriations for improvement of the channels of the Great Wabash river, the Illinois and Mississippi and the Chicago harbor. Those vetoes Duncan took greatly to heart. Had the estrangement been known certainly, in Illinois at election time, the result very likely would have been the defeat of Duncan and the election of Kinney, an ardent champion of Jackson; but although his defection was suspected and charged to a limited extent, and his open hostility to Van Buren was known, public confidence in the man was so great that he was elected by a flattering majority. While the "whole hog" Jackson men, enraged at the Governor's apostasy which followed, had determined to remove from him as much of the appointive power as the constitution would permit, the motive for including the important office of State's Attorney in that effort received its inspiration from a little incident which happened in Morgan County and which centered around the personality of Douglas.

John J. Hardin of Jacksonville, a Whig, through the intervention of disaffected Democrats, had secured the appointment of State's Attorney from Governor Reynolds. The district was the most populous in the state and the emolument was large. Hardin was one of the ablest lawyers of the state and a very general disposition was shown to permit him to continue in office the remaining period of his term.

Among the democratic candidates for the legislature at the election just mentioned, were Col. James Evans, Col.

⁴⁷ Douglas supported William Kinney, Jackson Democrat.

⁴⁸ Duncan was a Jacksonville man at the time, 1834.

William Weatherford, Capt. John Wyatt and others who had aided Hardin in his efforts to secure his office. To their appeals for support, Hardin turned a deaf ear and when Wyatt, the only member of the party to succeed, had found himself elected, he turned upon Hardin and resolved to punish such ingratitude by removal at any cost.

He had been a member of the Eighth General Assembly and understood the needed moves. "If I can only beat him," he said, laughingly, "and beat him with little Douglas, it will be too good."⁴⁹

Douglas himself drew for Wyatt the bill designed to take from Gov. Duncan the power to appoint state's attorneys and turn it over to the members of the legislature and it was passed after a hard struggle. It was vetoed and re-passed over the veto of the council.⁵⁰ According to program Douglas became a candidate and so did Col. Hardin and the battle royal began.

Though the Democrats controlled the legislature, Hardin had so many fighting friends among its members, some of whom declared the bill nothing more than a selfish Wyatt move, that Wyatt was compelled to send for Douglas to come and help him.

At this psychological moment an unexpected reinforcement presented itself, without which Douglas could not have accomplished the defeat of Hardin. Major John Dement, then State Treasurer, a hero of the Black Hawk War, a Jackson Democrat, of a stature and avoirdupois no greater than Douglas' and one of the most popular men in the state, had been a candidate for re-election. He had called upon his old associate in politics, Gov. Duncan, and respectfully requested in his behalf, the influence of the Governor with members of the Assembly.⁵¹ With a considerable show of dignity, the Governor replied that he thought it undignified and entirely out

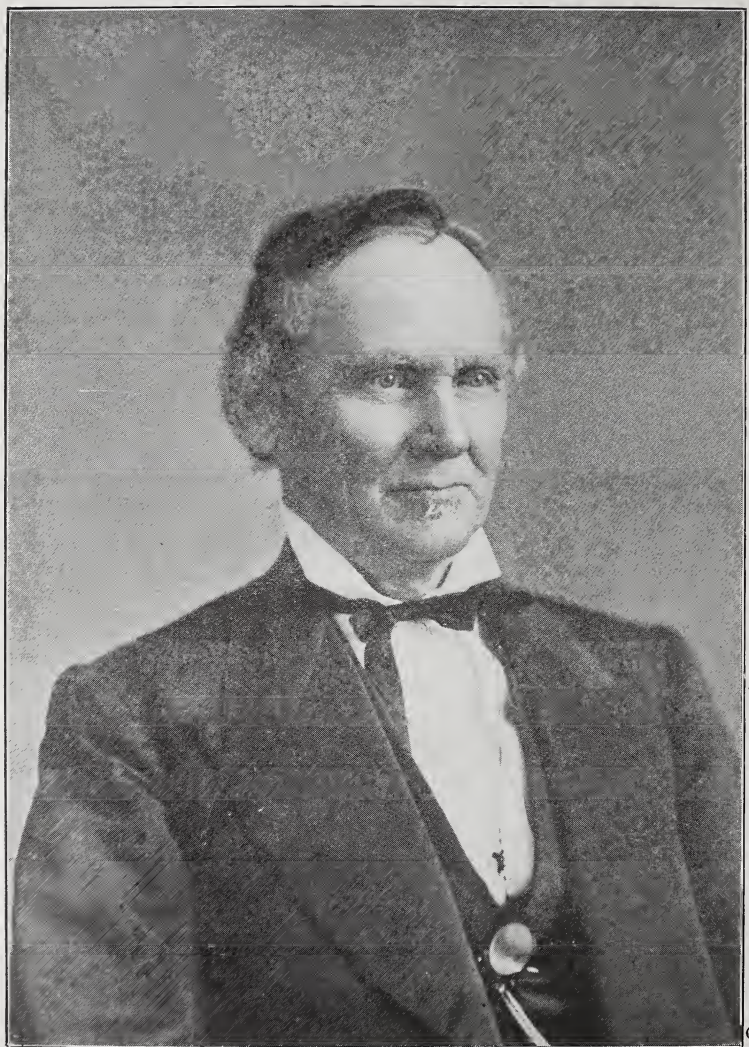
⁴⁹ Roberts in Harper's Monthly Magazine.

⁵⁰ Laws of Illinois, 1835, February 7, 1835, page 44. The veto power was lodged in a very different place than at present when the governor alone can veto a measure. A council of which the supreme court was a part, controlled the veto power.

⁵¹ The General Assembly elected the State Treasurer.



JOHN J. HARDIN.



MAJOR JOHN DEMENT.

of place for an executive officer to undertake to influence members of the legislature to vote for any candidate. Major Dement departed and in time secured his re-election upon his own resources.

Meantime, the very long-legged Wyatt and the very short-legged Douglas walked into the office of Major Dement. Others who were present very promptly dubbed the little Wyatt companion, "Wyatt's tom-tit." The tom-tit's appearance was accentuated by his blue jeans, short at the sleeves and the ankles. He told Major Dement that he feared with the influence of Governor Duncan in favor of Colonel Hardin, his candidacy might fail.

Dement had been a Hardin man up to that moment, but thereafter he was a Douglas supporter. The next disadvantage suffered by Douglas was his inability to get a room in the town to occupy during his stay. Every spare room had been pre-empted and beds for the accommodation of visitors to the state capital had been made upon every inch of floor space in the capitol building. Major Dement, then unmarried, very cordially invited Wyatt's tom-tit to share his room with him and a very warm friendship was sprouted that very day between the two men. The next morning, under the direction of Major Dement, Douglas smartened his appearance at a barber shop, and under the tutelary protection of Dement, fared forth to meet legislators, Wyatt being more than glad to intrust his protege with such an influential person and political friend. Not many hours were required to transmit the information to Governor Duncan that Wyatt's tom-tit was making famous progress with his candidacy and Dement was sent for. The Governor remonstrated. He protested. "What! Beat our friend, Colonel Hardin with Jack Wyatt's tom-tit!" The comparison at that point of their lives was ridiculous; but Major Dement admitted that such was the intention. The Governor begged "my old friend Jack (Dement)" to go among the members and turn back the tide.

"Governor," replied Major Dement, "you gave me some advice a few days ago on the subject of executive interference.

I am surprised to find you interesting yourself so very soon. I am supporting Jack Wyatt's tom-tit. Good-day.'⁵²

On February 10th, 1835, almost entirely through the influence of John Dement, the vote for State's Attorney for the First Judicial Circuit⁵³ stood 38 for Stephen A. Douglas, 34 for John J. Hardin, Scattering, 2.⁵⁴ Such is the story of Douglas' first political success and it may be said to have marked in a practical way the beginning of his political career. All over the state, his success became the subject of comment and wonder. The question was asked, who this new force in politics was, anyway? Whoever he was, the impression soon got abroad that he was a very desirable person to add to one's political acquaintance, and it may be said without hope of successful contradiction, that Douglas became the most talked about little man in the State of Illinois. At the same time, it must be confessed that Douglas possessed enough vanity to like to be talked about.

In this the Ninth General Assembly, sat Abraham Lincoln, as a member of the House of Representatives from the adjoining county of Sangamon. Viewing the active canvass of Douglas for the office of State's Attorney with great amusement, Lincoln pronounced him "the *least* man I ever saw."

This Ninth General Assembly, or at least the first session thereof—December 1, 1834, to February 13 of the year '35—presented Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas to public life, each for the first time. Here in this assembly these two men began those careers, always opposed, superficially at least, whose boundaries cannot be confined between the covers of books. Lincoln voted for Hardin and against Douglas in this initial move in politics and from this date the career of

⁵² Abram K. Trusdell of Dixon, Illinois. Daniel Roberts.

⁵³ Composed of the Counties of Pike, Calhoun, Greene, Macoupin, Morgan, Sangamon, Macon, McLean and Tazewell as then bounded.

⁵⁴ "I remember as though it were yesterday, how on a bright Sunday morning, mounted on a three-year-old mare colt furnished him by his friend Wyatt, he set out from the Court House square, for Springfield, to assume his duties in Court as State's Attorney. His was not a striking figure on horse back. His weight was about 130 pounds avoirdupois, and his short legs allowed his feet to reach scarcely below the saddle skirts. He had stored in his saddle bags a book on criminal law which I had lent him; it was his whole library." Daniel Roberts in Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 87, p. 957.

Douglas cannot be studied without including the contemporaneous career of Lincoln.

The position of State's Attorney for the first circuit provided Douglas with a suitable income and a political prestige sufficient to warrant the extension of his pretensions to leadership in the circuit of the state just as he had planned although perhaps he did not select the office of State's Attorney for his stepping stone. As a matter of fact his various offices came to him practically without any voice in the selection until he was elected to the lower house of congress. To advance that leadership Douglas applied himself with studied effort. To do it he chose the route of popularity and organization.

The Morgan County bar at that time was the strongest in the state, but its strength and the opportunity to grow under that substantial influence was not the moving cause for his location there. It was Douglas' best judgment that Jacksonville was the best point in the state in which to push his political fortunes and his removal there from Winchester was the first opportunity which had presented itself for the exercise of his judgment and choice. A law practice with him was a secondary consideration.

But though this was a political office pure and simple in his case, every authority has conceded that Douglas made a strong prosecutor in every case where he could reach the jury. In fighting technical objections which at that time almost choked to death every principle of law, Douglas was not so strong, but because he was no student and he found himself unable to quote decisions to present against the cases cited by his adversaries, it did not follow that Douglas failed to secure convictions. In that early year of his practice, Douglas possessed a remarkable comprehension of what the law should be upon principle and forasmuch as there were but few decided cases in Illinois to use as precedents, the arguments of Douglas in support of his views always received respectful consideration from the judges. No number of technicalities ever caught him off his feet. Even the Mc-

Lean County case hereafter alluded to was no exception. His successes were so many that it grew to be said of him what he could not find in the law books, luck provided.

In all of that experience upon the big first circuit and which by the way did not make him attorney general ex-officio, as so many have contended, he was busy making friends—of the witnesses; of the court; of opposing counsel; of the jury, and when at last he had worked his way into the affections of that jury, their minds always were well disposed towards the salient features of the young man's side of the case. He seemed to hold the feeling that one day some member of that jury might become worth his while as an acquaintance, with the result that rarely, if ever, was any person offended with his prosecution of a case. This statement does not mean to carry the impression or the implication that he favored a defendant for the possible good that might ensue. Such was not the case. He prosecuted offenders without fear or favor.

By and through his visits to the various counties comprising the first circuit, he became enabled to add many additional acquaintances of rare value. His maneuvers for popularity were done so delightfully free from the appearance of effort and effect that they rarely failed to charm. The man was magnetic naturally at that early period of his career and it is worthy of remark that beginning with the young men of that day he was made and continued to be the popular idol of young men in that young country and he ever continued the idol of the young men after he had grown into age.

In those formative days, Douglas never lost an opportunity to preach organization and to practice it in his new judicial circuit, the most populous and richest as well as the most central in the state. With such a force behind a man, working as a unit, it was easy to perceive what influence that man could command in a state body of delegates. To put that possibility to the test practically, became the ambition of Douglas before he had been in office three weeks. It has been the commonly received and accepted judgment of writ-

ers that the first convention projected by Douglas was held in Vandalia in the year 1837, but such is not the case. With the nomination of Van Buren and Johnson, for President and Vice-President, by the first Democratic National Convention held in May, of 1835, Douglas conceived the project of holding a state convention in Illinois, the same year, to place in nomination candidates for electors who would vote for Van Buren and Johnson. He was able to secure the attendance of a full set of delegates from the counties of Sangamon, Morgan, Greene, St. Clair, Madison, Vermilion, Edgar, Clark, Schuyler, Union, Fayette, Shelby, Wabash, Wayne, Pike, Adams, Fulton, Jackson, Macoupin, Washington, Cook,⁵⁵ La Salle and Coles,⁵⁶ the Morgan delegation containing the names of John Wyatt, Chairman; Alexander Dunlap, Newton Cloud, W. W. Happy, S. A. Douglass⁵⁷ and William Weatherford. As little or no strife could arise over offices so inconspicuous, no time could have been more auspicious for an experiment, than the year 1835. The convention met at Vandalia, December 7, 1835, on the first day of the second session of the Ninth General Assembly,⁵⁸ a propitious circumstance as it proved.

The same John Wyatt called the convention to order, and on his motion Gen. G. W. P. Maxwell of Schuyler County was chosen temporary chairman and Samuel Hackelton of Fulton County and Daniel Gregory of Shelby County were appointed temporary secretaries, after which Douglas was requested to state the object of the meeting in a speech. This he attempted, but being so short, as to be undiscoverable by many, John D. Caton seized him in his arms and placed him upon a table, where amidst a storm of enthusiasm, Douglas finished his speech.

Gen. James Semple, who had not manifested the proper enthusiasm for the convention system, was made the perma-

⁵⁵ Five in number, conspicuous among which was Douglas' faithful coadjutor, Ebenezer Peck.

⁵⁶ The convention was called to meet during a session of the legislature because practically all the delegates were members, selected with that convenience in view.

⁵⁷ He spelled his name with the double s until the close of the year 1845.

⁵⁸ December 7, 1835, adjourned January 18, 1836.

nent chairman. Alexander Dunlap and William G. Flood, were made vice-presidents and John Dean Caton and Samuel H. Treat, were made secretaries; whereupon the irrepressible John Wyatt introduced the following resolution:⁵⁹

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the president, consisting of one member from each county represented in this convention, to select five candidates for the state of Illinois, to be supported for electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, at the election of said officers in the year 1836; and, who, if elected, will vote for Martin Van Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson for Vice-President, and that said committee make a report of the names of the candidates so selected, for the consideration of the convention.”

Douglas was named the member of the committee from Morgan County. On motion of John Pierson of Vermilion County, the following resolution was adopted: “That a committee of five delegates be appointed by the president of the convention, to draft and report an address to the people of this state.”

Subsequently, the number was increased to nine and both Douglas and Peck were made members of the committee.

Another committee of nine delegates was appointed to draft resolutions to report to the convention, but Douglas was not made a member of it. Peck was. Portions of the preamble read as follows:

“And whereas, all power of right, rests with the people, and emanates directly from them; and since their desires can be best ascertained from themselves, by their opinions expressed through the medium of primary meetings held for that purpose;

“And whereas, the ultimate end of the Democratic party can be best fostered by means of such opinions frequently expressed at such primary meetings of the party, and often repeated by *‘delegates fresh from the people’*, thereby pre-

⁵⁹ Illinois Advocate, Vandalia, Dec. 17, 1835.



EBENEZER PECK.

serving harmony and preventing unnecessary and ruinous divisions.

“Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to our Democratic friends throughout the state, union and concert of action, and a frequent recurrence to primary principles, and as often as policy and expediency shall require, to express their opinions through delegates properly elected at primary meetings, thereby preserving our constitution, the bulwark of our liberties, for without a frequent interchange of political sentiment, expressed by the people, and repeated by the delegates, properly authorized, the democracy cannot insure that success in their elections, which the purity and integrity of their principles, entitle them to claim.”

Faith to Van Buren and Johnson was resolved, five electors, of whom Wyatt was one, were nominated and the convention adjourned on the second day of its session, after which the officers in token of their approval of what had been done, signed a copy of the proceedings.

Those proceedings were immediately carried into the legislature for endorsement wherein of course a fight was precipitated. The resolution endorsing the candidacy of Van Buren was carried in the House by a vote of 30 to 20. Another resolution in effect approving the convention system had a much harder fight in that body. As yet many of the members of the Democratic party did not favor it. The Whigs were a unit against it, because as they held, if the opposition strength were permitted to become concentrated upon one candidate, all hope for future success evaporated at once. Among the resolutions passed by the convention, was a set aimed at just such Democratic members as might oppose the convention system:

“Resolved, That we deprecate the course of certain individuals who are striving by means of false representations, to create divisions and dissensions among the Democratic party—attempting to deceive the people by claiming for themselves a character of exclusive democracy while their

proceedings are in direct dereliction to all those distinguished landmarks which have heretofore characterized the democracy of the country, and strengthened the bond of union.”

But the convention system plan was carried in the legislature by the vote of 26 to 25. This substantial piece of political engineering, placed Douglas upon terms of intimacy with every aspiring Democrat of consequence in the state. It was organization's first victory. In April, 1836, Morgan County, under the guidance of the Douglas mind, stepped into line with the first county convention ever held in the state, at which three candidates for State Senator, six candidates for Representative and candidates for county offices were placed in nomination.⁶⁰

The Whigs opened their batteries upon Douglas and his “new fangled” convention notions. They had been forced to do the same thing and nominate a ticket. Col. Hardin, who after his defeat desired an endorsement by the people of his county in order to sustain his political prestige, sought election to the lower branch of the legislature. He was nominated and he assailed the convention system with all the virulence of which he was a past master. Douglas replied, but being an individual and not a candidate, it soon became apparent that Col. Hardin was making ground for himself and his ticket. When thus it became evident to the Democratic party that the old fight between Col. Hardin and Douglas must be renewed, the emergency demanded that a place upon the ticket should be made for Douglas. Brooks, who had been nominated, readily consented to make the sacrifice. He withdrew and the name of Douglas was substituted. Thereafter, Douglas met Hardin on equal terms in joint debate, holding himself responsible for his conduct and his predictions. They spoke together in every precinct in the county with the result that Hardin was about the only Whig on the ticket to be elected.⁶¹

⁶⁰ A solitary Democrat objected. He preferred the old way of running his own campaign and he was the only candidate on the county ticket who was defeated.

⁶¹ The vote at that election, August, 1836, was as follows: Newton Cloud, 1935; Stephen A. Douglas, 1926; Joseph Morton, 1768; John J. Hardin, 1732; Richard Walker, 1726; William W. Happy, 1694. This comprised the Morgan County delegation in the House.

During one of Douglas' speeches made in this hot campaign, when quite likely, the Douglas finances were at a low ebb, an incident is related to have occurred which, to use his own words, "I completely lost my inspiration, and very soon sat down."

"At one of his largest open air meetings, he was soaring high above the heads of his audience in one of his wildest rhetorical flights, when he heard a small barefoot boy sitting on the edge of the platform, address a companion in these words: 'Say, Bill, if that feller knowed his shirt tail was sticking out ov a hole in his britches, mebbe he wouldn't be so hifalutin'.'⁶²

The perennial good humor of Douglas was instinctive, not cultivated for the purpose of vote getting,⁶³ although it was a valuable asset in pushing his political successes. It was as natural for Douglas to greet another cheerily, whether he knew him or not, as it is for the fond father to kiss his children when taking a journey. Had he followed merchandising instead of politics, his would have been the most popular store in the county and he would have enjoyed the heaviest trade. In this characteristic he was sincere. The editor of the Newbury, Massachusetts, Herald while passing through Illinois met Douglas campaigning and he wrote for his paper these truthful observations:

"Scarcely a man, woman or child in the cars escaped his attention, or passed by unspoken to. At one moment he talks with the old, stern visaged politician who had been soured by a thousand defeats and disappointments; in the next, to that well formed and genial Kentuckian, who has just sought a free State; now he sits down with the little girl approaching her teens, and asks of her school studies; and he pats the little boy on the head, and in presence of his mother and proud father (what father is not proud to see his boy noticed?) says

⁶² Dr. J. F. Snyder.

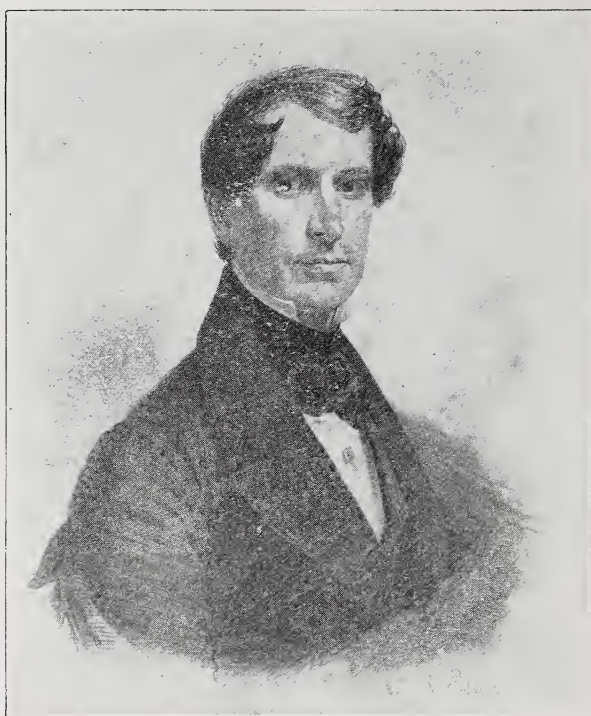
⁶³ A Greene County admirer was captivated because Douglas after purchasing a large watermelon, sat down in the Court House Square and divided it with friends and there upon the ground he ate his portion.

a word of his mild eyes and glossy locks. Again, the lady is approached with a fair word and a bland smile, and goes home pleased to tell her father how he looks, and then half a dozen are about him, all standing together. He can talk religion with the priests as well as politics with the statesman; he can congratulate the newly appointed Buchanan office-holder, who has supplanted his friend, tell the displaced friend of the good time coming, when his wing shall be up; and at every station, more regularly than the conductor, Mr. Douglas is upon the platform with a good-bye to the leaving, and a welcome to the departing traveler—a shake of the hand with one man that stands at the depot, and a touch of the hat to another. He knows everybody; can tell the question that affects each locality; call the name of every farm owner on the way; tell all travelers something of the homes they left, that they never knew themselves, and suggest what place they deserve in heaven. Now, such a man as that, in contact with everybody, knowing everybody, and at the bottom wrapped up with the one idea of preferment, power and dominion among men, is not easily to be put down; and his opponents might as well believe at once, that when they fight him, they fight a strong man—a little giant indeed. He would be popular in Boston or anywhere else, and half the ‘three thousand clergymen’ he denounced would have their hearts stolen if he could speak to them half an hour.”

With his latest success in Whig territory, Douglas carried to Vandalia an enhanced reputation. His new office was considered one of greater dignity than that of states attorney though the emolument was less, decidedly,⁶⁴ and once among the flower of both parties which composed that famous Tenth General Assembly, one might prophesy that for a time at least he would remain quiet. But Douglas never remained stationary for one single minute of his life.

Though the youngest member of that general assembly, he introduced bills and resolutions, plunged into debates,

⁶⁴ His resignation as State's Attorney was filed with Secretary of State, December 1, 1836.



RICHARD M. YOUNG.

pushed the subject of state organization and very actively exerted himself in the election of a United States Senator.

Early in the year 1836, Douglas wrote to Gen. James Semple who had almost reached the senate the previous year when the vacancy caused by the death of Kane had to be filled: "The use of your name among the people will give strength to our party in this (Morgan) county." But though urged by many powerful men, Semple declined. Little did Douglas realize at the time that in the year 1847 he was to succeed that same James Semple to the United States Senate! The move was a wise one because the Semple influence elected Judge Richard M. Young on the third ballot.

The custom of lobbyists, candidates for office and other successful beneficiaries of the bounty of the legislature to regale the members with a banquet was followed in this instance by the successful candidate for senator. When Judge Young found himself elected he tendered the legislature, regardless of party, as well as the visiting politicians, a famous banquet, or at least rendered famous (or its antipodal relation) if the account of John H. Bryant, brother of William Cullen Bryant's story of the affair is to be taken for granted and nobody ever doubted Mr. Bryant's word. The story was published in volume 1, Tarbell's *Life of Lincoln*, page 115 and runs as follows:

"After the company had gotten pretty noisy and mellow from their imbibitions of Yellow Seal and 'corn juice,' Mr. Douglas and General Shields, to the consternation of the host and intense merriment of the guests, climbed up on the table, at one end, encircled each other's waists, and to the tune of rollicking song, pirouetted down the whole length of the table, shouting, singing, and kicking dishes, glasses, and everything right and left, helter skelter. For this night of entertainment to his constituents, the successful candidate was presented with a bill in the morning, for supper, wines, liquors and damages, which amounted to six hundred dollars."

After the election of speaker,⁶⁵ one of Douglas' first acts was to secure a change of the law regulating the manner of voting at elections from *viva voce* to the printed form of ballot and secrecy,⁶⁶ making himself thereby the father of the printed ballot in Illinois. Almost simultaneously the name of Andrew Jackson bobbed up in a manner to permit Douglas to spread his reputation over the state at large in a manner very gratifying to Douglas.

Governor Duncan's message contained a savage attack upon Jackson. It presented just such a target as Douglas would have selected for his well practiced aim. When that portion of the message came before the House for consideration it was referred to a special committee of seven of which Douglas was a member, which after a fierce fight brought before that body two resolutions:

"Resolved, That we approve of the general course of the present administration.

"Resolved, That we disavow the correctness of the charges preferred by Governor Duncan in his message of the 9th instant against the present chief magistrate."

Hardin still disgruntled, fought them furiously, but without avail. Douglas replied with such spirit that he left a lasting impression on friend and foe alike and the resolutions were passed in spite of the Hardin opposition.

This, the Douglas first speech in a legislative body was published in the Illinois State Register for Thursday, December 29, 1836, and it reads as follows:

"Mr. Douglass said he was amused at the arguments urged by gentlemen in favor of striking out the Resolution reported by the committee. All at once they are seized with an awful dread at the agitation of political questions in this Hall; and apparently regret that they are forced into this discussion by their opponents. Who originated this question, and

⁶⁵ Douglas supported Newton Cloud, a Morgan County man. So did Lincoln. James Semple was elected. John Dement who had resigned his office of State Treasurer to enter the assembly as the champion of Vandalia in her efforts to retain the capital, ran second. Cloud ran third. Naturally the question might be asked, "Why did Douglas neglect Dement after the latter had been so helpful to the Douglas interests?"

⁶⁶ Session Laws, 123.



GEN. JAMES SHIELDS.

is responsible for its results? Gentlemen seemed to have forgotten that the Governor in his late Message preferred grave charges of high crimes against the President of the United States, and requested the Legislature to express their opinion of their correctness. And the committee whose report has just been read, was appointed in accordance with the request of the Message, for the purpose of investigating the truth of the charges. It is not simply a personal warfare between the Governor and the President, in which we as Representatives have no interest as gentlemen seem to suppose, but is an official communication directed to us for legislative action. A proper respect then for the office of Governor demands an expression of the opinion of this House, although the character of the message itself may be such as to forfeit the respect of any party or portion of the people. The object of the Message is perfectly understood. It was hurled into this House as a firebrand to produce strife, and distraction among those who were known to be opposed to its principles. It was intended as a rallying point around which the sinking fortunes of a desperate political faction might be collected and kept together ready for the Presidential contest four years hence. With these views, I am prepared for one to meet the message in the spirit in which it was sent. I cannot repress the honest indignation which so extraordinary a document is calculated to create in my breast. I wish to unmask its deformities; to expose its insidious designs, and send it forth to the people, that it may recoil on the heads of those who propagated it. It illy becomes those who recognize the Governor as their political leader, and who at all times and under all circumstances, are striving to bolster him up by every means in their power, to complain that this investigation was forced upon them by their opponents when they know that they have invited it through the organ of their party in an official Message. I fully appreciate the delicate position into which my colleague (Mr. Hardin) has placed himself by his amendment to the resolutions, reported by the committee; and can therefore overlook, and ask the House to

excuse him (Mr. H.) for putting himself in such an awkward predicament. Those amendments⁶⁷ are just about as consistent with the question before the House as the Governor's Message is with the legitimate duties of legislation. Each, under the plausible pretence of official duty, was intended as an artful political maneuver. The amendments were offered as a finesse cunningly devised to ensnare the unwary, and worthy of those only who are engaged in a cause that cannot stand upon its own merits. Artful as it may have been, it was not original with my colleague. He (Mr. H.) was following in the wake of one who had practised it with some degree of success during the last session. The subject of Internal Improvement, and Education embraced in my colleague's amendment, were, and ought to remain entirely separate, and distinct from political questions. I am bold to assert that they were offered for no other purpose than to trammel the original Resolutions, and change the real question before the House. Gentlemen now discover for the first time that their servile submission to the will of the Governor had placed them in an attitude which they little expected or desired. And hence their extreme anxiety to avoid the question by adding matters which had nothing to do with the subject. They were afraid to meet the question fairly, which the Message and Report had presented, and take the responsibility of voting for, or against it. They ought not to have thrown the gauntlet unless they were prepared to abide the consequences. If the gentlemen find they are ensnared in the trap they thought they had artfully set for us, they ought not to complain. I am not to be deterred from my purpose by tricks of this kind, nor can I be entrapped by such shallow artifices of intriguing politicians. Gentlemen, suppose the people do not possess sufficient discrimination to distinguish between the real and the professed object of these amendments! I have too much confidence in the sagacity and the intelligence of the people, to believe for a moment that they

⁶⁷ Other parts of the substitute declared the desirability for an efficient plan of common schools, etc.

can be duped in this manner. I am prepared to meet the question fearlessly, and vote for the original resolutions, and against all amendments."

As chairman of the Committee on Petitions, Douglas rebelled, not at the amount of work thrown upon his committee, but at the character of much of it, and when the petition of William Stuart, praying for a divorce, was referred, he submitted a long and carefully drawn report, challenging the right of the Legislature to grant divorces and recommending that the prayer of the petition be denied. Furthermore at his request and upon his motion, the resolution submitted at the end of his report was adopted unanimously: "Resolved, That it is inexpedient and foreign to the duties of legislation, for the Legislature to grant bills of divorce." The practice ended there.

Douglas entered the Legislature when the state was internal-improvement-mad and he was appalled at the extravagant expenditures asked by speculators and other fiscal adventurers. Under instructions⁶⁸ from his constituents to vote for a general system of internal improvement, he expected loyally to support such measures. But he felt it his duty to protest against their colossal proportions.⁶⁹ Finding it impossible by protest to stop them, he next attempted to restrict the number and scope of such bills to a few and as he thought needed or at least permissible improvements, particularly the Illinois and Michigan canal, but to little purpose. The craze became an exaggerated form of insanity. Millions were proposed for wild schemes. Wild-cat banks were projected without number and also without responsibility. Little it counted that the Council of Revision returned bills with its objections; they were passed over the objections in every instance. As a last effort to check the insane follies, Douglas introduced a set of resolutions in substance requiring appropriations to be

⁶⁸ Public meetings favoring such a system of so-called improvements had been held all over the State, the most important took on the form of a state convention at Vandalia. At that very large meeting the Legislature was urged to act without delay.

⁶⁹ To quiet Douglas' suspected hostility, friends of improvement caused a meeting to be held in Jacksonville at which the Morgan County members were instructed to vote for the measures.

confined to five objects: first, the completion of the canal; second, for the construction of a railroad from its western terminus to the mouth of the Ohio River; third, for the construction of a railroad from Quincy to the eastern state line; fourth, for the improvement of the navigation of the Illinois and Wabash rivers, and fifth, for making surveys and estimates of such other works as might be considered of general utility.

His resolutions were read and referred, but notwithstanding his earnest appeals they were voted down promptly.⁷⁰

Upon the question of the best plan to pursue for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal, which all seemed to favor, a wide diversity of opinion arose between members of the Senate and the House. The latter favored and Douglas labored for the plan to put locks and dams on the Illinois River, making it navigable for steamboats up to the highest point, from which a canal should be cut to Chicago. The other plan, styled the "deep cut"⁷¹ plan and the one adopted eventually, proposed a canal to be fed from the lake at Chicago, and to run along the Illinois River to the present canal terminus, having all needed dams and locks. For several weeks, the contest between the Senate and House raged. Neither was disposed to recede until great danger to the measure appeared in non-action; then a special committee of which Douglas was a member, was appointed to confer and report a measure likely to be agreed upon in both houses. That special committee reported a compromise bill which was the bill finally adopted.⁷² We have the present canal, cut exactly as provided by that bill.

In the year 1836, the subject of slavery was so far considered as removed from controversy by the Ordinance of 1787 and the Missouri Compromise, that however opposed at heart the citizen of Illinois might have been to the institution,

⁷⁰ He succeeded however in crippling many of the charters for railroads, canals, insurance companies, hotel companies, steam mills, etc., by insisting upon the insertion of this clause: "Reserving the right to alter, amend or repeal this act whenever the public good shall require it."

⁷¹ The final abandonment, not long since, of the shallow trough styled the deep cut canal, should show to the present generation, the practical wisdom of Douglas' plan.

⁷² February 27, 1836. Though opposed to many of its provisions, rather than see the canal project fail, Douglas not only drafted the bill but supported it.

he seems to have favored prompt and effectual measures for suppressing every appearance of agitation of the vexed question. Carried to infamous extremes, the murder of poor Lovejoy, the following year, but emphasized that general sentiment over the state.

When the first faint echoes of the doctrine of abolition floated over the hills of New England, various legislatures hastened to set the mark of disapproval upon abolition and its agitation by passing resolutions couched in varying terms of vigor. Van Buren so far sought to discourage allusions to the subject as to state in advance that he should approve no measure passed by Congress which sought to distract the country with the tabooed subject. Benton regarded with such certainty the end of the slavery agitation that he declared the subject dead and buried for all time. When therefore, the General Assemblies of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York and Connecticut sent to Illinois, memorials relative to the existence of domestic slavery in a portion of the United States, the House committee especially named for the purpose, prepared a long and high sounding report and attached to it four resolutions which were adopted almost unanimously:

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we highly disapprove of the formation of abolition societies, and of the doctrines promulgated by them.

Resolved, That the right of property in slaves, is sacred to the slave holding states by the federal constitution, and that they cannot be deprived of that right without their consent.

Resolved, That the general government cannot abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the consent of the citizens of said district without a manifest breach of good faith.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit to the states of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York, and Connecticut, a copy of the foregoing report and resolution.⁷³

⁷³ Passed House, 77 to 6, as amended.

Against this resolution, Lincoln voted, and as though to warn Douglas, who voted for it, of what was to become the contention in the most furious political battle of all time between these two giants, he filed a protest against it and, with Dan Stone, signed his name to the document.

“Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

“They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

“They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different states.

“They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.”⁷⁴

“The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reasons for entering this protest.

“DAN STONE,

“A. LINCOLN,

“Representatives from the County of Sangamon.”

On March sixth the legislature adjourned after having laid the foundation for a colossal debt. In all the proceedings of this legislature Douglas was active. Lincoln was active but in a negative sense. He desired the removal of the capital to Springfield and for that purpose bent all his energies and placed his vote in places where Springfield was bound to become the beneficiary. He declined to antagonize men or measures and thus it is we can see nothing striking in his protest against the abolition resolutions which makes a

⁷⁴ The same doctrine which he uttered during the 1858 debates.

statement and then as though afraid of it, he backs off like the crab.

In not one of his early activities was Douglas afraid to take a stand for or against. He either favored or he did not and once decided in his own mind how he should act, he acted fearlessly and in fact he rather invited attention.

Springfield won the capital, but the reputation of Lincoln, for anything he accomplished at that session, did not get beyond the confines of his judicial circuit. On the contrary the reputation of Douglas reached the four corners of the state. In fact it traveled so fast and so far that it reached Washington, and on March tenth, 1837, he was commissioned Register of the Springfield Land Office. This position he held until April 1, 1839, when by reason of his resignation to become secretary of state, his successor qualified.

PART IV.

For his warm support of administration policies, Douglas received this reward, considered at the time as worth the respect of any politician. The land offices were not only profitable for their emolument, but they gave to the holders a wide range of valuable acquaintance with voters and a standing with politicians which enabled the holders to form strong bases for use in future political advancement. The second Governor, Coles, acquired his strength while Receiver at Kaskaskia. Samuel McRoberts used a receivership at Danville as a stepping stone to the United States Senate, and, very naturally, Douglas accepted the office with every expectation of something better for the future. At almost the same time, his friend, Major Dement, was rewarded with the office of Receiver of the Galena Land Office, for party services of an order little short of those rendered the Administration by Douglas.

That the reputation of Douglas for standing by the administrations of Jackson had penetrated the walls of the

White House, is more than evident by his land office appointment. That it came as a reward for party service, is not to be questioned. Public office of that grade is secured generally after solicitation and more or less work. The tenure is honorable as well as profitable and was at that time and it cannot be conceived why in his letter to the Illinois Patriot he should have gone to the trouble of denying all efforts to secure it.

At the earnest solicitation of the Vandalia men, Major Dement resigned his office of State Treasurer to enter the House and take charge of their fight to retain the capital. Lincoln led the fight for removal to Springfield⁷⁵ and won because the Sangamon delegation had more votes to trade and made more promises than Vandalia. In that memorable game of hide and seek, the vote of Douglas is to be found recorded against Springfield. While other Morgan County members divided upon many unimportant motions, Douglas never missed voting against Springfield, yet the Patriot, already mentioned, charged him with trading his vote to Springfield in consideration of the support of the Springfield delegation. Notice his spirited reply dated March 8, 1837:

“Mr. Editor:—In your paper of the 22d. February last, there appears an editorial in which you make the specific charge that I had made an arrangement with the Sangamon delegation by which they were to use their influence to secure my appointment as Register of the Land Office (at Springfield), and that in consideration of their services I had abandoned the interests of my own constituents and was acting in concert with the Sangamon delegation in supporting Springfield for the seat of government.

“Whilst I freely admit that the Representative who would be guilty of so flagrant an abuse of the trust reposed in him by a generous people would justly merit, as he would certainly receive, the execration of every honest man, I also hold that the man who would make and publish a false charge of

⁷⁵ Jacksonville considered itself a candidate for the honor and received on the first ballot, 14 votes; on the second, 15 votes; on the third, 9 votes; on the fourth and last, 1 vote. It never was within hailing distance of the prize.

that magnitude for the purpose of blasting the character of a political opponent, who was absent on public duty, and consequently unable to defend himself, should meet with the scorn and indignation of a virtuous people. Having made the charge, one which impeaches my integrity as a man and my fidelity as a Representative, you are bound by every principle of honor and honesty to exhibit the evidence to substantiate its truth, or publicly retract the slander, and the failure on your part to do so must be taken as conclusive of the falsity of the charge and malice in which it had its origin. Conscious of my own innocence and of the rectitude of my conduct, I am impelled to demand the proof, so that the people may see whether I have been the traitor or you the slanderer.

“It is not true that any arrangement was made or any understanding existed between the Sangamon delegation and myself in relation to a land office, the seat of government, or any other measure. It is not true that one solitary member of that delegation signed a recommendation in my favor, or was in any way concerned in it. That recommendation was got up by my friends without my solicitation or knowledge, and when the fact was communicated to me I told them that I did not desire that or any other appointment under the Government, that I looked to the people and not the Government for any favor I might ask. So far from there being any arrangement or concert of action between the Sangamon delegation and myself, it was my misfortune to differ on almost every important question that came before the Legislature, and more especially on the location of the seat of government. That was the all-absorbing topic with them, and with that view, they used every exertion and made every necessary sacrifice to secure the passage of the bill, which recently became a law, on that subject. To that bill I was opposed in every form and shape it assumed, from its first appearance in the House up to its final passage. My decided and uncompromising opposition to that bill, and to the object intended to be accomplished by its passage, arrayed the Sangamon delegation *en masse* against me. So notorious was this fact at

the seat of government at the time your paper containing the above charge, was received, that no person of any political party hesitated for an instant to pronounce it a base slander. I defy you to find any one of my colleagues, or any member of either branch of the Legislature, or any individual who will in the slightest degree, confirm the charge and become responsible for its truth. I make the statement with the more assurance and fearlessness, because I feel confident that each and all of them must know and will do me the justice to say that the whole charge is a mere fabrication; false as the heart that conceived it and the hand that penned it. I therefore call upon you to establish its truth or admit its falsity.

“In relation to your remark that you had ‘before the last August election, told the people that S. A. Douglass was an office hunter,’ I will only say that when I shall have applied for and accepted an office at the hands of the Government, it will then be time enough for you to talk about office hunters.

“S. A. Douglass.

Jacksonville, March 8, 1837.”

Douglas did not neglect the opportunity to make friends with the democratic Springfield leaders who later formed at the new capital the nucleus of what became later a powerful cabal; but he did not help Springfield in its struggle for the capital. With Jacksonville a candidate, such action would have been suicidal and no one knew the fact better than Douglas. After the bill had passed, however, and the struggling and straggling village of Springfield had undertaken therein to pay the sum of \$50,000, Douglas while still in the House volunteered to introduce a bill repealing so much of the capital bill as made it obligatory upon Springfield to raise that sum. But Lincoln declined. There his effort ended and it is noteworthy that when upon the Supreme bench and a case came before him seeking to repudiate a portion of that responsibility in an indirect way, he held that the obligation was valid and should be paid. Like all other momentary differences, those capital differences were dropped with the passage of the bill and Douglas met Lincoln and his colleagues

upon the old terms. He not only accepted an invitation to attend a banquet, later on,⁷⁶ but he spoke feelingly to the toast "The last winter's legislation. May its results prove no less beneficial to the whole state than they have to our town."

Lincoln, too, spoke to a toast: "All our friends. They are too numerous to mention now individually, while there is no one of them who is not too dear to be forgotten or neglected."

In consequence of the general panic and mistrust and their influence upon the wonderful system of internal improvement in Illinois, Governor Duncan considered it prudent to call a special session of the Legislature for the following July 10, 1837.

Impending disaster politically was recognized by less skillful craftsmen than Douglas. Van Buren felt compelled to call a special session of Congress to consider of the times. His first message proposed as a remedy for the present disorders as well as a preventive of future financial disasters, the Sub-Treasury plan, popularly called at the time the "Divorce Bill." It had for its object the separation of all relationship existing between the banks and the National finances. For this measure, Van Buren's friends declined to vote. The Illinois delegation, Democrats, solidly opposed him and his scheme. Members of the state legislature, quailed before the storm of indignation which swept the state from Cairo to Galena. At last, the legislature, elected as a democratic body, just as the Governor had been elected as a Democrat, declined to favor democratic measures. It was plain to be seen that if the party expected to survive, something little short of desperate must be done.

Though he had resigned his seat in the legislature,⁷⁷ Douglas went over to Vandalia so soon as it reconvened,⁷⁸ to discover what might be done to save the wreck from utter destruction. The convention system which had worked so

⁷⁶ Given to the Springfield delegation, called the "Long Nine."

⁷⁷ His old friend John Wyatt was elected to fill the vacancy.

⁷⁸ Second session met July 10, 1837; adjourned July 22, 1837.

successfully in solidifying party interests and which he already had urged for all elective offices, he fancied was the only possible remedy to be applied to future political policies.

The Governor⁷⁹ and the leading members of the legislature desired to discontinue all further work upon the long list of improvements until the return of more favorable times for its resumption. Douglas recommended such action; but, fearing a still more potent wrath from their constituents, who always demand most from political despondents, weak-kneed members who had voted the most unconscionably to fasten the evil upon the state, dared not accept such healthy advice. Douglas had the temerity to taunt those members with an "I told you so," but without substantial effect. They could not controvert his statements or his logic, yet in their utter helplessness, not a word could be offered of constructive value in that painfully disintegrating hour. The courage of Douglas at that supreme moment of helplessness was just as sublime as when he was antagonizing Buchanan and the Lecompton Constitution with his added years of experience at his back. Among the leaders, however, like McClelland and Dement, enough were found to listen to Douglas and follow his advice.⁸⁰ Those in council prepared an address to the democratic voters of the state, favoring the call for a convention the following December (1837), to nominate candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, etc., and to confer upon questions for the good of the party. That address was sent broadcast into the state. A committee of thirty was appointed, which at this date would be called a steering committee, to follow the address and minister to personal cases of political estrangement or convalescence. A state central committee of five members from each congressional district was named, which was delegated to get a little nearer the voters. Thus Stephen A. Douglas put into working order the first real party organization effected in the State of Illinois.

⁷⁹ In his message, he recommended the repeal of the internal improvement law, but the bill introduced for the purpose was laid on the House table by a vote of 43 to 34.

⁸⁰ A council of certain Democratic members of the Legislature and other influential Democrats was called to meet at Vandalia, on July 27, 1837, to formulate plans to save the party.

The address was received favorably and had the effect at least of causing a very great many party men to waver and take second thought before going over to the Opposition. Political discussions naturally sprung into existence and Douglas made more than one address before indignant and hostile voters. It may be well to understand at this point, too, when reference to the present state of the State finances was a thing of great danger, that Douglas spoke out vigorously and demanded that the State pay every dollar it had engaged to pay whether full value had been received or not. When repudiation talk ran rampant as it did at a later period, and almost carried level headed men along in the procession, Douglas, in the face of it all, assailed the nullifiers with all his might. It is related of him that in one of his speeches when he had reached a considerable distance upward in his flight of eloquence he declared that "the State should be honest if it never paid a cent." Douglas' whole life exemplified that characteristic, that a man or a government should pay one hundred cents on the dollar. He fought for the same principle in Congress by opposing bankruptcy laws.

A full delegation attended that convention to nominate State officers. Great numbers of politicians of both parties attended to note its success or failure. This time, the Whigs did not predict disaster for the "Yankee contrivance." They had seen too many successes in Morgan and later in Sangamon, to which county he had removed. Douglas, amidst great enthusiasm, unfolded the many advantages to be derived from the convention system, particularly at the present time. The scheme was attractive and served to hold in abeyance, the judgment of many another Democrat who had been wavering between doubt and desire for a change. At that convention, James W. Stephenson of Galena was nominated for Governor and J. S. Hacker was nominated for Lieutenant Governor. The convention and its ticket had been launched, but, something more was demanded of Douglas, who had made a very strong impression upon the delegates. A live man was needed on the ticket to stump the State and explain the new system

to those voters who did not know about it. Douglas seemed to be the polestar toward whom the eyes of all party men looked in this hour of disquiet.

Secure in the enjoyment of a satisfactory income; surrounded by an ever increasing circle of political and lay friends; with Springfield the prospective mecca for political pilgrims; presented with an opportunity to practice law should he so desire and with the position of party Mentor, as well as a continuation of his organization schemes over the State, it should require no effort of the imagination to conceive Douglas in the light of a very much contented politician and thoroughly willing to let some one less fortunate with office, take to the hustings to teach the people in the emergency which was becoming every day more and more aggravated. But it has been remarked already that Douglas never remained quiescent. The very desperation of the cause of democracy became the moving cause to draw him from his brief retirement. He loved action. He loved a hot political fight. He never tired of speaking to the people from the stump and never did the day arrive that he failed to respond to the demand for party assistance. Banks had suspended specie payment. The Legislature had attempted to bolster them up⁸¹ by relieving them from their obligation to pay in specie. The insane prosperity of '36, in which the wind had been sown,⁸² was followed indeed by a harvest of the whirlwind, and the despairing cry at last had arisen that somebody must save the party.

Before the year 1832, the year of the Black Hawk War, the extent of country north of the counties of Morgan and Sangamon, cut but little figure in Illinois politics. But that war had opened to settlement, the State's richest area. Thither, especially in the year 1835, emigrants from the east and south began to go in great numbers. The year '36, with its fairy-like prosperity, brought thither others in great num-

⁸¹ In 1837 and 1839 "the suspensions of the banks were legalized." Davidson and Stuve, 423.

⁸² While a review of the period from 1836 to 1840 might prove interesting with its calamities and makeshifts, it would be foreign to the purposes of this biography. Douglas was principally concerned with saving the party.



MAJ. JOHN T. STUART.

bers, expecting from the great scheme of internal improvements to awaken of a morning to find bags of gold lying at their cabin doors, left during the night by increased values. That area, now so commanding and so far neglected altogether by the politician, became a center of great interest to the Illinois democracy. There was a disposition at first to permit John T. Stuart, the stalwart Whig, to go to Congress without opposition.⁸³ But with those increased demands for enlightenment on the subject of the convention system, coming from those northern regions more especially, the call for Douglas to try the uncertainties of satisfying the angry people's demands in a campaign against Stuart became too strong to be ignored and at a convention held at Peoria in November, 1837, though under present legal age, Douglas was selected after a sharp fight⁸⁴ wholly unexpected, to make the race for Congress in the Third district. The election did not follow until August,⁸⁵ 1838, and while the successful candidate's term began in March, 1839, he would not take his seat until December, 1839, unless in special session, yet very soon thereafter Douglas entered that long campaign against his able and popular adversary, Major John T. Stuart. With a residence of but four years in the State he had been state's attorney, member of the Legislature and register of the Springfield land office. At this point he had beaten William L. May, a party war horse, for a nomination for Congress. There must have been qualities of real leadership in the man besides personal magnetism.

In those days the Democratic party made it a point to bid for the emigrant vote from the minute the emigrant landed in Castle Garden and in 1838 that vote was solidly democratic. Douglas banked on that fact and had planned to direct his energies elsewhere. But all too soon he discovered that Stuart by representing himself as a Scotchman and a close ally

⁸³ At the election of 1836, Harrison carried this territory over Van Buren by 3,000 or more votes. With the vast increase in votes, the Democrats feared the loss of the state unless good men were sent there to proselyte.

⁸⁴ A Douglas biographer has stated that "the Springfield coterie" and Douglas crowded May out, after representing the district for two terms. May was a weakling and required no crowding and the demand for "Little Dug" was general.

⁸⁵ By this time Douglas would have reached the lawful age.

of his Irish friends; urging unity and harmony in the canal vote and promising when elected that their fealty would be remembered handsomely, the large canal vote was going to Stuart almost solidly.⁸⁶

Douglas destroyed the efficacy of this strategy by another strategic move much more clever. In his many speeches from the dump, he represented to his canal constituents that if Stuart could get no nearer Ireland than through a Scotch ancestry he was entitled to no consideration, because he himself was a real Irishman whose ancestors were the McDooglasses and as such he expected to receive the vote of every Irishman in the district. The camouflage worked so successfully that Major Stuart had the mortification to see his canal vote melt away and gladly enough he accepted the invitation of Douglas to adopt the joint meeting plan thereafter.

The story is told in Jeriah Bonham's "Fifty Years' Recollections":

"It was near sunset that two horsemen came up the road from towards Peoria, approaching father's cabin. One was a tall man,⁸⁷ of commanding presence, sitting upon his horse erect, and the other astride of a powerful horse, but appearing, as they came up the road, to be a youth of sixteen. . . .

One story we remember, Douglas told about himself, of his campaign experience. He had been up at Joliet, where there were hundreds of men working on the canal. Most of them were just from the 'ould sod,' and of course in those days, all these were Democrats. Douglas said: 'I had an appreciative audience; they cheered me; in fact, they were too friendly. I was extolling the patriotism of Ireland, the virtues of her people, the bravery of her sons, and beauty of her daughters; I even referred to myself as being descended from a long line of patriotic sires of Irish descent. When I had said that,' continued Douglas, 'a great, big, burly Irishman, over six foot high, rose and said: 'Do you say, Mr. Dooglas, that you descind from the great McDooglas's of Ireland?' Mr. Douglas assented. Coming forward where I

⁸⁶ Douglas always favored liberal naturalization laws.

⁸⁷ Justice Browne of the Supreme Court.

was talking the big man patronizingly leaned over me, spreading out his brawny arms, and said, 'What a divil of a dissint!' which closed my speech.' But Douglas said, 'I expect to get all their votes.' "

Thereafter the candidates spoke together generally, using for platforms, veritable stumps, ox carts, wagons, a pile of rails, barrels, the canal dump or any other available elevation that lifted the speakers a few inches above the heads of their open air auditors.

Entering the newly settled northern tier of counties, we have preserved to us fortunately an account written by one who attended one of those meetings, to the McHenry Plain-dealer in 1878:

He says: "The state was then divided into three congressional districts. John T. Stuart, was the Whig and Stephen A. Douglas the Democratic candidate. I shall never forget the appearance of Douglas when he made his debut in McHenry. He rode a very large chestnut colored horse, and the rider's legs were so short that they extended down only about half the sides of the horse—and he certainly made the most ludicrous appearance of any person I ever saw on a horse. He was then stumping the district as a candidate for congress; was only 28 years of age, weighed 92 pounds, and yet was a full match in a political argument with any man in the state. He came here to discuss the political issues of the day which were almost exclusively confined to the Banks and the Tariff. There was a whiskey barrel in one end of the room, with a dry goods box beside it, and they chose Rev. Joel Wheeler as chairman of the meeting, and placed him on the dry goods box and then placed Douglas on the whiskey barrel, and he entertained the audience for about two hours with one of the most convincing speeches that was ever delivered in the country or that was my pleasure to hear. Douglas remained in the village several days, fishing, playing euchre, and when tired of that he would go out in the street and play "pin" on the top of a hat—very much to the disgust of Hank McLean, who was a strong Whig.

“His short coatskirts lost him no votes in that county!”

Another story is told of the first meeting of Douglas with his friend, Governor John M. Palmer⁸⁸ out upon the prairies of Hancock County during that canvass. At the time, Governor Palmer, a very young man, was peddling clocks for a livelihood. He, a Democrat and a co-employee named Sands N. Breed, a Whig, met at the log tavern of Mr. Swope and secured the only room in the place which contained two beds and to the beds the tired travelers retired after a hearty supper.

At a much later hour the guests were awakened from a sound sleep by Swope who stated that “Mr. Stuart and Mr. Douglas, opposing candidates for Congress had arrived,” and that they would have to take bed-fellows.

“What’s the politics of your friend?” asked Douglas of Palmer. “He’s a Whig,” answered Palmer. “And yours?” continued Douglas. “I’m a Democrat,” answered Palmer. “Then, Stuart,” said Douglas, “I’ll sleep with the Democrat and you may sleep with the Whig.” And so it was arranged.

The rivals reached a little place in the course of their travels called Chicago. There, Douglas went to see a printer named John Wentworth to have some hand-bills struck off, announcing a joint debate between himself and Stuart, to take place⁸⁹ in the hall of what was known as the Saloon Building. Facilities for striking off handbills were not of the best those days and by reason of the scarcity of help Wentworth himself set up the type and worked the hand press while Douglas performed the duties of roller boy.⁹⁰

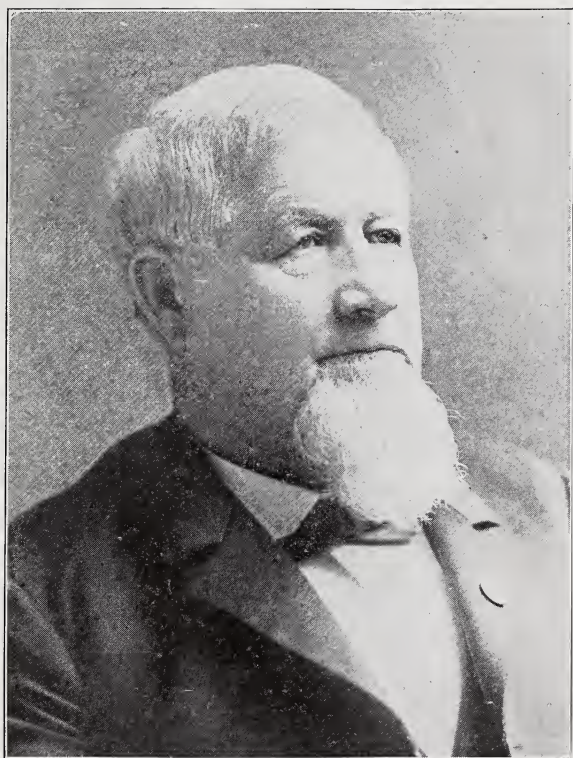
The hall was crowded and Douglas made a hit, as was evidenced by receiving a majority in Chicago, on election day.⁹¹ Douglas made no speech during that campaign that did not make him friends.

⁸⁸ Personal recollections of John M. Palmer, p. 24.

⁸⁹ August 4, 1838. At that meeting, William L. May, a Whig, attempted to interrupt Douglas, but he was hissed down. But this was not the member of Congress, May.

⁹⁰ Andreas, Vol. 1, p. 371.

⁹¹ Douglas, 1,667; Stuart, 839. He led his ticket by three votes.



JOHN M. PALMER.

Stuart and he, with the exception noted, slept together; they ate together. There was no collision whatever between them until toward the end of the canvass when at Springfield a joint meeting was to be held. At that time it has been said, Douglas used language which Stuart thought offensive. Stuart, tall and strong, seized Douglas around the neck and before friends could separate them, carried him around the building in front of which the meeting was held. During the scuffle, Douglas is said to have got the right thumb of Stuart into his mouth and to it did such damage that the scar which remained to the day of his death, served to remind Stuart of the impulsive and undignified encounter.⁹²

In that great district, composed of 34 counties, Douglas was ever at his favorite scheme of making friends with the voters and he made them as the returns showed, when after many days of uncertainty, they were received. In many instances, his initials had been printed or written wrong. In others, his name had been misspelled, thought afterwards to have been so spelled purposely for the ignorant canal diggers. With these ballots thrown out, Douglas found himself beaten by 35, in a total of 36,461⁹³ votes cast. Votes were cast in a like manner for Major Stuart, with wrong initials and with his name misspelled, but the majority of mistakes occurred on the Douglas ballots. One instance of the hardship to which Douglas was subjected at that election was found in what was charged as a trick of one of the political bosses, who prepared the ticket with the name of S. A. Douglas as a candidate for the Legislature. Thus the ballot system which Douglas secured for Illinois provided the means of defeating him. The old *viva voce* plan would have elected him. In the nature of things, Douglas felt that a fair expression had not been reached through the official canvassers and

⁹² "Political discussions at Springfield were apt to run into heated and sometimes unseemly personal controversies. When Douglas and Stuart were candidates for Congress in 1838, they fought like tigers in Herndon's grocery, over a floor that was drenched with slops, and gave up the struggle only when both were exhausted. Then, as a further entertainment to the populace, Mr. Stuart ordered out a 'barrel of whiskey and wine.'" Lamon's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 230.

⁹³ For Stuart, 18,248; for Douglas, 18,213.

he addressed to Major Stuart a letter on the 4th of March, 1839, proposing the following:

1. That the state officers should again canvass the vote according to the returns, and give to Stephen A. Douglas and John T. Stuart respectively, all votes polled for them regardless of the manner of spelling their names; or, that the state canvassers should throw out all the misspelled names and count only those where the votes were recorded for John T. Stuart and Stephen A. Douglas.

2. That, in case the state officers declined, the recount be made by friends chosen by the parties.

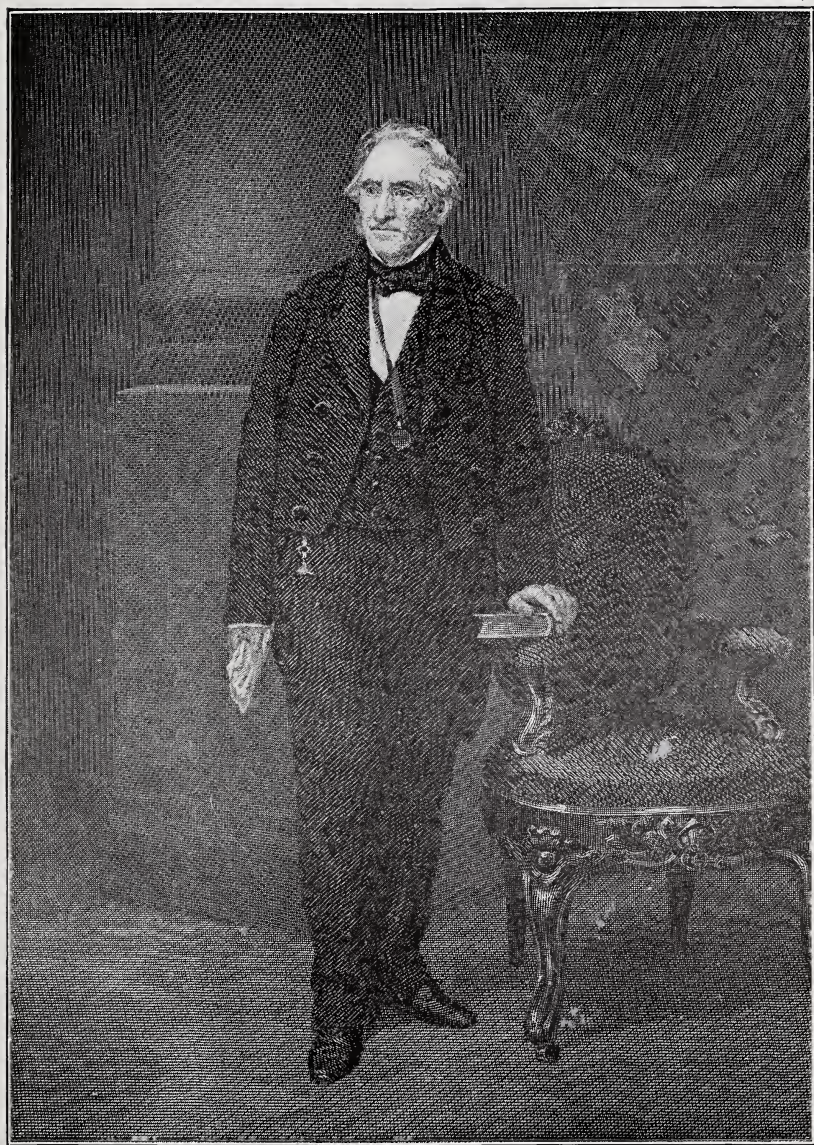
3. That three persons be chosen to visit each county and examine the original poll book and report the number given for Stuart and Douglas respectively, by whatever initial; or report the number given for Stuart and Douglas.

4. That both resign all claim to the election and run the race over again.

These propositions Douglas made as he stated, "to avoid the trouble, excitement, delay and expense of a contested election."

On March 13th, Major Stuart replied, respectfully yet firmly declining each and every proposal, asserting that he had no doubt about the fact of his election.

That ended the possible controversy so far as any open effort was made to contest the election, though Douglas, disappointed with a defeat by so narrow a margin, with his life's ambition snatched away as it seemed to him, unwarrantably, did actually contemplate going to Washington for the purpose of contesting Stuart's right to the seat. He went over to Jacksonville and remained there some time consulting with his friends, and while there put the case up to Senator Thomas H. Benton whose reply is owned now by Hon. Robert M. Douglas of Greensboro, North Carolina, which reads as follows:



THOMAS H. BENTON.

Memphis Oct 2^d 1839

Dear Sir,

Mr Roberts has just placed
in my hands a letter from you showing
a mistake in the Poll Book of your
precinct of Bates. Every vote is important
at this crisis. You have my grateful
& acknowledged thanks for the kindness
you have already shown. But I must
ask of you the favor to carefully add
up the votes in each of the other precincts
and see if there have been no mistakes
in the aggregation of them by the Clerk & Judges.
This can all be done at the Clerk's Office
when you will find all the Poll Books of
the County. When you shall have done
since all the Poll Books I wish you
would get the Clerk of the Co Court to
call to his assistance two Justices of
the Peace & to make a new return correcting
the mistakes. This has been done in many
other Counties and will be in all soon.

It is important that this should be
attended to immediately as the time
is fast approaching when I must
leave for Washington. Please send
the names of the illegal voters and
also the witnesses by whom they were
so sworn to be illegal. I am with
great respect your friend

F. R. Dutcher Esq

Bepson Lee Co

Lee

S. A. Douglas

St. Louis, Oct. 27, 1838.

Dear Sir:—

I shall take great pleasure in giving you all the information in my power relative to the manner of contesting the election in which you have received the majority of votes, but your opponent has obtained the certificate. I should think there would be no difficulty in the case if the poll books show you have the majority. The certificate of election is not conclusive, and this case the less so, as being granted after the time had expired. Notices are necessary where depositions are to be taken, but, without a reference to the statutes I would not say how much. There will be time for you to get full information from Washington, as the question will not be decided until the next *congress* meets. I will cheerfully aid you with information from the City, and request you to keep me in mind of it. Notice should be given to the opposite party of all the points on which you contest the certificate. I reciprocate your congratulations on the victorious progress of the democratic ball.

Yours truly,
(Signed) THOMAS H. BENTON.

Endorsed:

S. A. Douglass, Esq.,
Jacksonville, Ill.

It should be remembered that this was the same Benton who remarked subsequently that the coat skirts of Douglas came too close to the ground to permit him ever to become President; the same Benton who in the National House subsequently, when at the end of his political career fought the Douglas measures with the ferocity of a mad bulldog.

Having walked into the leadership of his party in four years, Douglas had a right to take his defeat as hard as he did and it seems more than ungenerous for Lincoln to write to Stuart, his law partner, while the latter was in Washington, that in the mind of Lincoln, such a purpose was possible: "Douglas has not been here since you left. A report is in circulation here now that he has abandoned the idea of going

to Washington, though the report does not come in a very authentic form so far as I can learn. Though by the way, speaking of authenticity, you know that if we had heard Douglas say that he had abandoned the contest, it would not be very authentic."

He almost overcame the distressing financial times and the State ticket did overcome them; but in that canvass Douglas made himself invincible practically within his own party which regarded him as the victor, deprived of the fruits of his victory by fraud. With the added prestige which the campaign gave him Douglas felt that the time had come when he might as well get into the practice of the law if he ever expected to devote any time to it. Accordingly in November, 1838, he formed a partnership with John D. Urquhart of Springfield and settled down as he declared to practice his profession, thoroughly divorced from further political ambitions.

It has been stated that Douglas resigned his position as Register in order to plunge into that political contest. He did nothing of the kind. After his resignation, his successor qualified April 1, 1839, long after the election.

PART V.

When considering a resolution of that seriousness, with relation to its effect on human calculations, the weakness of the flesh should be permitted its customary latitude. The intentions of Douglas were reasonably strong, and for a time, he kept a steady purpose. Business came to him much faster than when younger, at Jacksonville, he appeared in many cases of importance and showed marked improvement as a lawyer. The reason for the improvement, if stated, might create occasion for debate; but such is the fact. He had absorbed the law. He approached the trial of a cause with better papers and a stronger knowledge of the law of evidence, and beyond any doubt, he was growing into a warm attachment for the law.



FREDERICK R. DUTCHER.



MARY TODD LINCOLN,
WIFE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Douglas enjoyed life in Springfield thoroughly. He joined Springfield Masonic Lodge No. Four and became its Junior Deacon.⁹⁴ He commenced those attentions to social duties which quickly transformed Douglas, the careless young bachelor, into Douglas, the most polished young gentleman of Springfield. The carelessness in dress had disappeared almost for all time.⁹⁵ Naturally at ease wherever placed, in his new environment, Douglas, the transformed, met no serious rival at the cotillion parties of Springfield. His easy and engaging manner made him a welcome guest, while the ever present air of prosperity, real or assumed, brought him into social demand. He danced gracefully. His tidy speeches and refined attentions, were coveted generally by the young ladies of Springfield. Frequently, he became an escort of Miss Mary Todd, subsequently wife of Mr. Lincoln,⁹⁶ and with his growing inclination for the sunny relations of life, he very soon was found as invincible in the social field, as he was in the field of politics. Here, too, he was thrown into the presence of Lincoln, who possessed his full share of social qualities and attracted his share of attentions, though not so much in evidence upon social occasions as Douglas.

But by and by, situations arose in politics which required the advice and co-operation of Douglas, from one to the other of which stages, he passed naturally and with little reluctance.

The first call of note, for Douglas to assume an active part in a political campaign, after resolving to remain out of politics, came on November 19, 1839, to appear at a Whig

⁹⁴ At the first convocation of the Grand Lodge, held in Jacksonville, Oct. 20, 1840, Douglas was chosen Grand Orator. A committee was appointed to inform him that an oration was expected of him on the 2nd day of the next Grand Annual Convocation. But he never qualified or performed the duties of his office. Warvelle's Compendium of Freemasonry in Illinois, pages 27 and 28. He also took the first Chapter degree. The others he took at Quincy.

⁹⁵ Carl Schurz is authority for the statement, that after the death of his first wife, Douglas permitted himself to lapse into something of his old carelessness until his second marriage.

⁹⁶ Douglas did not solicit the hand of Miss Todd, in marriage. He did pay marked attention to her, but not more attention than he paid to Miss Sarah Dunlap, daughter of Col. James Dunlap, of Jacksonville, and Miss Julia Jayne, daughter of Dr. Gershom Jayne. During sessions of the Legislature, Springfield was a gay city, and Judge Douglas being fond of society, was much in company of the young ladies there.

Miss Julia Jayne married Lyman Trumbull, Miss Dunlap married Gen. McClelland and when later at Washington, the families were the closest of friends, socially, with the Douglas's. (Dr. William Jayne, January 20, 1909.)

rally and reply to the speech of Cyrus Walker, one of the Whig candidates for presidential elector. From that moment, he found himself in constant demand and whatever of attention the law business received, it came, most likely from his partner, Mr. Urquhart. When Walker had finished his speech, Douglas was summoned to reply. In the evening Lincoln, another candidate for presidential elector on the Whig ticket, replied to the speech of Douglas, and Douglas in turn and at once, replied to Lincoln. Walker then replied to Douglas and Douglas to Walker, thus keeping up a running debate between Douglas on one side and Lincoln and Walker on the other, which ran on until midnight.

If it should be thought that one would tire of so much political wrangling, such was not the case. No matter to what lengths a debate was carried, there were always those who enjoyed the discussion. On the next day, Douglas addressed a very large mass convention called at Springfield, occupying most of his time with noticing the affairs of the late United States Bank and Van Buren's sub-treasury scheme. On December 9, the Democratic State Convention met at Springfield at which the flower of the party assembled as delegates. There were present, Breese, McClernand, Adam W. Snyder, W. A. Richardson, for so many years the faithful lieutenant of Douglas, Lyman Trumbull, James Shields, John Dean Caton, Douglas, Governor Reynolds, Major Murray McConnel and Major Dement. Thus it will be seen that the demands of his party kept Douglas very busily engaged, to the very serious discomfort of his resolution, to eschew politics.

In common with the custom of the day and of the town, Douglas met a merry crowd at night, around the crackling fire at Speed's or Diller's, where the conversation was sure to gravitate into political discussions. Stories, too, were told, Lincoln generally leading. While Douglas could not tell a story, he listened closely and contributed a fair share of laughs and then secured a resumption of the subject of

Springfield April 21st A.D. 5840 A.D. 1840

To the W. Master, Wardens & Brethren of Springfield
Lodge No. 26. of Free and Accepted Masons.

The subscriber residing in the City of Springfield
State of Illinois, of lawful age and by occupation
a Lawyer, begs leave to state that unbiased by
friends and uninfluenced by mercenary motives
he freely and voluntarily offers himself as a can-
didate for the Mysteries of Masonry, and that he is
prompted to solicit this bribe by a favourable
opinion conceived of the Institution, a desire of
knowledge and a sincere wish of being serviceable
to his fellow creatures. Should his petition be
granted he will cheerfully conform to all the
ancient established usages & customs of the Fraternity.

S. A. Douglas

Recommended by
L. S. Cornwall.
J. S. Roberts

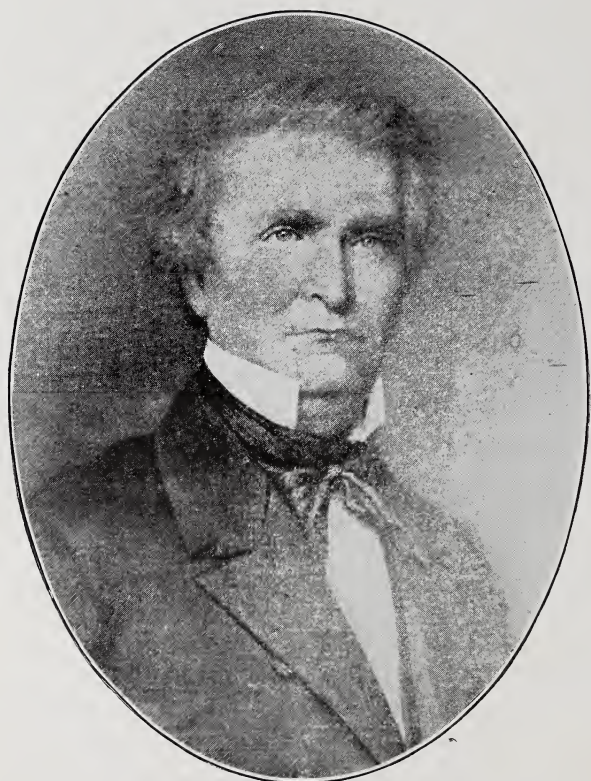
Commended

Thos. J. J.

A. J. J.

W. J. J.

APPLICATION OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE
MASONIC LODGE AT SPRINGFIELD.



JOHN CALHOUN.

politics. On one particular night,⁹⁷ while seated around the fireplace in the rear of Speed's store, Douglas became especially fiery and impetuous in his denunciations of the Whigs. He charged them with every political blunder and crime he could recall. No vulnerable spot escaped his notice. At last in a moment of excitement, he sprang to his feet and challenged those who differed with him to discuss the whole range of politics in public, remarking, "This store is no place to talk politics." A few days later, the Whigs had a meeting, at which Lincoln reported a resolution challenging the Democrats to a joint debate. The challenge was accepted, and Douglas, John Calhoun, Lamborn and Jesse B. Thomas were selected to meet Stephen T. Logan, Edward D. Baker, Orville H. Browning and Abraham Lincoln for the Whigs. What an array of National figures! Those who witnessed it, styled that debate, "the great debate," so long as it remained a reminiscence. The Hall of Representatives was selected as the best place for holding such a notable series of meetings and one evening was assigned to each speaker, Lincoln's turn coming last. The attendance on that eighth⁹⁸ evening was not one to reassure a speaker. The few who plucked up courage to attend, were tired, and Lincoln felt somewhat dejected as though the showing might be considered a reflection upon his ability to travel in such company; but he made such a notable effort that by general request his speech was printed in the *Springfield Journal* of March 6, 1840. Douglas and Lamborn received most of his attention, the former having dwelt largely upon the Van Buren sub-treasury scheme, and the refutation of charges made by the Whigs, of extravagance by the Van Buren administration.

Characteristic of Douglas, who was apt all the days of his political life, to make statements from the stump, without first making an examination of the facts, expecting of course to reach no ears which would know the difference, he left a vulnerable opening for Lincoln. In this particular case, his speech is not preserved, but Lincoln's reply to it, is preserved

⁹⁷ December, 1839.

⁹⁸ Dec. 20.

in the Journal already alluded to, to which one must turn if he would like to know approximately what Douglas said in support of his party and in explaining the accounts of its stewardship:

“Now it happens, that no such purchase (of the public lands) was made during that year. It is true that some money was paid that year in pursuance of Indian treaties; but no more, or rather not as much as had been paid on the same account in each of several preceding years. . . . Again, Mr. Douglas says that the removal of the Indians to the country west of the Mississippi created much of the expenditure of 1838. I have examined the public documents in relation to this matter, and find that less was paid for the removal of Indians in that than in some former years. The whole sum expended on that account in that year did not much exceed one quarter of a million. For this small sum, although we do not think the administration entitled to credit, because large sums have been expended in the same way in former years, we consent it may take one and make the most of it.

“Next, Mr. Douglas says that five millions of the expenditures of 1838 consisted of the payment of the French indemnity money to its individual claimants. I have carefully examined the public documents, and thereby find this statement to be wholly untrue. Of the forty millions of dollars expended in 1838, I am enabled to say positively that not one dollar consisted of payments on the French indemnities. So much for that excuse.

“Next comes the Post Office. He says that five millions were expended during that year to sustain that department. By a like examination of public documents, I find this also wholly untrue. Of the so often mentioned forty millions, not one dollar went to the Post Office. . . .

“I return to another of Mr. Douglas’s excuses for the expenditures of 1838, at the same time announcing the pleasing intelligence that this is the last one. He says that ten millions of that year’s expenditure was a contingent appropriation, to prosecute an anticipated war with Great Britain

on the Maine boundary question. Few words will settle this. First, that the ten millions appropriation was not made till 1839, and consequently could not have been expended in 1838; second, although it was appropriated, it has never been expended at all. Those who heard Mr. Douglas recollect that he indulged himself in a contemptuous expression of pity for me. 'Now he's got me,' thought I. But when he went on to say that five millions of the expenditures of 1838 were payments of the French indemnities, which I knew to be untrue; that five millions had been for the Post Office, which I knew to be untrue; that ten millions had been for the Maine boundary war, which I not only knew to be untrue, but supremely ridiculous also, and when I saw that he was stupid enough to hope that I would permit such groundless and audacious assertions to go unexposed,—I readily consented that, on the score of both veracity and sagacity, the audience should judge whether he or I were the more deserving of the world's contempt."

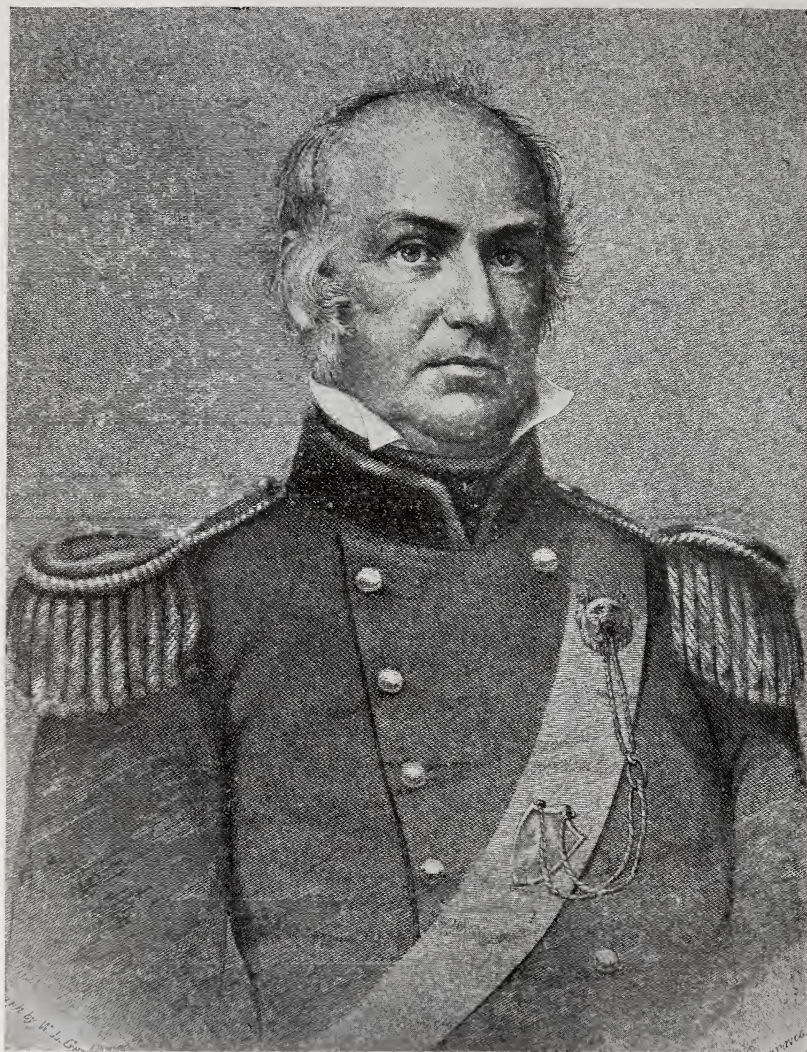
Douglas and Lincoln! How different and yet how interwoven were those two lives! Almost from the day they reached Illinois soil, both lives were thrown together. They lived in the same little city at this time. Each had become the representative of his party at the capital. Each was inordinately ambitious for political preferment. They were thrown together socially whenever a social function was given. Their names appear upon the same "cotillion programmes," as members of reception committees, and they were thrown together almost without an exceptional evening, when the crowds of the times met around the fireside of a jovial storekeeper. At about this time, each seems to have considered the other the proper person to bear the burdens of his party, and accordingly each selected the other for his especial target for political practice. Douglas never was averse to political joint debates. On the contrary, he rather courted them with Lincoln, and from 1838 until 1858 there was no campaign in which those two men did not meet at various points over the State in joint debate. In the Harrison-

Van Buren campaign⁹⁹ of 1840 they so met. This debate was fiercer than any other of the kind before or since. In his speech, Lincoln, imputed to Van Buren the unpardonable sin from a Douglas standpoint, of having voted in the New York State Convention for Negro suffrage with a property qualification. Douglas denied the fact vigorously and demanded Lincoln's authority. In replying, Lincoln offered to prove his assertion by reading from Holland's "Life of Van Buren," which contained a letter covering the point, from Van Buren to one Mr. Fithian. At that, Douglas grew angry; he snatched the book and as he tossed it into the crowd, exclaimed angrily, "Damn such a book!"

For physical endurance and victory in the face of almost hopeless odds, Douglas' campaign of 1858 has been regarded in the light of something superhuman, as indeed it was. But without a railroad upon which to travel, Douglas covered the same territory and backed an even more desperate cause in that 1840 campaign of excessive horseplay—and won his State. The pleasures of the western settler were few. His nearest neighbor dwelt a long way off. His lot was hard. His produce could not be marketed for money and his dissatisfaction was natural. His entertainment came largely from political campaign meetings and their concomitant feature, the barbecue, and there in 1840 the countryside for fifty miles gathered, determined to defeat the party which had wrought such havoc. Douglas perceived all those disadvantages and squared himself to meet them by penetrating the farthest corners of the State. John Wentworth tells us of one of those meetings at Dixon's Ferry where he spoke for four hours. Though no more than an outpost of 40 or 50 people, a great crowd assembled to hear him and catechise him. He performed his part with such,—we shall say adroitness, that that part of the State was carried against predicted defeat.

In those days to make oneself impressive it was considered necessary to make a tremendous noise which required the

⁹⁹ They were traveling the old Judge Treat Circuit together, speaking to the crowds which hung around the court rooms.



Edw Baker

EDWARD DICKINSON BAKER.

removal of coat, and collar, if the speaker wore one. Douglas played the game according to rule, his deep bass voice rolling off his sentences which explained the Van Buren subtreasury plan like miniature thunder, and between gestures which might have indicated an intention of fighting the Supreme Court for deciding the Field case against him, he shook his huge shock of black hair so savagely that it is not surprising John Quincy Adams regarded the man's first performance in the National House of Representatives in the light of a passion torn literally to tatters. His habit, too, of magnifying inconspicuous or trifling points into issues of the first importance which he presently proceeded to demolish was very popular on the prairies. From a week of joint debate in March between Hardin, Edward D. Baker, Lamborn and Douglas to the day before the November election, Douglas was on the stump, yet it is doubtful if he could have won but for his masterful manipulation of the locally celebrated "alien case." The exploitation of that case lined up every foreign vote in the State and held it for democracy. In April, when it was feared the Legislature would be lost, Douglas, in his absence, was nominated for the House, in the hope that his popularity would put him in. But Douglas knew conditions better than his party friends and desiring to capture the State rather than secure his election, he declined:

"Colonel Robert Allen,

Sir:—

Your note, as president of the late democratic convention, informing me of my nomination as a candidate for Representative in our Legislature, is received. I feel grateful to the Democracy of Sangamon for their continued confidence and esteem. Considerations of a private nature, however, constrain me to decline the nomination, and leave the field to those whose avocations and private affairs will enable them to devote the requisite portion of their time to the canvass. You will accept my thanks for the very complimentary manner in

which you have pleased to communicate the result of the deliberations of the convention.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your fellow citizen,

S. A. Douglass."

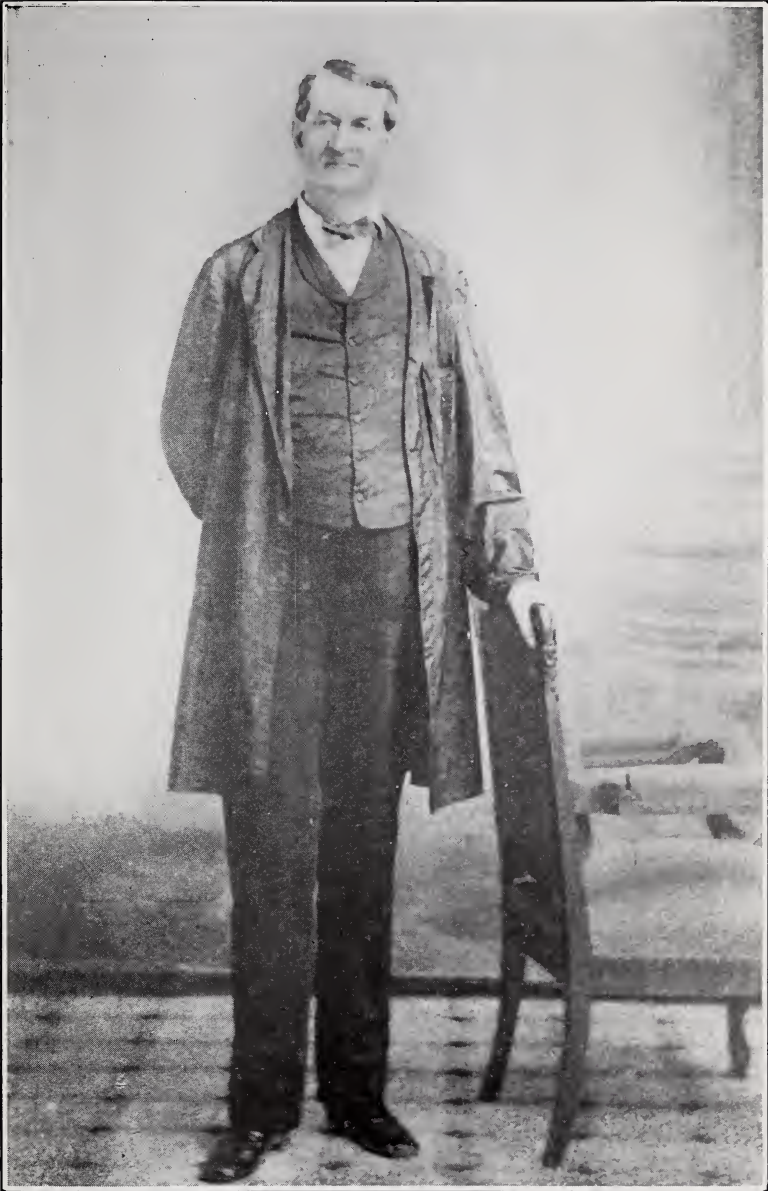
"Springfield, Ill., April 29, 1840."

Illinois was one of the only two northern states carried for Van Buren. The fight was a bitter one. The local bitterness engendered prompted the Democrats, when the Legislature met, to settle promptly and decisively two scores which rankled in the Democratic bosom, regardless of sentiment or the force of custom.

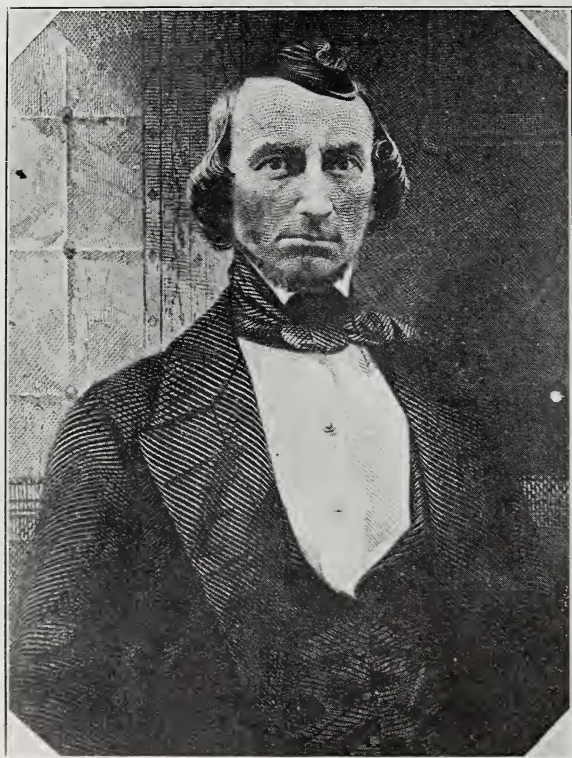
In those two instances, the Supreme Court had been the offender, and as punishment for the sins of its members, a movement almost, if not quite revolutionary, was planned and carried through almost entirely through the influence of Douglas.

Governor Ford, who became a beneficiary of that plot, in his mellow years, writing of it, says: "One confessedly violent and revolutionary, and could never have succeeded except in times of great party excitement. The contest in the Presidential election of 1840, was of such a turbulent and fiery character, and the dominant party in the State had been so badly defeated in the Nation at large, by the election of Harrison, that they were more than ever inclined to act from motives of resentment and a feeling of mortification."

Alexander Pope Field, one of the ablest lawyers of the times, had been appointed Secretary of State by Governor Ninian Edwards in the year 1828. He was a Jackson Democrat, then, but like so many others, he had apostatized and become a Whig. By virtue of his undefined tenure he had remained undisturbed through the administrations of Reynolds and Duncan, each executive regarding the holder of the office as entitled to it during good behavior or until the Legislature by law limited the tenure or authorized some functionary to remove the holder at will. The opinion prevailed during his incumbency that under the Constitution neither



ALEXANDER POPE FIELD.



GEN. JOHN A. McCLERNAND.

the executive nor the judiciary could exercise any power over the officer's tenure, except for misbehavior.

When in 1838, Thomas Carlin became Governor, he desired and expected to follow the party tenets of his political saint, Jackson, by giving to the victors, the spoils of political war. The office of Secretary of State was a valuable one and, claiming the power of appointment, the Governor nominated John A. McClernand, then of Gallatin County, to succeed Field. The Senate, a democratic body, considered that Field was beyond the reach of the Governor so long as he lived and behaved himself, and McClernand's nomination was rejected by the following resolution: "That the executive does not possess the power to nominate to the senate, a secretary of state, except in case of vacancy in that office, and that, inasmuch as the senate has not been advised of any vacancy in that office, the nomination of John A. McClernand be not advised and consented to by the senate." Gratuitously, the senate delivered the opinion that the tenure of office might be limited by the Legislature. During the session, the Governor, insistent upon his prerogative, sent other names to the Senate for the same office, but each was rejected for the same reasons.

Governor Carlin seemed to be a man of determination. Wherefore, when the Legislature adjourned, he again appointed to the office of Secretary of State, McClernand, who at once demanded possession of the office from the Whig incumbent, Mr. Field, who in turn refused to oblige him. McClernand thereupon laid an information in the nature of *quo warranto* proceedings before Judge Breese in the Circuit Court of Fayette County, who, upon the hearing, decided the case in favor of McClernand. From that decision, Field appealed to the Supreme Court, composed of three Whigs and one Democrat. Aside from the importance of the case, from the standpoint of politics, it involved highly important fundamental principles of government and attracted what was considered an unusually able array of counsel upon both sides. For the appellant, Field himself, appeared, together with

Cyrus Walker, Justin Butterfield and Levi Davis. For the appellee, there appeared McClernand himself, Douglas, his leading counsel, James Shields and Wickliffe Kitchell, the Attorney General. Mr. Justice Browne, being connected by affinity with one of the parties, declined sitting in the cause. Mr. Chief Justice Wilson, delivered the opinion of the court reversing the decision of Judge Breese, Mr. Justice Lockwood concurring. The opinion which affirmed Field's contention and the contention of the democratic Senate, is a very able, clear and exhaustive one, consuming, with its preliminary remarks, 106 pages. It held in substance that the Governor had not the constitutional power, at his will, to remove from office the Secretary of State; that when that officer was once appointed, the power of appointment was suspended until a vacancy occurred; that when the constitution created an office, and left the tenure undefined, the officer held during good behavior, or until the Legislature, by law, limited the tenure or authorized some functionary of the government to remove the officer at will.

The decision caused a great partisan outcry against the "Whig court," because the democratic majority became debarred thereby from exercising and enjoying some of the sweetest fruits of power. This case was decided at the December term, 1839, in time to give the Democrats an opportunity to raise a respectable and a very much needed State issue of "life tenures for Whigs," with which to overcome the powerful leverage which the hard times and alleged extravagances of the Van Buren administration had given the Whigs. That issue of life tenure, its companion, the "alien case,"—and Douglas, secured the election of the democratic Legislature which followed.

Foreseeing the futility of longer fighting the State administration with a new and sympathetic Legislature behind it, elected on the issue of his removal, Field resigned his office

and Douglas was appointed at once to succeed him,—his wage for party service, as alleged by the disappointed Whigs.¹⁰⁰

The alien vote of the State of Illinois, estimated at 10,000, was nine-tenths democratic. If precluded from voting, a democratic Legislature became an impossibility, the thought of which threw the democratic orators into a fury. There were those among them who charged the Supreme Court with unfairness in the Field case, and Douglas, it must be said, was of the number. With the advance of the campaign of 1840, the possibilities of the alien case were magnified and tortured into every manner of evil contingency which the stump speakers of the day could invent. The better to understand the situation, it may be well to state the substance of the case and its bearings upon the election of the year 1840:

The Constitution of the State provided that “all white male inhabitants, above the age of 21 years, having resided in the State six months preceding the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector.”

The popular construction prevailed that suffrage and citizenship were concomitant and indispensable qualifications to constitute a man an elector. In order to settle the uncertainty an agreed case had been made up at Galena between two Whigs, which presented to the court every necessary fact for a good test case,—as supposed. One brought a *qui tam* action against the other who had acted as judge of an election in August, 1838, in which capacity, the latter had received the vote of an unnaturalized person. Under the election law of 1829, a penalty was provided for just such an offense and in this action the informer sought to invoke it. Judge Dan Stone, he who with Lincoln, had signed the protest against slavery, decided that an unnaturalized alien had not the right to vote and that the plaintiff should recover the \$100 penalty. This decision startled the Democrats and steps were taken at once by Douglas to take the case to the Supreme Court on appeal.

¹⁰⁰ Douglas was appointed Secretary of State, November 30, 1840. He resigned the office February 27, 1841, to accept the position of Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois and Trumbull was appointed to succeed him March 1, 1841.

At the December term, 1839, the case was argued¹⁰¹ upon its merits and continued to the June term, 1840. Among the Democrats the apprehension had become general that at the latter term, the Whig Supreme Court would decide it against the alien vote and thereby defeat the Democratic party in the approaching elections in August and November. This apprehension was accentuated by Judge Theophilus W. Smith, the only democratic member of the bench, who told Douglas that the Whig members had decided the case adversely to the aliens and had actually written their opinions for delivery at the June term, 1840. The Democrats were as furious as they appeared to be powerless and but for that same Smith, the elections might have been carried by the Whigs. The cunning fellow had discovered in the record, that a material date, 1839, should have been 1838, and he pointed out the error to Douglas, who at once made a motion which he supposed would abate the hateful action for all time; he moved to dismiss it. A counter motion to amend, however, defeated Douglas's expectations. He then sought to accomplish the same purpose by entering a motion to dismiss because the issue was a feigned one, unsupported by any fact. That tack served a better purpose than dismissal, because the cause was continued again to the December term, and over the elections, in order to satisfy the court that the cause had fact behind it. The continuance saved the day to the Democrats. During the months following, until the elections had been passed, no Supreme Court has ever received the denunciations that Douglas¹⁰² poured out upon the heads of its members. Knowing all these facts, as he did, it was not surprising that Lincoln, during his memorable debate with Douglas, in 1858, referred feelingly to the position of Douglas toward the Supreme Court, when Douglas was demanding from Lincoln, a respect for the Dred Scott decision.

Reaching the aftermath of the campaign, the Democrats introduced into the Legislature, their bill to reorganize the

¹⁰¹ The argument of Douglas was published in full, in the Democratic papers.

¹⁰² The Alien case; the Field case and Douglas saved the party in Illinois, as before stated.

Supreme Court, by adding to its number, five other judges, and requiring the entire bench to do circuit duty as had been done under a former law of the State. During the pendency of this bill, which was meeting many difficulties, it was discussed with more or less passion in the lobby or third house, then a powerful factor in the politics of Illinois. Of all the denunciations of that court none were half so fierce as those by Douglas, who openly charged the court with writing their opinions prematurely, and with plotting to destroy the democratic party of the State by overthrowing its strongest ally, the alien vote. He demanded the passage of the new bill as not only a just measure but a generous one as well, because it permitted the present bench to remain in office.

The Whigs remonstrated that the move was revolutionary. Furious debates followed in the Legislature. When McClermand openly charged the court with preparing an opinion adverse to the alien vote, Hardin addressed the court a letter asking its members if in fact they had prepared an opinion adverse to the alien vote in order to defeat the bill, and if they had deferred the rendition of that opinion by reason of the defect which Smith had discovered and mentioned to Douglas. To that letter the judges, including Smith, replied denying the charge.

Confronted with such a letter, signed by Smith himself, McClermand's anger was aroused to the highest pitch. He felt called upon to ask for an explanation as to whether or not he had stated a falsehood upon the floor of the House. Accordingly he addressed to Douglas, his informant, a communication, dated January 29, demanding facts to sustain his statements, at the same time inviting immediate attention to his request. Immediately Douglas, with six others, viz: A. R. Dodge, V. Hickox, J. H. Ralston, John Pearson, Major Murray McConnel and J. A. McDougall, all of whom had derived their information from the same Smith, furnished letters to the effect that Smith had informed them that all the judges had their opinions written out and ready to deliver at the June term.

Only by the interference of powerful friends was it made possible to avoid serious trouble between McClernand and Smith. McClernand, whose uprightness and ability have always stood out in Illinois history as of the highest, was as brave and determined as he was upright, and had the men been permitted to come together, the possibility of Smith's removal from another cause than impeachment, would have been made not only possible, but altogether probable.

The reform bill, so called, passed both houses¹⁰³ of the Legislature after a stormy time inside and outside the State house. It is safe to say that no measure became so obnoxious over the State as that one. The council of revision, which at that time possessed the veto power, returned the bill with its objections. But the bill was repassed in the Senate by a large majority. In the House it received only one majority. After the latter vote a protest against its iniquities, composed of seven parts was signed by Democrats and Whigs alike and filed.

To put the finishing touches of reproach to this measure, the new judges were charged with securing that one majority in the House by an unholy trade which gave to Ebenezer Peck, member from Cook, the office of clerk,¹⁰⁴ vice Duncan removed. Peck as a member had opposed the bill up and until a certain period when he suddenly changed and favored it. The five additional judges selected to make up the new body were Thomas Ford, subsequently Governor; Sidney Breese, subsequently United States Senator; Samuel H. Treat, subsequently United States District Judge; Walter B. Scates and Stephen A. Douglas. Those appointments quieted future fears for the alien vote.

It should be added that upon investigation it was found that the alien case did not involve a constitutional question at all, but merely a question under the election law of 1829, and upon that ground it was decided. Nor did the majority

¹⁰³ Feb. 10, 1841, Acts of 1840-1, p. 173, Laws of Illinois.

¹⁰⁴ Sangamon Journal.

of that new court now question the right of the Governor to appoint his own Secretary of State.¹⁰⁵

After denouncing the old judges as he did; after furnishing McClernand with the information used by the latter upon the floor of the House, and then accepting a place upon the new bench, by the side of the denounced judges, Douglas placed himself in a position which invited and has received just criticism, nowhere with so much effect as by Lincoln in the great joint debates with Douglas in 1858. But position upon the bench with its circuit work, threw him into a new constituency; into constantly shifting associations with attorneys, jurors and suitors, all no doubt interested in politics, which very strong considerations moved Douglas to accept. Exactly as Douglas had anticipated, the position laid the foundation for his subsequent career in Congress.

PART VI.

Looking at the transition in office from Field to Douglas as a commonplace item of political merchandising, the thought may arise that the office of Secretary of State was thrust upon Douglas as a political necessity and that in accepting the office, he made a sacrifice for his party. Not so. Governor Carlin, after his continued efforts to remove Field, very greatly desired the appointment of Isaac N. Morris, of Quincy. He had gone to the extent of promising it to Morris and had invited the latter to come to Springfield to receive it. But upon his return to the capital at the beginning of the session, Governor Carlin was confronted with a petition signed by so many members of that assembly, that he dared not refuse their recommendation if he desired or expected any political favors from their hands at that session. And Douglas was appointed. But not until his name had been sent to the Governor the second time. At the expense of space the record will be quoted:

¹⁰⁵ Ford.

“Senate Journal, 1839-40, pages 236-237.

Executive Department, January 31, 1840.

To the Senate of the State of Illinois:

I nominate Stephen A. Douglass to be Secretary of State.
Thomas Carlin.

Whereupon Mr. Davidson moved the adoption of the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the power of the Executive of this State to nominate and appoint a Secretary of State, unless in case of a vacancy, having been fully decided by the Supreme Court of this State, and the Senate not having been advised of a vacancy in said office;

Therefore, be it further resolved, That the Senate do not advise and consent to the nomination of Stephen A. Douglass, as Secretary of State.

Whereupon, Mr. Gatewood moved to strike out all after the word “Resolved” and insert in lieu thereof, the following, viz:

“That it is constitutional for the Governor to nominate, and the Senate to appoint, a Secretary of State, and thereby supersede and remove any incumbent in that office.”

Mr. Fletcher called for a division of the question. And the question being first taken on striking out, it was decided in the negative, 22 to 18.

And the question recurring on the adoption of the resolutions offered by Mr. Davidson, Mr. Gatewood moved a division of the question. And the question being first taken on the adoption of the resolutions, it was decided in the affirmative, 30 to 10.

And the question recurring on the adoption of the second resolution, it was decided in the affirmative, 22 to 18.”

This defeat has not been known to the biographers of Douglas, apparently.

“Journal of the Senate, 1840-41, page 31.
Executive Department, Springfield, Illinois,
November 30, 1840.

To the Senate of Illinois:

I nominate Stephen A. Douglass to be Secretary of State.
Thomas Carlin.

Mr. Richardson moved the adoption of the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the Senate do now advise and consent to the nomination of Stephen A. Douglass to be Secretary of State.

Mr. Davidson moved to amend the resolution by striking out all after the word “Resolved,” and insert the following, in lieu thereof, viz:

“That the power of the Executive of this State, to nominate and appoint a Secretary of State unless in case of a vacancy, having been fully decided by the Supreme Court of this State, and the Senate not having been advised of a vacancy in said office; therefore, be it further resolved, That the Senate do not advise and consent to the nomination of Stephen A. Douglass as Secretary of State,”
which was decided in the negative, 23 to 14.

The question then recurring on the adoption of the resolution, it was decided in the affirmative, 23 to 15.

The short administration of Douglas, the Secretary of State, reflects no lustre upon the name of Douglas; it was a colorless position at best, though profitable, and its brevity permitted him to accomplish but little, but the little he did, counted for much toward continuing the power of his party in Illinois. Beyond any doubt a political emergency was expected by the party leaders and beyond any doubt, he was considered the only man for the emergency.

It was believed by the leaders of both parties that very soon, the Mormons, who were approaching a strength of 16,000 in the State, would hold the balance of power, and during the session of 1840-1, both parties exerted themselves to win the Mormon support. Far different from the alien vote upon

which the Democratic party assumed a proprietary interest, the Mormons signified their intention of joining neither party until it had been demonstrated to their satisfaction that the party who should receive their support, could and would produce a corresponding value for every Mormon vote. They played the game of politics adroitly.

While thus jockeying for position, one Dr. John C. Bennett, once Adjutant General under Gov. Carlin, now turned Mormon, presented himself at the seat of government as agent plenipotentiary for the Mormons, to secure from the Legislature, a charter for the City of Nauvoo, as well as charters for other purposes altogether too numerous to mention. Addressing himself to Douglas,¹⁰⁶ the Democratic Secretary of State and to the Whig State Senator from the Mormon district, Sidney H. Little of McDonough County, these gentlemen entered heartily into Bennett's views and projects.

Bennett, pronounced by Ford the "greatest scamp in the western country," was a diplomat and managed his business with consummate skill. A bill to "Incorporate the City of Nauvoo," was introduced by Senator Little, and when referred back by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee it was passed without opposition. Members of both parties united in hurrying it through. In the House, it was rushed through without so much as calling the ayes and noes. It was sent to the Council of Revision, composed of the democratic Governor, the then three Whig justices and one Democratic justice of the Supreme Court, who, within three days approved it. On the 14th of December, 1840, Senator Little presented another bill entitled "An act to incorporate a Church at Nauvoo," which by a suspension of the rules, was passed by the Senate without discussion, to third reading on the 17th; whereupon Mr. Little moved to amend the title so that the bill would read, "An Act for the appointment of a Notary Public in the City of Nauvoo," which was agreed to by Whigs and Democrats alike, and the bill was passed without roll call or a dissentient voice. The House rushed the

¹⁰⁶ Douglas at this time seems to have forgotten all about his opposition to such charters made in the Tenth General Assembly.

measure through in the same manner. A third charter was passed in exactly the same manner.

As a net result of his work, Dr. Bennett, returned to Nauvoo with everything he had demanded. The city charter and concomitant acts, provided among other things, for the election of a Mayor, four aldermen and nine councilors, gave them power to pass all ordinances needed for the regulation of the city's affairs which were not repugnant to the constitution of the United States or of the State of Illinois,¹⁰⁷ under which authority, those officers proceeded to pass, as one of the laws not repugnant to the constitution, a measure to the effect that "no writ issued from any other place, for the arrest of any of her citizens, shall be recognized in the city, without the approval endorsed thereon by the Mayor; that if any public officer by virtue of any foreign writ, shall attempt to make an arrest in the city, without such approval of his process, he shall be subject to imprisonment for life; and that even the Governor of the state shall not have the power of pardoning the offender without the consent of the Mayor."

The charter established a Mayor's court. It also established a Municipal Court, among whose powers, was one to issue writs of *habeas corpus*. A provision was included as well, for the erection of the militia of Nauvoo into "The Nauvoo Legion," entirely independent of the state organization. It was to be furnished its quota of arms by the state. The charter also established for the Legion, a court martial, whose officers were not bound to regard the laws of Illinois, provided they did nothing repugnant to the constitution. To carry their power to sublimely ridiculous heights, and secure exclusive jurisdiction, answerable to no power but the church, an amendment to a road law was passed which gave the Mormons power to enroll any citizen of Hancock County, who preferred it to the state institution, whether living in the city or elsewhere. In other words, an independent commonwealth was permitted, and that too by words rendered especially ambiguous, subject to no state authority, but that of the Gov-

¹⁰⁷ This language partakes very strongly of the flavor of Douglas' language in the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

ernor. While it would be interesting to pursue Joe Smith's tenure of all the offices and all the power, the subject is foreign to the purposes of these pages, excepting so far as Douglas may have lent his influence toward placing those laws upon the statute book and placating the Mormons. That he and Little are entitled to all the doubtful credit for the enactment of those laws, there is no room for doubt.

Once safely seated upon the bench,¹⁰⁸ and made master of the Mormon circuit, Douglas made it his first business to clinch the Mormon vote by an act in which no Whig could divide honors. He appointed as a Master in Chancery, the same Dr. Bennett, who had become alderman and Major General of the Legion, and thereafter, the Mormon vote became a pretty safe Douglas asset.

In the autumn of 1841, the Governor of Missouri, made a demand upon Governor Carlin, for the delivery of Joe Smith and others as fugitives from justice. An executive warrant was issued for the purpose and placed in the hands of an agent for execution, but it was returned to Carlin unexecuted; how or why, has never been learned. Soon afterwards, Carlin placed it in the hands of another agent, who arrested Smith and prepared to surrender him. But instead of returning with the agent, he was carried upon a writ of *habeas corpus* before Judge Douglas, who discharged him upon the ground that the writ upon which the arrest was made, had been returned once without execution and therefore it was *functus officio*. Whether right or wrong, in the language of Ford, "Smith, was therefore the more inclined to esteem his discharge as a great favor from the democratic party."

In token of his sincerity upon that point, Smith, the following year issued his proclamation in the Nauvoo papers, declaring Judge Douglas to be a master spirit and therein exhorting his followers to vote for Adam W. Snyder the democratic nominee for Governor.

The appointment of Douglas to the supreme bench at his request and for party service of a nature which should not

¹⁰⁸ Upon his appointment Douglas removed to Quincy, and his was the Fifth circuit.

stimulate a very high degree of pride, provoked many sarcastic remarks and editorials from the defeated and disappointed Whigs, to the effect that the elevation of Douglas to the bench with all its dignity, was something of a joke. Others, his friends or admirers, have affected to hold that his removal from the social, political and legal atmosphere of Springfield, was a matter of supreme regret. Douglas knew his business. He desired the appointment. The Fifth, or Quincy District, included the home of the Mormons, the last field requiring a course of mixing before Douglas again reached out for a congressional career.

It may be true that, overflowing with healthy animal spirits as he was; regardless as he may have been for many of the conventionalities of life, fond of the society of what is now denominated "the boys," Douglas nevertheless made an acceptable judge and the man who may have attempted unwarranted liberties with his office, came to grief, it may very well be believed. He was expeditious¹⁰⁹ and sane if he was something informal in his manner of administering justice. His free and easy manner gave to the ascetic and to persons who observed clumsily or thought but intermittently, the impression that he was altogether informal, because he preferred comfort to dignity, by sitting on the bench in his shirt sleeves when the weather was warm; or, because of his habit of leaving the woolsack during the progress of a trial, to chat in a chummy way upon the knees of an attorney and perhaps throw an arm carelessly over the attorney's shoulder, or, because it was a frequent habit of the judge to beckon informally, some old practitioner to a far corner of the court room for the purpose of pumping an opinion from the latter upon some question of pleading or the sufficiency of a written instruction which had been submitted. Such conduct aroused

¹⁰⁹ The story is told of Douglas the judge, that upon his coming into court in Knox County, he found none of the attorneys ready to take up his cases for trial. Case after case was called until about the one half way down the docket, Judge Douglas closed the book and looking over to the sheriff, said: "Mr. Sheriff, adjourn court to nine o'clock tomorrow morning. The docket will then be called and every case will be tried or dismissed when reached." Immediately, there was a scurrying for witnesses and true to promise, each case was disposed of when reached. Nothing was ever more truthful to life than this illustration of early practice in the courts of Illinois.—Mr. Clay, a grand juror at that term of court.

Carl Schurz, who,—without criticising the point,—preserved his sense of propriety by a refrigerating process unknown to Douglas. When, therefore, upon an early visit to the United States Senate Chamber, Schurz discovered Douglas lolling in the lap of a brother senator, exactly as had been his habit when upon the circuit, back in the as yet, half wild prairies of Illinois, he is constrained in his “Reminiscences” to characterize the act an offence against the dignity of the Senate. Douglas did all those things. He was a man and not the product of a cold storage plant. Good red blood coursed through his veins, and while he may have possessed the little foibles and frailties mentioned, he was over-full of splendid, manly instincts, upon which he acted every day of his much too short life.

Upon the bench, Douglas was resourceful, ever. If something knotty precipitated itself during the trial of a cause, the crisis was met and passed as though it were an every day occurrence and whenever such decisions were taken above for review, they were sustained in about the same proportion as the decisions of the other judges who made more pretentions.

He did less hard work on the bench, probably, than any of its members, at least he made less work out of his judicial duties, yet the law reports show that he heard and decided his proportion of cases and did something more than his share of circuit duty. He held terms in other circuits than his own; upon one occasion at his old home in Morgan County, more particularly referred to hereafter. At another time, he held a special term in Cook County,¹¹⁰ in place of Judge Smith who had been taken sick. It is said authoritatively that the arrangement was brought about through the friendly offices of John Wentworth, who considered it worth his while to introduce Douglas to the political lights of Chicago. At the same time, it is stated with equal authority, that there lurked within the Wentworth bosom the fear, that if Whig stories were true, the hours between sittings of the court might be employed by Douglas with “the boys” in a manner to reflect

¹¹⁰ July 18, 1842.

anything but credit upon the court and his political sponsor, Mr. Wentworth. But the experiment proved satisfactory in every respect to both parties. If Douglas paid his social respects to the boys overnight, he appeared in court the next morning as bright as the new morning herself, and the term was finished with the highest credit.

The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude within the borders of the North West Territory, of which Illinois was a part. When Illinois entered the Union as a state, her constitution followed that restriction by inhibiting slavery and involuntary servitude, excepting only certain exemptions for the lessees of the salines who could secure no other labor. But even such slaves could be retained in the new state for one year only when they must be returned to the state whence imported.

Very naturally one must ask how the question of slavery could secure attention from an Illinois court and how such court could hold any form of slavery to be legal within the state. The answer but brings out the common assertion of Douglas that any law enacted in a community holding adverse views, will be nullified by loophole or otherwise. The assertion was but the forerunner of his unfriendly legislation views. In Illinois, while yet a territory an enactment was passed authorizing certain indentures of service for a period of years, without compensation and subject to the master's right to administer corporal punishment. That act was continued by the new state constitution until such service should expire.

While fraud cannot be presumed, it will occur to the average mind that such a contract made by a person who cannot write and who cannot invoke legal assistance should be construed with extreme liberality toward the servant.

Respectable minorities did render dissenting opinions in such cases but the majority, including Douglas, held invariably for the master.

Illinois had a fugitive slave law too at the time Douglas occupied his position on the bench. In those cases too, for a

violation of it, he held closely to the act. The Eells case which was tried before him in Adams County, was particularly severe in its judgment. Douglas not only refused to disturb the verdict of the jury, but sitting *en banc* he voted to affirm that judgment.

If there was one characteristic above another which attracts attention to the rulings of Douglas the judge, it was his unvarying rule to make a man pay his obligations. We find no record where legal quibbles succeeded with him in absolving a man from the payment of those obligations.¹¹¹ The story is related by a person no less than Governor Ford himself, to the effect, that (Ford) desiring to deal fairly with the state banks which had acquired many legal rights besides their charter, but which had assumed toward the people an arrogance positively hateful, had conceived a plan to retire the banks from business, yet save the state some of its \$3,100,000 bank stock subscriptions, without violating any constitutional rights. The retiring governor, Carlin, desiring to pander to the howls of the populace, attached to his valedictory message a demand upon the incoming legislature to repeal the bank charters and thereby crush them arbitrarily. Inasmuch as the demand was popular in the new legislature, the influence of Governor Ford to counteract it, was badly crippled, but conformably with his plan, he drafted a bill entitled "An Act to diminish the state debt and put the State Bank into liquidation." The bill was so just that the bank officers consented to make no opposition to its passage. Thereafter, Governor Ford showed it to Mr. McClernand, chairman of the finance committee, who invited the Governor, Judge Douglas and Mr. Shields to be present and discuss the merits of the bill before the democratic members of the committee. All those members were brought to favor the bill save one, and before the committee adjourned, Judge Douglas had convinced him of the necessity for its passage. Roused because McClernand, the personal enemy of Trumbull, Secretary of

¹¹¹ He carried that conviction with him to Congress and expressed it in his opposition to bankruptcy laws.

State, was likely to secure honor by his championship of the measure on the floor of the House, Trumbull went into the lobby and made a speech against the bill, to which McClelland replied in the House and it passed; but while pending in the Senate, Trumbull headed a better organized opposition to the bill and by sending into the Senate amendments and other obstruction tactics, he might have succeeded in defeating the measure but for Douglas, who made a speech in the lobby, therein accusing Trumbull with attempting to fasten repudiation upon the state and the bill was carried and sent to the Council of Revision of which Douglas as judge, was a member. Strange as it may appear, Douglas was the only member to vote to disapprove the bill for no other reason than that when called upon to review it judicially, he fancied it still smattered of repudiation by the state. While service upon the bench of a young state is not calculated to offer to any man a brilliant career, the career of Douglas may be regarded as altogether satisfactory from whatever standpoint the investigator may view it, no matter what his methods may have been to derive a just conclusion. Much of his technical learning, was gained by pumping it from brother lawyers. His sense of right did the rest. It cannot be maintained, as some have contended, that no case of his was ever reversed by the Supreme Court. His decisions appealed, stood almost equally balanced. Fifteen of them were affirmed and fourteen were reversed, in one of which latter, he delivered the opinion of the court himself, reversing his own *nisi prius* holding. As a Supreme Court Judge he rendered opinions in sixteen cases and filed dissenting opinions in seven cases. Technicalities were disliked by Douglas extravagantly. He contended rightfully that in the young State of Illinois, where the practice must be settled and cases decided almost wholly from principle, that the less of technicality to find its way into that formative period, the better.

Douglas was appointed to his office February 15, 1841, but he did not take his seat upon the Supreme bench which convened soon thereafter, until the last day of the term.¹¹²

¹¹² 2 Scam, reporter's note.

He held one term of Circuit court at his old home, Jacksonville, and in one particular case, a flood of memories must have come over him to find upon one side, his old and rare friend, Major Murray McConnel defending a criminal and upon the other, his ancient enemy, Josiah Lamborn, the then Attorney General of the state, assisting the state's attorney in the prosecution of an indictment. The case was *Gardner v. The People* (in the upper court). McConnel's client was found guilty by the jury, but Douglas the trial judge denied him a new trial. Upon appeal, Douglas, the Supreme Court judge, who rendered the opinion of the court, refused to vote to disturb the verdict of guilty found below by the jury.

If when the newspaper charged him with secretly favoring Springfield for the state capital, the case of *Carpenter, Treasurer of the State of Illinois, v. Thomas Mather*, had been decided, it would have stood him in good stead when replying. In that case, which but emphasized his rule of compelling a man to do as he had agreed to do, Douglas in writing the opinion of the court, held, that having signed a bond to pay the sum of \$50,000, the demand for locating the capital at Springfield, the obligation should be stripped of all technical weakness and receive payment.

If it were possible to cite a case wherein a political sympathy might find expression, it would be the case of *Stuart v. The People*. Stuart, editor of the *Daily Chicago American*, a Whig organ, charged John Wentworth, editor of the *Chicago Morning Democrat*, who was sitting as a juror in a murder case, with writing editorials for his paper during the pendency of the case, while the editor of the *American* was denied entrance to the court room for the purpose of securing information. It seems that upon one occasion when Stuart went to the court room to take notes for his paper, the door was closed and locked; at least it would not yield to his efforts to enter. This, he held and so proclaimed, gave to Wentworth an unfair advantage over him. Furthermore, he declared that the man who was sitting upon a murder case, had no lawful right to be writing editorials which expressed opinions

to a great degree. Failing in his effort to receive what to him seemed satisfaction, he commented upon locking the court room door in language as follows: "One individual suggested that the weakness of his Honor's head, would not admit of the noise and confusion incident to a crowd of hearers and a proper attention to the cause, all at the same time." Judge Pearson, the sitting judge, who had been defended by Douglas, not long before, in a certain investigation of charges of conduct unbecoming a judge, punished the offender with a fine, from which Stuart, appealed. Judge Breese who was as punctilious as a judge could be, in delivering the opinion of the court held, that the particular article was not one for which the writer could be held in contempt. From that majority opinion, Douglas dissented.

A childhood friend of Douglas, who attended the academy at Canandaigua has left us a very,—at least flattering account of the career of Douglas the judge.¹¹³

Says George C. Bates: "Douglas's ascent amazed me; for, although I knew he was a man of talent and industry, yet, when he was elected Judge, I was sure he would fail there; but, being in Chicago where he had just held court, I met that old cynic Snarleyow, but most thorough lawyer, Justin Butterfield, the biggest Whig in Illinois, and I said: 'Well, Justin, my old schoolmate, Douglas, is a judge and I suppose he makes an ass of himself on the bench here?' To which he replied: 'No, no—by no means. I thought I could handle him, but—damn that little squatty Democrat, Douglas!—he is the very best and most acute Judge in all this democratic state. He listens patiently, comprehends the law, and grasps the facts by intuition; then decides calmly, clearly and quietly, and then makes the lawyers sit down, No, no—Douglas is the ablest man on the bench today, in Illinois.' "

In the 4th volume of the "Law Reporter," Boston, 1842, may be found a letter from a lawyer, who had emigrated to

¹¹³ Still another contemporaneous report has come to hand, which is really worth perusal:

Illinois, giving the following description of Douglas while holding a term of court:

“The judge of our circuit is S. A. Douglas, a youth of 28, who was the democratic candidate for Congress in 1838, in opposition to Stuart, the late member. He is a Vermonter, a man of considerable talent, and, in the way of despatching business, is a perfect ‘steam engine in breeches.’ This despatch is the only benefit our circuit will derive from the change. He is the most democratic judge I ever knew. While a case is going on, he leaves the bench and goes among the people, and among the members of the bar, takes a cigar and has a social smoke with them, or often sitting in their laps, being in person say five feet nothing, or thereabouts and probably weighing about 100 pounds. I have often thought he would cut a queer figure, if one of our Suffolk bar should accidentally drop in.”

It has been said that in a little while, Douglas tired of his judicial duties and yearned for a return to his law practice at Springfield, where surrounded by libraries, the Supreme Court, the legislature and in constant touch with politicians from all over the state, he could better build up his political fences—and a law practice. It would be nearer the truth to state that with two years mixing in a constituency which had grown attached to him, he considered it high time to seek that goal which had never left his sight, since coming so near his grasp in the race with Major John T. Stuart. Accordingly, he entered the race for Congress against Orville H. Browning of Quincy, a Whig.

PART VII.

With a few notable exceptions, the resignation of Douglas from the bench, closed his relations with the legal profession, as judge and practitioner.¹¹⁴ Thereafter, he appeared but rarely; June, 1851, in the case of *The Canal Trustees v. Brain-*

¹¹⁴ After 1847 he maintained an office in Chicago until his death, but transacted little or no legal business.

ard, being about the only time he appeared in the Illinois courts. No touch of sadness was manifested when taking the step which was to sever his connection forever from his profession and his professional associates. In reality, none was felt. Freed from duties which had become irksome, removed from a position which had grown to be more or less a political monastery, anxious to begin that career in Congress, he welcomed the new life and the new forum as the one calculated to place him in the limelight, so soon as he should create the occasion and support it acceptably.

Beginning with his law career in Jacksonville, the dockets of Morgan County indicate that he had but little general practice in the courts of that county.¹¹⁵ But that would be true of any young lawyer, however promising, without the explanation that by reason of his early election to the office of State's Attorney, he was taken from home much of his time to do duty upon the circuit. The certainty of income from his office too, made it unnecessary to seek practice while at home; consequently he permitted the legal business of Morgan County to pursue the path of natural gravity, believing that when desired it would come fast enough with increased reputation, as it did, for very soon Douglas secured that reputation on the circuit.¹¹⁶

In the technical acceptance of the term, Douglas was not a close lawyer. He spent little time in study and preparation of his cases. He seemed to know the law intuitively. Many, very many of his pleadings were so faulty that interruptions were forced upon him by dilatory pleas and motions and demurrers and the necessary leaves to amend, or to substitute

¹¹⁵ Mr. F. J. Heintz.

¹¹⁶ "I wish I could reproduce, or give you some adequate idea of the argument of Douglas in the case of the Canal Trustees vs. Daniel Brainard, argued at Ottawa in June, 1851. * * * He had only a few hours for preparation, and his associates gave him their briefs and all the advantage of their full and extensive preparation. All of us on each side, made arguments, and the associates of Douglas displayed more than usual ability, but when Douglas came to close, his presentation of the case was so fresh, so strong and vigorous, as to astonish us all on both sides. He displayed on this, as on many other occasions, his wonderful power of taking and vivifying the ideas of others, and bringing them out so that they seemed quite new and original. He gave to everything the stamp of his own masterly mind."—Isaac N. Arnold.

new pleadings altogether. Douglas confesses to this fault in his autobiography. At his first appearance in McLean County, the Grand Jury for the April term 1835 returned five indictments which he drew hastily, working at them all night in order to discharge the jury the next morning. The older members of the bar were eager to see him fail in his effort and they watched Major John T. Stuart with great interest when that noted lawyer appeared and moved to quash not only the indictment in which he was interested, but all the indictments returned at the term, for the reason that Douglas had spelled the name of the county "McCleane instead of McLean." Stuart was pompous as he could be when throttling the pretensions of an ambitious youngster like Douglas and his remarks imputing ignorance to the writer of the documents cut the latter to the quick. Had Stuart made his objections in a courteous manner Douglas would have interposed no objections to the motion to quash, because he at once recognized the error. Under the aggravating circumstances, he declined and preferred to apply his usually unalterable rule of conduct in managing a lawsuit to "admit nothing and require my adversary to prove everything material to the success of his cause."

Stephen T. Logan, the presiding judge, asked if Douglas had anything to say in support of his indictments. The latter replied that he did not consider it necessary as yet to say anything, Mr. Stuart having made the motion the burden rested upon him. Furthermore, he presumed the court would not take official notice of the supposed error until some evidence had been adduced to sustain the motion. When such evidence should be produced it would be time enough for him, Douglas, to rebut it. The court thought so, too, and gave Stuart time to procure the session law creating and naming the county. Douglas was convinced that when found his error would be confirmed, but to secure the session law required travel, trouble, expense and other annoyances sufficient to rebuke Stuart for his arrogance. After a lapse of

two days a copy was procured from the neighboring county of Peoria and was produced by Stuart who read the name just as Douglas had spelled it to the astonishment of the court, Douglas himself, Stuart and the entire bar which had assembled to see the youngster humiliated and driven out of court. Stuart was chagrined and humiliated and the indictments, all but one, quashed upon other grounds, were sustained.

Desiring to satisfy his private curiosity upon the point, the next time Douglas went to Vandalia, he inspected the enrolled copy of the original bill and there found that the Enrolling Clerk had spelled the name correctly but the printer had spelled it wrong. That incident had more influence in making Douglas his party's candidate for Congress against Stuart than anything else. He desired to get even with Stuart. At the next term of the McLean County Circuit Court, Douglas prepared nine indictments against certain supervisors or commissioners, every one of which was quashed for insufficiency and the defendants were discharged.¹¹⁷ The same carelessness seems to be met in the records of his other counties.

But as a trial lawyer, he became singularly successful. By many members of the bar who have spoken and written upon the subject, the four great lawyers of that period of Illinois' history were Lincoln, Douglas, Stephen T. Logan and Justin Butterfield.

Contrary to the treatment received from Stuart, Douglas was one of the most considerate lawyers in the State when opposing a young practitioner¹¹⁸ and one of the most obliging when opposing older lawyers; but once before the jury, Douglas made use of all his privileged make-shifts to win his case. He would bluff. He might distort evidence, motive, manner, law; everything was regarded fair that tended to win the

¹¹⁷ Mr. Prince.

¹¹⁸ Gov. John M. Palmer in his *Personal Reminiscences*, page 30-31, relates his case as one in point: When presenting himself for admission Douglas displayed great interest in his success. Not only did he make out the necessary papers, but from the court, he secured the appointment of himself and J. Y. Scammon as a committee to make the examination and after passing it successfully, he drew up Palmer's license and had it signed by the court on December 11, 1839.

jury, and in that respect his charming personality and his transcendent ability to cross-examine an unfriendly witness had more than a little to do.

It has been stated that with a good case, Lincoln was the best lawyer in the State, but in a bad case, Douglas was the best lawyer the State of Illinois ever produced. That statement, oft-repeated but bears out another one credited to Lincoln that Douglas could argue a man into the belief that a chestnut horse was a horse chestnut.

In common with the entire bar of the State, his fees were small. It is related of him that upon one occasion, he traveled on horse-back all the way from Springfield to Bloomington to try a case for which he received but five dollars for his fee. At the term of court in McLean County, last mentioned, while State's Attorney, he was employed to defend the county against a certain action brought by the Circuit Clerk to recover the sum of \$180. After a trial of considerable length, the court awarded the plaintiff the sum of \$60. For those services, Douglas was allowed the sum of \$10, and his associate, the sum of \$5.¹¹⁹

But, measured from the standpoint of success, from which most public careers are measured, Douglas the lawyer was a pronounced success.

After the campaign with Major John T. Stuart, Douglas formed with John D. Urquhart, of Springfield, his only law partnership.¹²⁰ In common with other lawyers of repute, he formed over the circuit, professional arrangements with other and generally young lawyers, something after the fashion of the one he had with George F. Markley, his associate in the McLean County case. In the Bloomington Observer and Advocate for January 13, 1838, the following notice is to be found:

¹¹⁹ Entry in the County Commissioners' records, October 10, 1835: "The court doth order that * * * Douglas, as Counsel for Commissioners, be paid ten dollars and his local associate, five dollars, for services in the case."

¹²⁰ November, 1838.

"LAW NOTICE.

George F. Markley and Stephen A. Douglass, have associated themselves together in the practice of the law, in the McLean Circuit Court, and will promptly give their joint attention to all business entrusted to their care, in the line of their profession.

George F. Markley.
Stephen A. Douglass."

Office in the south west)
room of the Court House.)

The arrangement applied only to business in McLean County in which Douglas participated.

Douglas enjoyed life at Springfield. While earning his salary in the Land Office and while Secretary of State, he was permitted to practice and did so. The largest libraries came to Springfield with the removal of the capital to that place. The noted men of the State centered there. By that time, his practice had become profitable as well as large. Being a good man of business, his investments were placed wisely. He seems to have enjoyed a good practice at least five years before Lincoln's name appears for the first time in the law reports.

Douglas' first case in the Supreme Court was decided at the December term, 1835, Lovett et al v. Noble.

From a page to page inspection of the Illinois reports, his very successful record is disclosed. Out of thirteen appealed cases he won ten. Of course this limited number of cases furnished but a small amount of his business which extended largely to *nisi prius* state cases, cases in the United States courts¹²¹ and other tribunals. His defense of Judge John Pearson before the Legislature acting as an investigating body¹²² was a notable event and therein Douglas shone as a powerful lawyer with a bad case on his hands. He acquitted Pearson.

¹²¹ Douglas and Lincoln were admitted to practice in the United States Circuit Court on the same day.

¹²² January 6, 1840.

PART VIII.

In traversing the early stages of a life, no more eventful than was the life of Douglas up to this period, one may be justified in feeling that his time had been spent unprofitably with trifles and with petty bickerings for office.

In his eagerness to reach the point when the man attracted and held the attention of the civilized world, even the biographer must partake largely of the feeling of relief when this earlier period of organizing and office getting has been passed and he is able to usher the reader into the presence of the real Douglas upon the floor of Congress, especially the Senate Chamber, fighting those terrific battles from 1850 to the day of his death. Truly, Douglas was a superb figure every minute of those fateful years, when most men would have fallen, or at least faltered before the combined assaults of the enemy, front and rear, as in 1858, and truly the reader must be pardoned for something of restlessness. At the same time, the formative period of the man's life should be learned, the better to appreciate the career of the man matured. His ambitions should be known, the better to appreciate the gratification of those ambitions.

In turning the pages of early Illinois history, it is astonishing to note the mania for public office which possessed Illinois men. It mattered not how insignificant the office, nor how mean its duties or emolument, it was fought for by an ever hungry horde. It is stated¹²³ that at the opening of the session, 1842-3 of the Illinois Legislature, that there were over 100 candidates for the offices of doorkeeper of the House and sergeant-at-arms of the Senate. In those days, members of the Legislature held by far the largest amount of State patronage, making the Governor, as one¹²³ has complained, little more than a factotum or an "out-door member." They made United States Senators and in a general way provided offices for their henchmen and in turn, henchmen for the offices. They were men of great consequence—with more patronage than a then Member of Congress, which explains to the unin-

¹²³ Ford.



COL. HARRY WILTON.

formed why so many good men sought the office which paid so miserably in money. Politics was the prevailing disease, and Douglas had it, though in no more virulent form than his great rival, Lincoln, or any of the other strong men of the State. Through the minor offices held by Douglas and their influence he not only expanded and paved the way systematically for the Senate, but he gathered about him a group of personal followers who expressed a willingness to go with their leader to the last ditch and who, as a matter of fact did it—and cheerfully. No man in public life had so many enduring, fighting friendships as Stephen A. Douglas. At last in 1842, when the term of Judge Richard M. Young for whom Douglas voted in 1836, was drawing to a close, Douglas found approaching what he considered the appointed time. Young, though a brainy man, an irreproachable man, a dignified, courtly, affable and handsome man, a sound lawyer, was generally conceded a poor politician and for his position, Douglas laid his plans; but in his lack of opposition which he had confidently expected, he very soon uncovered a miscalculation in the very earnest person of Judge Sidney Breese.¹²⁴ The attached letter to Col. Wilton of Carlyle, Breese's home town would indicate conditions better than any other words. Notice the abnegation suffered in proclaiming his candidacy and the touching reference to the Colonel who has done him the honor first to mention such a candidacy!

(Confidential)

Lewistown, Fulton Co., Mch. 27, 1842.

Col. Harry Wilton,

Dear sir:—

* * * * *

“The prospects of our party in this part of the state are good; probably better than usual.

As you were the first to solicit me to become a candidate for the U. S. Senate, I feel it my duty to inform you that our friend Breese is in the field, actively electioneering for him-

¹²⁴ Young, Breese, Douglas and McClernand were candidates.

self. He has written to the Senator in this county soliciting his support and I presume has written to each senator & candidate in all the other Democratic counties to the same effect. This is a pretty strong game & may do mischief if not counteracted. In this circuit, it will do no harm. I have not mentioned the subject of my being a candidate to a human being who has not first introduced the subject. Many kind friends have done so, and whether successful or not, I shall ever feel grateful to them.

“You will be able to inform me what the prospect is in your part of the state? and whether there is any danger of division which will result in defeating any members of the Legislature. Please write to me, and give me your views generally. I shall be at Rushville on the 1st. Monday, at Mt. Sterling on the 2d., and at Quincy on the 3d. Monday of April and will be at Quincy 2 weeks. If convenient, let me hear from you at Quincy. I remain,

truly your friend,

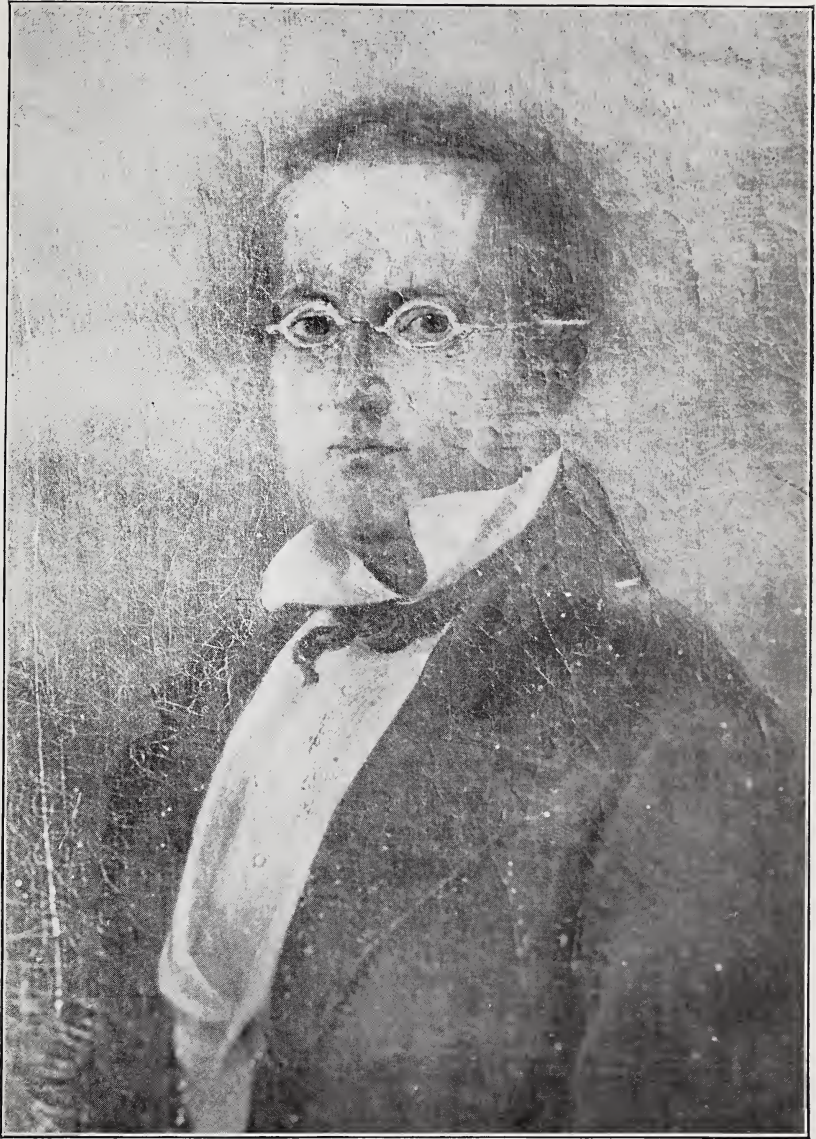
S. A. Douglass.’¹²⁵

That letter may create the impression that Douglas did little work in the face of Judge Breese’s candidacy. The fact is Douglas worked tirelessly during the campaign for the office, precipitating thereby a fight so bitter Judge Breese never forgave him. The caucus, a stormy one, met December 9 (Moses. Sheahan says 16th) 1842 and voted from 7 p. m. to 1 a. m. On the 19th ballot Judge Sidney Breese was nominated by one majority¹²⁶ by receiving 56 votes, Douglas 51 votes, John A. McClernand 3 votes and Young 1 vote. Douglas¹²⁷ at the time was but 29 years old when 30 years was the required age before a senator could take his seat. Furthermore Douglas would not be 30 on the following March 4th, when the time for taking his seat would come. It has been thought this acted against his success.

¹²⁵ Collections Chicago Historical Society.

¹²⁶ The first ballot stood: Young, 38; Douglas, 29; Breese, 28; McClernand, 18.—Sheahan, p. 54.

¹²⁷ With small prospect of success, it is said Young was induced to withdraw by promises of a place on the bench which then had two vacancies. Breese elected, made a third.—Trans. Ill. Hist. Soc., No. 11, 320.



JUDGE SIDNEY BREESE, FROM AN OIL PAINTING.



ST. LOUIS - BANK NOTE COMPANY

Very truly yours
O H Browning

Douglas returned to his court work, but he had grown restless, though not resentful like his successful rival, Breese.¹²⁸

With the 1842 campaign out of the way, pressure was brought on the Legislature to reapportion the State under the 1840 census and make room for four more members of Congress, a total of seven. This was done March 1, 1843; a special election was set for August 7 (first Monday) 1843 and the following December the successful candidates would go to Washington.

The Quincy district (fifth) composed of the counties of Adams,¹²⁹ Greene, Jersey, Calhoun, Pike, Marquette (now merged into other counties), Brown, Schuyler, Fulton, Peoria and Macoupin, was regarded as debatable territory; but with the Adams County Mormons solidly for Judge Douglas, as supposed, Douglas confident of winning both the nomination and election, practically without opposition, made ready early to stand for the office and he intrenched himself soon so firmly that he was nominated without serious opposition.¹³⁰ He was regarded as the logical candidate for the Senate in 1846 but impatient to get to Washington he chose this preliminary opportunity.

The Whigs, more than a little confident, nominated Orville H. Browning¹³¹ also of Quincy and the hottest contest for a seat in Congress that ever was fought in Illinois followed between those two men.

They stumped the district together, speaking in joint debate at every point likely to bring a body of men together. Browning, a dignified, high-toned, Kentucky gentleman, dressed himself in Kentucky jeans and appealed to his brother Kentuckians with all the eloquence he possessed. Douglas

¹²⁸ For a time it was considered probable that Gen. Semple, just then returned from his diplomatic duties at Bogota, might have secured the place; but during his absence too many promises had been made and so the party men who had united on Breese urged him to withdraw.

¹²⁹ Adams was taken from the old Whig stronghold of Morgan and Sangamon at the request of Douglas as has been stated with every show of authority.

¹³⁰ The convention was held in Suggsville, Pike County. The candidates were William A. Richardson, A. W. Cavarly, ex-Governor Thomas Carlin, ex-Senator Young and Douglas who was nominated on the second ballot.

¹³¹ Douglas was holding court in Menard county and Browning was in attendance. On the 28th day of June, 1843, Douglas resigned. That afternoon both men spoke at that county seat. The campaign was so strenuous that both were made seriously ill.

the Yankee, who could appeal probably, to a dozen Yankees in his district, took off his coat, rolled up his sleeves and appealed to his hearers for votes with all the art and noise he could muster. Thus they contended, night and day practically until the day of election, August 7, 1843. And when the returns were learned at last, Douglas found himself elected by a majority of 451 and that too without the Mormon vote which after all, had gone to Browning.

Those Mormons never were Democrats or Whigs until their instructions had been received, no matter to what lengths the candidates individually or the party may have gone to favor them and truly, no one could have done more for some of the Mormon individuals than Judge Douglas. They rather favored the Whigs, for the leverage it gave them to pry favors from the Democrats, the easier, when affecting to switch.

At about this time, troubles with the Mormons were bothering democratic politicians excessively with trying to keep them into line. The Mormons, being desirous of knowing if the militia might be sent against them, sent the friend of Douglas, Backinstos¹³² to a leading Democrat, presumed to be very near the person and counsel of Gov. Ford, to ascertain if under certain circumstances, the militia would be sent against them. The Democrat assured the messenger that it would not, whereupon, Backinstos returned, pretending to carry the most ample assurances of favor to the Mormons so long as they voted the democratic ticket. In the Hancock County district, Cyrus Walker, the personal counsel for Joe Smith; the man who had got Smith out of all his scrapes up to date, was the Whig candidate for Congress against Hoge, the democrat. With the support of the Mormons, Walker

¹³² "This Backinstos formerly resided in Sangamon County. There he had credit to get a stock of goods and set up as a merchant. The goods were immediately transferred to his brother, leaving the debt for them unpaid. Here too, he became acquainted with Judge Douglas, and here commenced that indissoluble friendship between them, which has continued inviolate ever since. Douglas was appointed to hold courts in Hancock County; and Backinstos, having broken up in Sangamon, had gone over to Hancock seeking his fortunes. * * * Backinstos was a smart-looking, shrewd, cunning, plausible man, of such easy manners, that he was likely to have great influence with the Mormons. In due time, Judge Douglas appointed him to be Clerk of the Circuit Court, and this gave him almost absolute power with that people in all political contests * * * and, finally, to reward him for his great public service, he was appointed captain of a rifle company in the United States Army."—Ford, 408-9.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, 1842-1843,
WHEN FIRST ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

probably would have been elected. Backinstos returned only a few days before election day which gave the leaders but a short time to operate. A great meeting was called of several thousand Mormons to receive the law and sundry revelations, which were made convenient accessories always. Hiram or Hyrum as he spelled it, Smith, patriarch in the Mormon Church, brother to the Prophet Joseph, appeared in the great assembly and there solemnly announced that God had revealed to him that the Mormons must support Hoge for Congress, the democratic candidate. William Law, another powerful leader, denied that the Lord had made any such revelation. He stated that the Prophet, Joseph, was in favor of Walker and that the Prophet was more likely to know the will of the Lord on the subject than the patriarch. Hyrum repeated his revelation with much greater show and tone of authority, which conveniently left the mind of the people in heavy doubt, though very likely to vote as did the Prophet Joseph, who favored Walker and, naturally the other Whigs over the State. The next day, being Sunday, Joseph Smith himself appeared before the assembly to state: "He, himself was in favor of Walker the Whig candidate for Congress and intended to vote for him; that he would not, if he could, influence any voter in giving his vote; that he considered it a mean business for him or any other man to attempt to dictate to the people who they should support in elections; that he had heard his brother Hyrum had received a revelation from the Lord on the subject; that for his part he did not much believe in revelations on the subject of elections; but brother Hyrum was a man of truth; he had known brother Hyrum intimately ever since he was a boy, and he had never known him to tell a lie. If brother Hyrum said he had received such a revelation, he had no doubt it was a fact. When the Lord speaks, let all the earth be silent!"¹³³

The mind of the Mormons became cleared at once and on the following day, the Mormon vote to the extent of something like 3,000 went to Mr. Hoge, the democrat. The Mor-

¹³³ Ford.

mons, living in the next district, could not be reached in time to be ordered to vote for Douglas and almost to a man, they cast their votes for Browning. Had not Gustavus Koerner,¹³⁴ of Belleville, come over into the Douglas district to work, without any doubt, Browning would have been elected and Douglas had been compelled to wait for a Senatorship, without the prestige of official power and patronage.

Douglas needed rest and recuperation. He had been from home just ten years. He had won an election to the Congress of the United States, and like a boy ready to return home from school to recount his triumphs, he turned homeward, to wave aloft his certificate of election. He went direct to Cleveland, to his cousin's, where he had been so hospitably cared for during his long siege of sickness in 1833. There he remained a little while, no longer than necessary to do his duty to those kind relatives, because there lurked within his breast a burning desire to run to his mother and show to her the little piece of paper which she had so many times urged and encouraged him to seek. And to his old Canandaigua home he traveled, and in Canandaigua he tarried until the day came for him to take his seat in the halls of a United States Congress.

Douglas did not take that seat perfunctorily after the manner of a man hardened against sentiment with long holding of office, or senseless of its honor. It meant to him a great honor; the gratification of a long cherished ambition and he was just boyish enough so to regard it. From this day, a new Douglas is unfolded to us. He gets his first glimpse of statecraft and men high in the affairs of the Nation. Here he meets for the first time, faces made familiar from reputation. Here he meets faces which like his own, had never peeped into the halls of Congress before. Here he meets faces jubilant, expectant and proud, like his own and here for the first time, he is permitted to meet faces which with his are to become familiar to us all in the mightiest of struggles. Among the number of new acquaintances, one man particularly attracted him, as he attracted that other. David C. Reid, a

¹³⁴ The territory which constituted the Fifth Congressional District gave Van Buren but one majority in 1840.—Moses.

little man in avoirdupois, sat next him. He weighed within three pounds of Douglas, whose weight had been reduced by sickness to 105 pounds. The age of the new acquaintance proved to be within five days of the age of Douglas and the height of that new acquaintance was within a fraction of the height of Douglas. They introduced themselves, theirs grew into an attachment which nothing but death sundered. When during the session, an uncle of Mr. Reid, Hon. Robert Martin, governor of the board of directors of the State Bank of North Carolina, came to town with his beautiful daughter, Miss Martha, she was introduced to Douglas by Reid, her first cousin. When the first vacation came along, Reid invited his friend Douglas to spend a part of it with him and he did. And too, he once more met Miss Martin at her beautiful home on the Dan River in Rockingham County and when Douglas took his departure, he carried back to Illinois, the impression that results from politics were much more gratifying to him than to most men who seek happiness through that uncertain medium. He had fallen in love with Miss Martin!

PART IX.

Douglas stood for unity. He stood for peace, to secure which he was found conciliating and conceding. His first utterances upon the floor had peace for their object. When after moving to substitute a select committee of nine for the Committee on Commerce, which had been recommended to consider so much of the President's message as referred to western waters, Mr. Kennedy of Indiana referred to the "neglected west," and urged all western members to oppose the Committee on Commerce because it was composed entirely of eastern and southern members, Douglas rose to pour oil upon the troubled waters. The running debate which had followed the introduction of Mr. Douglas' amendment, but accentuated the anger of Mr. Kennedy who expended his wrath freely upon divers eastern members for their antag-

onism of what he was pleased to style "everything western." Douglas believed that his state would enjoy a more respectful consideration through insistence agreeably made than by awakening hostility through the use of reproachful terms. Said Mr. Douglas upon that occasion: "Mr. Douglas was pleased that this debate had produced one good effect—that of showing that, if there had been doubts existing of the feeling of the North towards the interests of the West, those doubts could now no longer remain. When he heard his friend from Indiana call upon the western valley *en masse*, to array itself against the other portions of the Union, in solid phalanx, he confessed that he heard it with regret. He denied that the western interests were antagonistic to the interests of other states;¹³⁵ the interests of all were identical, and any gentleman there was promoting the interest of all when he was improving those great natural means of communication.

He favored the proposition for a select committee of nine, not because he had any objection to the Committee on Commerce, or to any other standing committee, but because the interests involved were very important, and to some extent local in their character; and that those interests might come fairly and fully before the House, he deemed it right and proper that they should be referred to a committee that had some knowledge of details and local information in reference to those interests."

That spirit of comity, inspired the actions of Stephen A. Douglas all his life, whenever an instance of sectionalism obtruded itself dangerously near the dead line.

Stephen A. Douglas the Senator, must be taken in the light of the times in which he lived. His position as leader of a great party which clung tenaciously to the institution of slavery, and the constitutional provision which permitted it, must not be considered lightly. To amend that constitution, insurmountable obstacles must be overcome. What was Douglas to do? Apostatize and recommend war? At any stage

¹³⁵ It may be interesting to note that in this fight Hardin fought valiantly for what he maintained to be western rights, while Douglas was accused of trimming, just as in the year 1834, when first emerging into notice, Hardin, in his Whig newspaper accused him of being a dodger.

of Douglas life, to precipitate the abolition of slavery, meant war, to avert which, he contended for peace through a principle to which his party subscribed for three campaigns and to which the Whigs, driven by popular demand, at last unanimously gave their party adhesion in their platform.

On Monday, the fourth day of December, 1843, Douglas was sworn into office and took his seat¹³⁶ with John A. McClernand, John J. Hardin,¹³⁷ his old time rival, Orlando B. Ficklin, Robert Smith, John Wentworth and Joseph P. Hoge, as colleagues. Smith, Hardin and McClernand served with him in that celebrated Tenth General Assembly of 1836-8, while over in the Senate, sat the Speaker of that same Assembly, James Semple. Verily it may be said of him that Douglas was sitting among friends, though Hardin was a Whig!

As one proceeds with the Congressional Globe and finds therein the almost constant recurrence of Douglas' name, it quite naturally excites mirth to read statements from other sources that he remained quiescent for a considerable period, satisfied, in the background, to learn how things were done in Congress. The idea must have developed from the circumstance of an early absence for six weeks, enforced upon him by the lingering effects of his terrific campaign with Browning. In the fight which Mr. Adams made to have expunged the infamous rule No. 21 which excluded the reception of abolition petitions from consideration by the House, Douglas voted to retain it, conformably with the expressed sentiment of his State Legislature. That was his first congressional action which had to do with slavery.

Upon the announcement of the formation of the committees of the House, Douglas found himself upon the Committee on Elections, but after his Andrew Jackson speech which gave him the position in the public view which he desired, the Speaker became so impressed with his ability that he placed Douglas upon the important Committee on Judiciary, vice Mr. Wilkins, chairman, resigned,¹³⁸ though, of course, he did not succeed to the chairmanship.

¹³⁶ Expiration of term, March 3, 1845.

¹³⁷ The only Whig in the delegation.

¹³⁸ February 24, 1844.

Besides the movements already noticed, Douglas nominated Rev. Henry W. Dodge, a Baptist clergyman, for the position of Chaplain of the House, and though not elected, Mr. Dodge received a vote which indicates that Douglas must have encouraged the election of his protege with a good deal of vigor.

His Jackson speech which claimed attention on January 7 puts to rout utterly the suggestion of a quiescent Mr. Douglas.

The subject of the remission of the fine imposed upon Andrew Jackson adjusted itself with commendable nicety for the purposes of Douglas. The Canandaigua argument had never lost a line of its original force within his breast. Very early,¹³⁹ too, the Illinois Legislature passed a resolution which warranted any liberty his ambition might dictate upon the subject.

At all events, on December 13, 1843, pursuant to previous notice, Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania asked leave and introduced a bill to refund the fine imposed upon General Andrew Jackson, consideration of which, then and there was set for "the day after tomorrow, before the Committee of the Whole House." But the bill was not considered until January, 7, 1844, when a debate of considerable feeling was precipitated; enough to present to Douglas a very much desired opportunity to display his knowledge of the subject, as well as his love for his old hero. It is to be doubted if the scholarly Mr. Adams found any fault with that effort of Douglas in behalf of Jackson. In his speech which is conceded to have made a more than favorable impression for its author, Douglas justified the time, place and the man with such logic and spirit that it may be said, the bill was adopted as much through his influence as for any other cause. It pleased his friends in the House immensely and when copies of it reached his Illinois constituents as they did duly, in great numbers, it pleased them almost beyond its merit. It impressed strangers; it overcame much of the prejudice among

¹³⁹ December 7, 1842. Session Laws Illinois, first session, 1842-3, p. 321.

older members like that noted in the journal of Mr. Adams and it excused or caused to be overlooked the first impression that Douglas, for a new member, was altogether too much in evidence. In Congress, the speech was regarded as something impromptu, which added not a little to the reputation of Douglas the ready debater. Little they knew of his rehearsals of the subject beginning back in Vermont when as an apprentice, he harangued his young fellows and made himself one of a party to tear down the brutal coffin handbills. Even Hardin who enjoyed a quiet laugh, permitted nothing to leak which might diminish the growing reputation of his rival, Douglas. Upon the contrary, he congratulated Douglas in public and with sincerity. The speech established the character of Douglas as a ready debater and as a lawyer as already seen by his appointment on the Judiciary Committee soon afterwards. This thought should not be forgotten, however, when considering that speech from the standpoint of a rehearsal:—Had the man been no debater; had he lacked boldness and ability, his reputation had perished. That ability and his born capacity for leadership, pushed him to the front rank of debaters in the American Congress when it contained the names of Webster, Clay, Benton and Calhoun.

The statement may have been made in these pages that Douglas possessed no sense of humor. In one particular, it should receive qualification: It will be found in that speech and in point of fact, begins it. Listen! “When this bill was introduced by the learned gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. C. J. Ingersoll), I entertained the hope that it would be permitted to pass without discussion and without opposition.”

When, after the adjournment of Congress, James K. Polk, having been nominated by the Democrats for President, a sort of ratification meeting was held at Nashville, Douglas among others, went thence to meet at last, the man about whom he had made so many speeches. The meeting was of an unusual character. Mr. William Walters, editor of the *Illinois State Register*, was among the number present at that meeting and was at the side of Douglas when the latter

was introduced to the famous old hero. Of that meeting, or the convention as he has styled it, he wrote to his paper the following:

“At the Nashville Convention of August last, we visited the Hermitage, only twelve miles distant, in company with Judge Douglas, of this state, and some others of our fellow-citizens. The Hermitage was crowded with people from almost every state, who had been invited thither by the venerable patriot on the day succeeding the convention.

Governor Clay, of Alabama, was near General Jackson, who was himself sitting on a sofa in the hall, and as each person entered the governor introduced him to the hero and he passed along. When Judge Douglas was thus introduced, General Jackson raised his still brilliant eyes and gazed for a moment in the countenance of the judge, still retaining his hand. ‘Are you the Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, who delivered a speech last session on the subject of the fine imposed on me for declaring martial law at New Orleans?’ asked General Jackson.

‘I have delivered a speech in the House of Representatives upon that subject,’ was the modest reply of our friend.

‘Then stop,’ said General Jackson; ‘sit down here beside me. I desire to return my thanks for that speech. You are the first man that has ever relieved my mind on a subject which has rested upon it for thirty years. My enemies have always charged me with violating the Constitution of my country by declaring martial law at New Orleans, and my friends have always admitted the violation, but have contended that circumstances justified me in that violation. I never could understand how it was that the performance of a solemn duty to my country—a duty which, if I had neglected, would have made me a traitor in the sight of God and man, could properly be pronounced a violation of the Constitution. I felt convinced in my own mind that I was not guilty of such a heinous offense; but I could never make out a legal justification of my course, nor has it ever been done, sir, until you, on the floor of Congress, at the late session, established

it beyond the possibility of cavil or doubt. I thank you, sir, for that speech. It has relieved my mind from the only circumstance that rested painfully upon it.

Throughout my whole life I never performed an official act which I viewed as a violation of the Constitution of my country; and I can now go down to the grave in peace, with the perfect consciousness that I have not broken, at any period of my life, the Constitution or laws of my country.'

Thus spoke the old hero, his countenance brightened by emotions which it is impossible for us to describe. We turned to look at Douglas—he was speechless. He could not reply, but convulsively shaking the aged veteran's hand, he rose and left the hall. Certainly General Jackson had paid him the highest compliment he could have bestowed on any individual.'¹⁴⁰

When at a later period, Francis P. Blair,¹⁴⁰ the literary executor of Jackson, opened the papers which came to him, he found among the number a pamphlet copy of the Douglas speech upon which was endorsed in the writing of Jackson, himself, these words: "This speech constitutes my defense; I lay it aside as an inheritance for my grandchildren."

If the visit to Jackson did not repay Douglas for his years of constancy and devotion, his full reward came on January 8, 1853,¹⁴⁰ when he was invited to deliver the oration when the equestrian statue of Jackson was unveiled in Lafayette Square, Washington.

Although Douglas, by the Jackson speech, had won his reputation, there yet clung to him many of his western, vote-catching peccadilloes which interrupted many an otherwise serene moment in the life of Mr. Adams:

"His face was convulsed," wrote Mr. Adams. "His gesticulation frantic, and he lashed himself into such a heat that if his body had been made of combustible matter, it would have burnt out. In the midst of his roaring, to save himself from choking, he stripped and cast away his coat, unbuttoned his waist-coat and had the air and aspect of a half naked pugi-

¹⁴⁰ Sheahan, 70.

list. And this man comes from a judicial bench and poses for an eloquent orator!"¹⁴¹

Half naked pugilist! How very fortunate for Mr. Adams that the particular leaflet of his journal did not blow over to the desk of Mr. Douglas on that day, especially if it were the day of the delivery of the Jackson speech!

The dignified and scholarly Mr. Adams had not the misfortune to depend upon the votes of hardy and not too learned pioneers and their barbecue methods. More than likely, Mr. Douglas did froth at the mouth at some of his meetings during the hot competitions with Stuart and Browning. The most respectable authority, living in Chicago until his death,¹⁴² had seen just such a spectacle, but nothing of a disquieting nature was thought of the scene where noise was a factor in vote getting contests.

Throughout the pages of the *Globe*, he is found opposing the construction of railroads, on constitutional grounds, quoting in every instance, in support of that position, certain vetoes of his old friend Andrew Jackson. But with bills providing for the construction of harbors and the improvement of the larger waterways, especially those of the west,¹⁴³ he is found voting for them indiscriminately, and so he continued to vote until with a better knowledge and more conservatism, he became much more careful of his vote. At that later period he favored railroads strongly. During the sickness already referred to, it came to the ears of Douglas that the Ohio and Indiana members, including his friend Kennedy, had fused their strength for the purpose of doubling the appropriation for the Ohio River at the expense of the Illinois River, the especial pride of Douglas, which was to be dropped. Without any doubt, Douglas grew excited. He dressed and returned to the House only to find that an agreement had been reached by the Committee of the Whole House, to discontinue arguments on bill 126, making appropriations for certain western harbors and rivers. While taking his seat,

¹⁴¹ William Garrott Brown, 31.

¹⁴² Mr. Paul Selby.

¹⁴³ He had been instructed so to vote, by resolution. Session Laws, Ill's, 1842-3, first session, page 337.

just as he had been advised, Mr. McDonald moved to strike out of the bill the word, "Illinois."

Mr. Douglas asked the committee to indulge him a few remarks in consideration of the very great interest he had in the subject of the Illinois River. But very courteously, the Speaker, in the face of objection, declined. Mr. Wentworth, who had spoken to the bill at considerable length, pleaded the absence by sickness of his colleague. Mr. Hardin magnanimously seconded the efforts of Mr. Wentworth, but to no purpose; the Speaker was inexorable and Mr. Douglas was forced to sit and take the chance of losing a valuable opportunity and the appropriation besides. But, the amendment failed and the bill passed the committee and was ordered to be reported to the House. On the 17th, April, the same Western Harbor Bill came up for further action under the previous question, moved by Mr. Wentworth. Mr. Douglas, who again was late, feared an ambush and begged the privilege of making a few remarks. Mr. Wentworth obligingly withdrew the previous question and Douglas consumed his very last minute, concluding with the following words: "the navigable stream which it was constitutional to improve, was a stream which God Almighty had made, and not the artificial work of man!"—with an emphasis peculiar to himself. Without any doubt, Mr. Douglas was sincere and positive as he was always, and without any doubt the venerable Mr. Adams heard him distinctly. At all events, the latter made in his journal, a note of the event, at the time, April 17, 1844, in the following language: "The Western Harbor Bill was taken up and the previous question was withdrawn for the *homunsulus* Douglas to poke out a speech in favor of the constitutionality of appropriations for the improvement of western rivers and harbors. The debate was continued between the conflicting absurdities of the Southern democracy, which is slavery, and the western democracy, which is knavery."

Homunsulus! Knavery! and the little giant battling for his conscience and the constitution, against the myrmidons of the Ohio and Indiana cabal!

When Mr. Hardin, the old rival from Jacksonville, opposed serving notice upon England to terminate the joint occupation of Oregon¹⁴⁴ and the measure for the re-annexation of Texas, Mr. Douglas replied to his remarks with vigor, especially with reference to the Oregon question. With respect to that question he held radical opinions.

"It therefore becomes us to put this nation in a state of defense; and when we are told that this will lead to war, all I have to say is this, violate no treaty stipulations, nor any principle of the law of nations; preserve the honor and integrity of the country, but, at the same time, assert our right to the last inch, and then if war comes, let it come. We may regret the necessity which produced it, but when it does come, I would administer to our citizens Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity, and not terminate the war until the question was settled forever. I would blot out the lines on the map which now mark our national boundaries on this continent, and make the area of liberty as broad as the continent itself. I would not suffer petty rival republics to grow up here, engendering jealousy of each other, and interfering with each other's domestic affairs, and continually endangering their peace. I do not wish to go beyond the great ocean—beyond those boundaries which the God of Nature has marked out. I would limit myself only by that boundary which is so clearly defined by nature."¹⁴⁵

Again:

"Our federal system is admirably adapted to the whole continent; and while I would not violate the laws of nations, nor treaty stipulations, nor in any manner tarnish the national honor, I would exert all legal and honorable means to drive Great Britain and the last vestiges of royal authority from the continent of North America, and extend the limits of the republic from ocean to ocean. I would make this an ocean-bound republic, and have no more disputes about boundaries, or 'red-lines' upon the maps."

¹⁴⁴ By resolution, the Illinois Senators were instructed by the legislature, and the Representatives were requested to support a bill introduced by Senator Linn, having in view the termination of the Oregon arrangement. Session Laws, 1842-3, first session, 332-3.

¹⁴⁵ June 3, 1844.

It has been said,¹⁴⁶ with truth that Douglas' speech upon the Oregon question attached to his fortunes, the young men of the country and brought from their throats, shouts of derision for the old fogies who timidly opposed the fifty four-forty boundary.¹⁴⁷

It may have been the foregoing remarks of Mr. Douglas which caused Mr. Adams to make another entry in his journal like this: "raved an hour about democracy and anglophobia and universal empire."

Douglas was bold in his Americanism, as he was conscientious and when he savagely attacked England and her pretensions, he had no political effect in mind. Neither did he nurse any of the policies styled "jingoism." He was an American, constantly enlarging until after awhile, we find him passing the ocean boundaries and predicting the possibilities of other possessions one day, out into the Pacific and which today we have. He may have been a little rougher and more passionate than Jackson in that Americanism, but as rugged and sincere as Jackson, the best day of the latter's life. As an expansionist, Douglas was a consistent as well as an insistent one. He acknowledged no limitations to the possibilities of his country either in power or territorial boundary upon the western hemisphere. He was looking ever for its glory and in 1861, he "would not see it then curtailed by treachery."¹⁴⁸

He was of the number who contended that Texas never should have been sundered from the Louisiana purchase, and as the only possible measure which would relieve his country from the obloquy of that retrocession to Spain, he favored and demanded its return. During that first Congress in whose sessions he participated, no less than eleven resolutions were introduced having for their object, the re-annexation of Texas, one of which he introduced and which he tried to have

¹⁴⁶ S. S. Cox.

¹⁴⁷ Legislation on the Oregon question took no definite form during the 28th Congress. The Baltimore convention which had nominated Polk, incorporated a resolution in its platform, claiming the whole of the territory of Oregon, and Polk himself desired it, but Buchanan, his Secretary of State, diplomatically forced an acceptance of 40° as the dividing line, agreeably with the overtures made by Calhoun to the British Government, when the latter was Secretary of State.

¹⁴⁸ S. S. Cox.

substituted for the original measure when it came up for consideration. Upon that motion, he made another, and as many of his admirers have said, a much stronger speech¹⁴⁹ than his effort in behalf of Jackson; but, in that effort, he was unsuccessful and the other resolution at last was passed. His speech, however, served the purposes of support to the measure, and must stand as his first and one of his best efforts at quick reply in debate, as well as annihilation of his opponent in effect.

Mr. Adams had made a determined stand against re-annexation. He had decreed its futility and its rank partisanship as well as its almost criminal injustice. Without apparent preparation or research, Douglas turned upon the venerable member with these words: * * * "I cannot permit such palpable injustice to the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts as to allow the origin of the movement to be traced to any other individual. It will be recollected that, in 1825, Mr. Adams (then President of the United States) directed his Secretary of State (Mr. Clay) to instruct our Minister at Mexico, to open negotiations for the immediate re-annexation of Texas to the United States; whereupon Mr. Clay immediately wrote his dispatch to Mr. Poinsett, which I now hold in my hand, informing him of the wishes of the President in regard to the annexation of Texas, and instructing him to use his best efforts to secure the reunion of that country to this. I commend this letter especially to the friends of Messrs. Adams and Clay, as a clear exposition of the great and numerous advantages this country would derive from the annexation of Texas."

A letter to the same effect written by Adams in 1827, was referred to at the same time, which for the moment at least, threw the opposition into consternation and placed Judge Douglas into the front rank of resourceful as well as bold fighters of his party. The speech, like its predecessor, was distributed over the State of Illinois and had an indisputable influence with placing him in direct line for the Senate. Doug-

¹⁴⁹ January 6, 1845.

las not only had impressed his friends but had vanquished his opponents, thereby strengthening the party materially.

Polk, the nominee of the Democratic party and who was especially anxious to bring in Texas during his administration, openly expressed the desire for the return to Congress of Douglas, whose assistance on the floor of the House, he desired for that purpose.

But it will be remembered that Tyler with the same ambition, despatched a messenger to Texas and secured the assent of Texas to annexation during the expiring days of his term of office, thus, in a measure, stealing the glory which Polk had coveted.

His stout Americanism is seen again while opposing the Mexican and the Clayton-Bulwer treaties, the latter of which received his especial attention and fervor in denouncing the stipulation that the United States should never annex, occupy or colonize any portion of Central America nor erect therein fortifications.

“But I cannot close my eyes to the history of this country for the last half century. Fifty years ago the question was being debated in this Senate whether it was wise or not to acquire any territory on the west bank of the Mississippi, and it was then contended that we could never, with safety, extend beyond that river. It was at that time seriously considered whether the Alleghany Mountains should not be the barrier beyond which we should never pass. At a subsequent date, after we acquired Louisiana and Florida, more liberal views began to prevail, and it was thought that perhaps we might venture to establish one tier of states west of the Mississippi; but in order to prevent the sad calamity of an undue expansion of our territory, the policy was adopted of establishing an Indian Territory, with titles in perpetuity, all along the western borders of those states, so that no more new states could possibly be created in that direction. That barrier could not arrest the onward progress of our people. They burst through it, and passed the Rocky Mountains, and were only arrested by the waters of the Pacific. Who then, is pre-

pared to say that in the progress of events, having met with the barrier of the ocean in our western course, we may not be compelled to turn to the north and to the south for an outlet? . . .

You may make as many treaties as you please to fetter the limbs of this giant republic, and she will burst them all from her, and her course will be onward to a limit which I will not venture to prescribe. Why the necessity of pledging your faith that you will never annex any more of Mexico? * * *

While Douglas was an expansionist regardless of the accident of location, he was the true and loyal champion of expansion for the great unoccupied country to the west and northwest to which he refers in the speech just quoted and from those very words, the time and the manner he chose to open that country to settlement should excite no surprise or hasty criticism.

On December 17, 1844, almost at the beginning of the second session of the 28th Congress, he asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill to establish the Territory of Nebraska. The bill was read twice and referred to the Committee on Territories and ordered to be printed, but it seems to have died at that point. That was the first of his relations with Nebraska, the boundaries of which were proposed as follows:

“Commencing at the junction of the Kansas with the Missouri river; thence following the channel of the Missouri river to its confluence with the Qui Court, or Running Water river; thence following up the latter river to the 43d degree of north latitude; thence due west to the summit of the grand chain of the Rocky Mountains; thence due south to the 42d degree of latitude; thence pursuing the line agreed upon between Spain and the United States, February 22, 1819, as the boundary between the territories of the two countries, to the 100th degree of longitude west from Greenwich; thence following the course of the Arkansas river until it intersects the 38th parallel of latitude at a point east of the 98th degree of longitude; thence due east on the 38th parallel to the

boundary line of the state of Missouri; thence north on the said boundary line of the state of Missouri to the place of beginning.'"¹⁵⁰

He was beginning his career of empire builder. As an expansionist he ranked with Jefferson. Back in Illinois he had busied himself exclusively with office getting and party building. In Congress, finding himself able to serve his country he selected for his future work its enlargement and strengthening by advocating first, the erection of new territories with a form of government to invite and then to protect citizens from Indians and anarchy, after which statehood at the earliest opportunity.

In this work his pathway was beset with all manner of difficulties. The east was jealous of the west's development from commercial reasons and Douglas learned later that the south was jealous from its apprehension of danger to slavery. Douglas hated jealousy. In the language of the legal document,—*Forasmuch* therefore:—

He began his efforts by asking for the establishment of military posts in Nebraska and Oregon. The bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs where it died. His bills of 1844 and 1848 for the erection of Nebraska territory were introduced thus early as he said subsequently to serve notice on the Secretary of War that he must not locate any more Indians there and therein Douglas was successful.¹⁵¹

In the face of opposition it became Douglas business now to assist the west in settlement. He favored liberal naturalization laws to draw emigrants from Europe towards that country. He favored liberal laws for the purchase of the government lands. He knew very well, too, that once under the benign influence of our laws, those emigrants after their struggles with oppression, would favor freedom here for themselves and freedom for the blacks as well. Very well he knew that those emigrants would settle in a zone no warmer than the one they had left and that that circumstance would keep them above the Mason and Dixon line. And Douglas was

¹⁵⁰ History of Nebraska by Clarence S. Paine and others.

¹⁵¹ "Constitutional and Party Questions," J. M. Cutts, 90 and 92.

right! To still further hasten the settlement of the west Douglas advocated government assistance for the transcontinental railroad lines just as he favored government assistance for the Illinois Central Railroad for his own State of Illinois. With the south practically at the end of its resources for territory out of which to make slave states on the one hand and the immense expanse of territory which by filling with settlers would become free states, it should require no enlargement of the imagination to credit Douglas with a desire to remove the bone of contention by the peaceful means of voting. And to the foresight of Douglas it must be said the clash was deferred until the western country had been so filled with free state people willing to back their opinions with arms, that failure for the north became impossible.

With the admission of Florida he voted for the admission of Iowa. He urged the re-annexation of Texas; at the same time he urged the service of notice to England to terminate the joint occupation of Oregon.

Douglas' fine business judgment must have some credit for his policy. He was a good business man and while he could see the possibility of Chicago and Illinois becoming beneficiaries from the growth of trade in the west, the east, too, gradually dismissed the notion that that wilderness when subdued would remove the glory of the east to the city of Chicago.

Douglas could and did see that the Missouri river would be reached sometime by railway lines leading from Chicago:—"Whitney had come home from Europe in 1844 enthusiastic in the conviction of the need and practicability of a railway to the Pacific, and as early as January, 1845, he memorialized both houses of Congress in favor of such a project."¹⁵²

PART X.

But very little contact with southern members, was required to impress upon the mind of Douglas the importance

¹⁵² History of Nebraska, volume 1, page 136.

of southern acquaintance and friendship to him who aspired to leadership in the Democratic party. His southern associates were found to be affable, highly polished, able and upright gentlemen. Their economy and solicitude for the country's finances were especially noticeable. They made little noise in debate, but—more particularly over in the Senate—they moved forward with a glacial, unyielding unity and precision that rivaled Nature's very best effort. With such a force behind an ambition, what could not be accomplished? Douglas perceived just as early, that the friendship or assistance of those quiet gentlemen who manipulated so successfully, that beautiful piece of mechanism, was not to be seduced by a slap on the shoulder or by other familiar methods so popular in the little towns and upon the broad prairies of Illinois. An almost magic transformation followed. His very warm support of the Texas measure made something of an opening. His vacation trip to North Carolina may or may not have been made with reference to superinducing a North Carolina acquaintance. Just the same it was made, and brought with it some more than valuable friendships in the South. His speech of January 6, 1845, produced a sensation. It was a catchy speech, not alone because it drove Adams to cover and into a state of helplessness, but for the all around master he showed himself to be of the political history of his country and his ability to marshal and mass insuperable facts and hurl them at an adversary with the rapidity and force of bolts of lightning; in the case of Adams, annihilating him. And all, too, without the first reference to the subject of slavery, except to insist that the Missouri restriction should be applied to the new possessions.¹⁵³ Wherefore, it may be said truthfully, that it is doubtful if any member of Congress had ever impressed his fellow members with so much favor as did Douglas during the brief first session of Congress of which he was a member.

The Oregon and Texas annexation questions, being the vital issues of the 1844 campaign, it could not have been other-

¹⁵³ Greeley's attack upon this provision, possesses but little force. No matter how Texas boundary lines came to include territory north of 36° 30', they nevertheless did embrace it.

wise than gratifying to notice incorporated into the principal Democratic campaign pamphlet, the remarks which he had made when replying to Hardin during the running debate with that gentleman. Douglas found himself advancing perceptibly toward a position of leadership. As a pace-maker for his party, it may be said that no Democrat before that time had been permitted such advancement without the exhibition of petty jealousies or a show of temper from one individual source or another. Douglas pushed forward as is said of the locomotive with a full head of steam on, corroborating what has been said of him many times, that he was a born leader, if the genius of leadership may be considered a matter of birth. He had dropped into new surroundings easily and he adapted himself to them instinctively. And so early as the close of the first half of the session, it is doubtful if any member of Congress ever took to his home more good wishes for a bright future than the proud young legislator from Quincy, Illinois. His boyish, vivacious personality had charmed his Southern associates, though some of them opposed his western improvement schemes with a vigor which at the moment might have implied dislike.

Without opposition, he was re-nominated and in the contest which followed in August, 1844, with D. M. Woodson and Richard Ellis, Douglas was returned to office by an increased majority.¹⁵⁴

When, therefore, Douglas returned to Illinois after the expiration of his first term in March, 1845, it was as the first Democrat of his state, easily. During the summer of 1845, no elections occupied his attention. Little was required of him and but for the increased friction and constant outbreaks between the Mormons and the Gentiles, nothing happened which should bring his name up for consideration. Mormon arrogance and Gentile resistance and then Gentile arrogance and pugnacity however were making the political life of Governor Ford intolerable. No sooner was one breach of the peace mended, but another from an altogether distant and

¹⁵⁴ Douglas, 9,799; Woodson, 8,043; Ellis, 346.

unlooked for part of the country demanded his immediate interference with a *posse comitatus*, or the militia with Hardin at its head. Bitterly he complained that in the distribution of offices, he was surrounded by an army of Democrats,¹⁵⁵ but when desiring an army of another kind to suppress mobs and mob laws, he was forced to apply to the Whigs.

In September, 1845, Douglas was called upon by Governor Ford, to assist in suppressing the difficulties which had taken an acute form between the Mormons and the anti-Mormons. At Morley settlement in Hancock County, the anti-Mormons held a meeting to prevent further acts of thievery which had become as was alleged, intolerable. During the session, indoors, a gun was discharged without, two or three times, which it was claimed proceeded from Mormons said to be spying upon the actions of their enemies at the meeting. The anti-Mormons claimed, though without any warrant for the truth of the assertion, that the shots were aimed at the house in which the meeting was held. At once, the cry was raised that the Mormons were in arms for the purpose of waging war upon their enemies. Volunteers at once rushed to the scene, resolved to expel the Mormons at any cost. Many Mormon dwellings were burned and the homeless Mormons fled into Nauvoo for protection. Very naturally, the Mormons resented the lawlessness of the Gentiles. From resentment, came the word that the Mormons were marching to assist their friends at Morley. More Gentiles armed and began a disgraceful predatory war upon the helpless Mormons, burning their property and destroying the gathered crops wherever possible. Near Lima, the flouring and carding mills of a Mormon named Buel, were burned. Old Quincy friends joined the Gentiles' cause and in solemn council it was resolved that the Mormons must go. Under the pressure of fear for their lives as well as their property, the Saints came to the same conclusion and in a council of their own, held September 9, it was resolved that a pioneer company of 1,500 be selected to go to Salt Lake Valley after a committee

¹⁵⁵ Douglas was not a Major in the Mormon War, as has been stated. He had no other connection with it than that mentioned in these pages.

of five had gathered the information necessary for so perilous a migration. The Quincy meeting named six months for the removal, but as Spring would not then have been advanced far enough to warrant immunity from the cold, the Council answered on September 24, that their departure should begin so soon as weather permitted, during which time the Mormons demanded protection from further molestation by armed forces, which was agreed to. But over at Carthage, independent of the arrangement made by and through the Quincy people, a convention of delegates from eight or nine of the adjacent counties was held about the end of September at which it was expected that measures might be adopted or projected, of a nature to precipitate bloodshed and perhaps a small war. Governor Ford went over to Jacksonville and there met Gen. Hardin, Judge Douglas, J. A. McDougall and Maj. W. B. Warren, who were sent to Nauvoo to demand the departure of the Mormons as the only possible escape from very undesirable consequences. The committee was met by the Council of Twelve with the President, Brigham Young, at its head. The Council promised to leave as soon as the weather would permit.

“What guaranty will you give us?” Hardin demanded.

“You have our all as guaranty,” answered Young.

“You’re right,” said Douglas, and as desired by the other members of the committee, the Council wrote an agreement to that effect and delivered it to Douglas. That act terminated the relations of Douglas with the Mormons. In the face of the universal hatred of Mormons and those that favored them, Douglas stood out boldly for the right. His conscience had been appealed to and without regard for consequences, he demanded justice for the Mormons. From that moment, however, his friendship for them disappeared. In a speech delivered at Springfield, in the year 1856, he referred to them as “the loathsome ulcer of the body politic.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Bancroft's History Utah, 211-212, and for the speech, page 492.

PART XI.

The 29th Congress met December 1, 1845. Douglas was made chairman of the Committee on Territories. On December 10th, he reported a joint resolution for the formal admission of Texas as a state, which was carried on the 16th by a vote of 141 to 56; the Senate concurred by a vote of 31 to 13.

But with the still unsettled Oregon question, success for Polk and the party, was not found to be a source of unmixed pleasure. To notify England of our withdrawal of the long standing agreement of the joint occupation of Oregon, would have occasioned no interruptions to the friendly relations existing between the two countries; but to insist as per platform, upon 54° 40' north latitude as the boundary line of Oregon, was discovered very early to mean probable war with England. The ante-election cry of "Fifty four-Forty or Fight!" gave to political speakers and candidates magnificent opportunity to wax eloquent and defeat opposing Whigs, but to make similar demonstrations in Congress while supporting a resolution to that effect, carried official notice to England to arm if she cared to dispute the proposition, and it very presently developed that she did.

Upon the stump, no one had been louder than Douglas for a fight if England did not accept our claims of territory up to 54° 40'. Upon the floor of the House during the 28th Congress he had urged it to the extent of expressing expectation that the United States would continue the acquisition of territory northward until England had not a foot left in North America. On February 9, 1846, a resolution favoring the notice to England, passed the House by the vote of 163 to 54, ignoring altogether the compromising overtures made by Secretary Calhoun while laboring so persistently and so successfully to secure the annexation of Texas. Foreseeing possible war with Mexico, that able man and astute politician sought to keep England out of our politics and policies, at least until the possible Texan crisis had been passed, by suggesting 49° for the Oregon boundary. Thus measurably committed, the Senate declined to concur with the House resolu-

tion and through the instrumentality of a conference committee another was passed which authorized the President at his discretion to give to Great Britain notice for the termination of the treaty.

Douglas opposed the compromise resolution with all the force at his command, but the treaty which followed, fixing the northern boundary line at 49° was ratified by the Senate, thereby repudiating so much of the last Democratic platform as had to do with the Oregon boundary.

Douglas and others took their defeat to heart. Mr. Hannegan, Democratic Senator from Indiana, in one of his speeches had declared: "If Oregon were good for the production of sugar and cotton, it would have been at once secured."

The retreat was inglorious from Douglas' standpoint and it came very near breaking friendly relations between him and Polk. But still graver questions arose with such rapidity that the Oregon fraud so called, fell into insignificance for the time.

Aristo had crossed the Rio Grande. The Mexican forces had been defeated by Taylor in at least two sharp engagements and very naturally the Administration considered Mexico as good as vanquished and more than likely to favor peace negotiations. Thereupon, in addition to the appropriation of \$11,000,000 voted to prosecute the war, Polk asked for an appropriation of \$30,000 to cover the expense of such negotiations, as well as the sum of \$2,000,000 to be spent in the discretion of the President. The demand created surprise and in response to requests for information from those who opposed the further advance of slavery, Polk was compelled to announce his settled purpose to use the money in the effort to secure from Mexico further concessions of territory. That statement had the effect of scattering over the northern states the fear that if secured, such territory was to be dedicated to slavery. That may be called the first intimation to Calhoun that he must halt in his efforts to extend slavery. Douglas with plans of his own not only desired, but demanded more

territory and when its acquisition was limited by the treaty negotiated at Guadalupe Hidalgo, and ratified on March 10, 1848, by a vote of 38 to 14, he took great offense. So late as February 14, 1853, he referred to it contemptuously:

“She will then console herself that limits have been set and barriers erected beyond which the territories of this Republic can never extend, nor its principles prevail. In confirmation of this view, she will find additional cause for congratulation when she looks into the treaty of peace with Mexico, and there sees the sacred honor of this Republic irrevocably pledged that we will never, in all coming time, annex any more Mexican territory in the mode in which Texas was acquired. The fifth article contains the following extraordinary provision:

‘The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics, and no change shall ever be made therein except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the general government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.’

. . . Well do I remember the determined and protracted efforts of the minority to expunge this odious clause from the treaty before its ratification, . . .’

With that acquisition of Mexican territory with its Mexican anti-slavery laws, two forces of tremendous energy if not power, were set in motion. Douglas was to begin his life work of building states and territories,—up-building; Calhoun was to begin his efforts towards disintegration, or at least segregation, when it was seen that the North would never consent to divide any part of that territory with slavery. And rather than accept the time honored statement that the repeal of the Missouri compromise was the responsible cause for the Civil War, it should seem more probable to hold the present period as the one back of the repeal and responsible for all subsequent disturbances.

The Republic of Texas had adopted a slave code prior to annexation and no serious protest was urged against its admission with the same slave code. So far Calhoun’s campaign

to offset the constantly increasing population and voting strength of the northern states had succeeded almost beyond its author's fondest hope. Notice his future tactics! As much as Calhoun talked about his love for the Constitution, he loved slavery more and proceeded to subject every other feature of government to it by negotiation or the threat of disunion.

Instead of combatting the rapid growth of the free states by inviting and supporting commerce and manufactures in his section, he preferred to regard them as inimical to certain rising pretensions to aristocracy and to attempt to legislate his section into the same importance. Failing therein, he proposed secession,—a sort of childish spirit of “shan’t play.”

Fortified by the Constitution, why those Calhoun reverberations of disunion almost from the moment of signing the treaty with Mexico? Calhoun feared the same instrument which created his darling institution of slavery,—the Constitution:

Article Five.

“The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other modes of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided,” etc.

He could not hope to stop the rapid growth of the North and West. He could not repress immigration, but because he had nullified other enactments by finely spun interpretations, he proposed by similar means to nullify the Mexican law which prohibited slavery and hence prohibited it in the ceded territory until the United States should change the law.

As a member of Monroe’s cabinet, Calhoun had agreed that the Missouri Compromise was constitutional. He was

vigorously insistent for the continuance of slavery in territory which came to us with slave laws, notably Texas, but when Mexican territory came with an inhibition against slavery, Calhoun upon finding opposition to slavery extension, evolved his contention that so soon as the Constitution of the United States attached its jurisdiction, every citizen of the latter country had a constitutional right to migrate into the new territory and carry with him whatever rights the law of his own state permitted him to enjoy and in case of local opposition, he maintained that the emigrant had the right to call upon Federal authorities of that territory for protection.

He furthermore supported, if he did not plan, a southern convention which was held at the Capitol on Monday, January 15, 1849, and was composed of the delegates to Congress from all the slave states. His address before that convention, most of which was copied into the Louisville Journal of February 2, 1849, gave to the delegates as it should to the reader something more than an outline of what he expected of the South when the fight of the year 1850 became a certainty. Notice, please, his very first fallacy:

“Ours is a Federal Government—a Government in which, not individuals, but states, as distinct sovereign communities, are the constituents. To them as members of the Federal Union, the territories belong. . . . The states then, are the joint owners.”

A partnership arrangement wherein the majority have not the right to rule!

“Entertaining these opinions, we ask not, as the North alleges we do, for the extension of slavery. That would make a discrimination in our favor as unjust and unconstitutional as the discrimination they ask against us in their favor. It is not for them, nor the Federal Government to determine whether our domestic institution is good or bad, or whether it should be repressed or preserved. It belongs to us, and us only, to decide such questions.” All which was magnanimous when you come to think of it, especially in view of Article Five alluded to as a contingency. But here follows a

remarkable concession: "What then we do insist on, is, not to extend slavery, but that we shall not be prohibited from emigrating, with our property, into the territories of the United States because we are slave-holders." An explanation which would have staggered Machiavelli the best day of his life!

Again: "The great body of the North is united against our peculiar institution. Many believe it to be sinful, and the residue, with inconsiderable exceptions, believe it to be wrong. Such being the case, it would indicate a very superficial knowledge of human nature to think that, after aiming at abolition systematically for so many years, and pursuing it with such unscrupulous disregard of law and Constitution, the fanatics, who have led the way and forced the great body of the North to follow them, would, when the finishing stroke only remained to be given, voluntarily suspend it, or permit any constitutional scruples or considerations of justice to arrest it. To these may be added an aggression, though not yet commenced, long meditated and threatened—"Aggression not yet commenced! Calhoun believed in getting his plans in good working order for the humiliating compromise which the South must make for aggressions not yet commenced!—"to prohibit what the Abolitionists call the internal slave trade (meaning thereby, the transfer of slaves from one state to another), from whatever motive done, or however effected. Their object would seem to be to render them worthless by crowding them together where they are, and thus hasten the work of emancipation. There is reason for believing that it will soon follow those now in progress, unless, indeed, some decisive step should be taken in the meantime to arrest the whole."

Reason for believing! Something must be headed off!

"But, even if these conclusions should prove erroneous; if fanaticism and the love of power should, contrary to their nature, for once respect constitutional barriers, or if the calculations of policy should retard the adoption of these measures, or even defeat them altogether; there would still be left

one certain way to accomplish their object, if the determination avowed by the North to monopolize all the territories, to the exclusion of the South, should be carried into effect. That of itself would, at no distant day, add to the North a sufficient number of states to give her three-fourths of the whole; when, under the color of an amendment of the Constitution, she would emancipate our slaves, however opposed it might be to its true intent!"

Another year or two added to Calhoun's life would have found him with still another Machiavellian theory of true intent. Without any doubt Article Five was placed in the Constitution as a harmless figure of speech when brought face to face with the subject expressly governed by it. According to the counsels of Calhoun the South must presuppose a quarrel, filibuster, demand everything, get one-half and then in deep mortification accept the awful sacrifices demanded of them with terrible threats for the future—when something more should be demanded—and compromised!

"Thus," continued Calhoun, "under every aspect, the result is certain, if aggression be not promptly met. How it is to be met, is for you to decide." Yet Mr. Calhoun promptly tells his hearers just how they are to decide!

"With such a prospect before us, the gravest and most solemn question that ever claimed the attention of a people is presented for your consideration. What is to be done to prevent it? It is a question belonging to you to decide. All we propose is, to give you our opinion.

"We then, are of the opinion that the first and indispensable step, without which nothing can be done, and with which everything may be, is to be united among yourselves, on this great and most vital question. The want of union and concert in reference to it has brought the South, the Union, and our system of government to their perilous condition. Instead of placing it above all others, it has been made subordinate, not only to mere questions of policy, but to the preservation of party ties and insuring of party success. As high as we hold a due respect for these, we hold them subordinate

to that and other questions involving our safety and happiness. Until they are so held by the South, the North will not believe that you are in earnest in opposition to their encroachments, and they will continue to follow, one after another, until the work of abolition is finished. To convince them that you are, you must prove by your acts that you hold all other questions subordinate to it. If you become united and prove yourselves in earnest, the North will be brought to a pause, and to a calculation of consequences; and they may lead to a change of measures and the adoption of a course of policy that may quietly and peacefully terminate this long conflict between the two sections. If it should not, nothing would remain for you but to stand up immovably in defense of rights involving your all—your property, prosperity, equality, liberty and safety.”

Mr. Calhoun had discovered that the day was not far distant when he could no longer rule. Discerning the future as he did with an accuracy which might be called inspired, one might expect that one so gifted and one who loved the Union so dearly, would make suggestions to avoid the evils which he so accurately foresaw. If Calhoun could not rule, he preferred ruin.

Unexpectedly meeting some unlooked for opposition by Governor Morehead, who rose to say: “No, so help me God, never. I will never raise the parricidal arm against this glorious Union for any cause!” Calhoun felt constrained to rise and retort that he was for the Union, but, if that could not be preserved (after his advice to destroy it) he was for taking care of the South.

In the midst of this exciting and vexatious question over Mexico, Douglas was found opposing the Calhoun contention as well as busily looking after other sections of the country with which his name has become indelibly connected. On August 6, 1846, he reported a bill creating Oregon Territory, in which no reference was made to the institution of slavery, but while under discussion in the Committee of the Whole House an amendment, the following was offered: “And

neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in said Territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Upon coming out of that committee, the yeas and nays were demanded upon the amendment, which was sustained: Yeas, 108; Nays, 44. Douglas did not vote upon it and but three or four Northern Democrats voted against it. Thereupon, the bill passed the House and was sent to the Senate. There, it was referred to the Committee on Territories, but by reason of the almost immediate close of the session, thereafter, the bill died.

When Congress reassembled for its second session, Mr. Douglas again reported to the House a bill to provide for a territorial government for Oregon which was read twice and sent to the Committee of the Whole House, where it was debated through the 11th, 12th and 14th of January, 1847, and on the 15th, ordered to be taken from that committee. On that day, Gen. Armistead Burt, of South Carolina, moved this addition to the foregoing clause prohibiting slavery: "Inasmuch as the whole of the said Territory lies north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri Compromise."

It was made plain to the friends of free territory that the object of the amendment was to obtain from the House a recognition of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$ as the dividing line between slave and free territory clear across the continent, thereby to permit slavery in a part at least of the Mexican acquisition. The Burt amendment was voted down, 82 yeas, 114 nays, Douglas in this instance voting aye, the slave state Democrats voting solidly yea. The bill passed, 133 to 35, without the Missouri restriction, Douglas voting for the bill. In the Senate it was referred, reported, resubmitted, and on the last day of the session, laid upon the table, 26 to 18, there to slumber. The friends of Free Territory, at this second miscarriage, did not mince their words in saying they had been cheated.

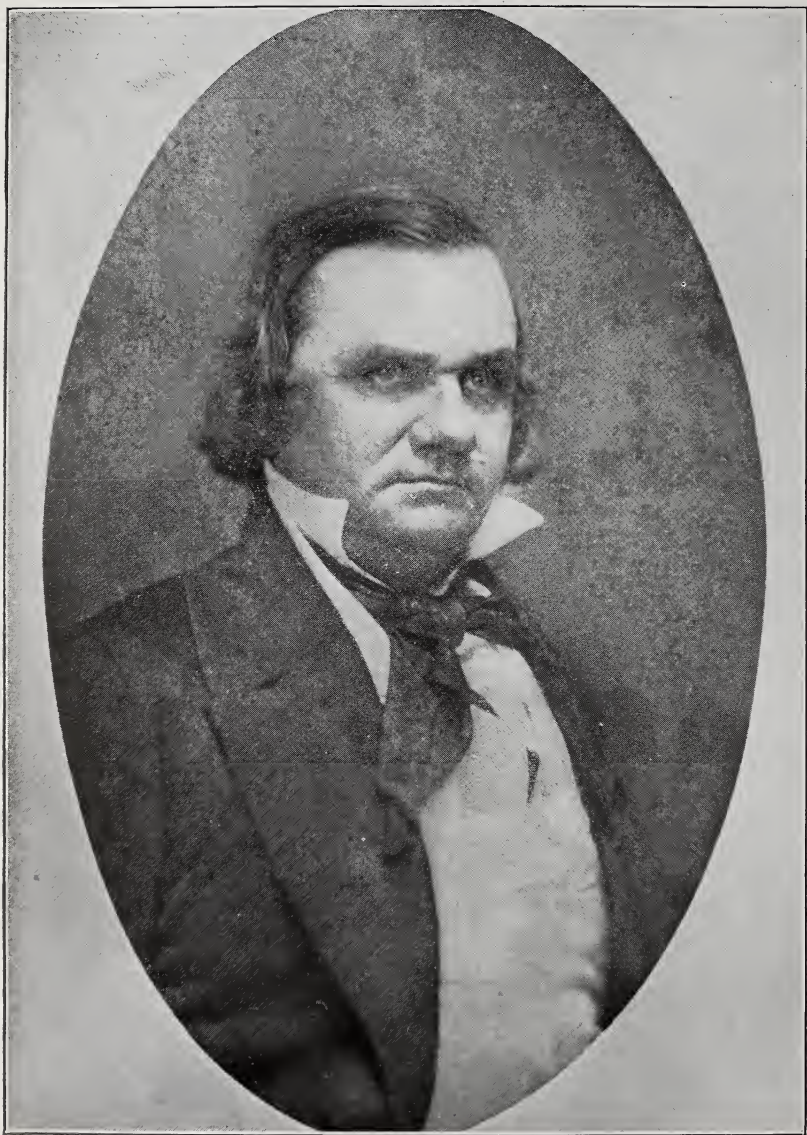
In the 30th Congress, Mr. Caleb B. Smith, the new Chairman of the House Committee on Territories, reported¹⁵⁷ another bill into the House which by express terms prohibited slavery. That bill was made a special order for a date five weeks thereafter, but it was resisted with such pertinacity by the Slavery Extensionists that it was not received from the committee until August 1st, when an amendment seeking to destroy the prohibition, was defeated; Yeas, 88; Nays, 114. The bill then passed the House by a purely "sectional" vote, Yeas, 128; Nays, 71, and was sent to the Senate. Mr. Douglas, by this time Chairman of the Committee on Territories in the Senate, on the 5th day of August, reported this bill with amendments. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, moved that "it do lie on the table." His motion was defeated, 15 to 36. Among the amendments reported by Mr. Douglas was one of a character of that of Gen. Burt's, already defeated in the House. That amendment received but two votes. Douglas thereupon moved to amend the bill by inserting a provision declaring that the line of the Missouri restriction should run to the Pacific Ocean and thereafter be binding for the future organization of the Territories of the United States, thereby declaring that a very large part of the free territory acquired from Mexico should be turned over to slavery. The amendment was carried, 33 to 21, and the bill carried 33 to 22.

But the House scorned such a partition and the proposition of Douglas was rejected, 82 to 121, only three members from the Free States voting for the amendment. The bill was therefore returned to the Senate, which thereupon receded, 29 to 25, from its amendment and the bill became a law, Douglas voting therefor, as well as in favor of yielding to the House, and the Free States then and there served notice upon the slavery extensionists that they should not divide with slavery the free territory just acquired from Mexico¹⁵⁸ without a struggle.

The speeches of Douglas, favoring 54° 40' for the Oregon boundary and in favor of voting supplies for the prosecution

¹⁵⁷ February 9, 1848.

¹⁵⁸ I have drawn very largely from the *Congressional Globe* and *Greeley* for this chapter.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. 1846.

of the war with Mexico, were strong speeches.¹⁵⁹ The documents and the mass of other evidence, indisputable, which he cited, showing the previous outrages committed by Mexico and Mexicans upon Americans and their property and their preparations for war, were features of the 29th Congress. They were unanswerable, however the immediate justification for war may have appeared to many of the Whigs who considered its declaration by this country to have been indefensible. The man's Americanism never showed to better advantage. His knowledge of our relations with Mexico astonished the House, illustrating better than at any other time, his ability to learn much without drudgery. His impromptu speech in reply to Mr. Delano, on May 13th, has been pronounced a model of clearness and exposition of a difficult subject and his various replies to the interruptions of Mr. Adams were afterward pronounced by the venerable statesman to indicate the very highest qualities of the public debater.

PART XII.

Some men possessed of office, resign the same when seeking higher honors. Douglas took no such foolish chance. He was a practical man in his politics, and while a candidate for the Senate in 1846, he accepted another nomination and election¹⁶⁰ to the House, to hold against the possibilities of miscarriage so frequent in political life. In this instance, however, Douglas had no party opposition for the Senate. The long session of Congress which compelled a continuous session until late in the summer, sickened Gen. Semple of political life and he resolved to drop it. Writing to his family back in Illinois, he used these words:

"I never was so sick of politics in all my life as at present. I have seen enough of it and henceforth will keep myself

¹⁵⁹ S. S. Cox has said that one of his speeches in the 29th Congress, on the Oregon question, was the strongest and most highly finished that he ever made.

¹⁶⁰ Douglas, 9,629; Isaac Vandeventer, 6,864; Ely Wilson, 395.

in the cool, sequestered vale of life. We have not yet heard a word of who is likely to take my place here, but suppose it will be Douglas.”

Thus it came about, that Douglas, who in 1836, hoping to see Semple made Senator, had written that gentleman to the effect that the use of his name would add strength to the party in Morgan County, and who in 1843,—delighted to know that Ford had appointed Semple to fill the vacancy caused by the death of McRoberts,—had written the former a letter of congratulations,¹⁶¹—was permitted, himself, to succeed that distinguished gentleman.

Gen. Semple made not the slightest effort to retain the place. If he had, the entrance of Douglas into the Senate might have been delayed for some time. He had amassed a fortune. He was a man of studious habits. He enjoyed seclusion and the surroundings of family life above all earthly things and when his term expired in 1847, he retired to the depths of the forest upon a beautiful estate high above the Mississippi River¹⁶² and there ended his days, the fine old fashioned, affable gentleman that he was; one of the foremost of Illinois’ truly great men.

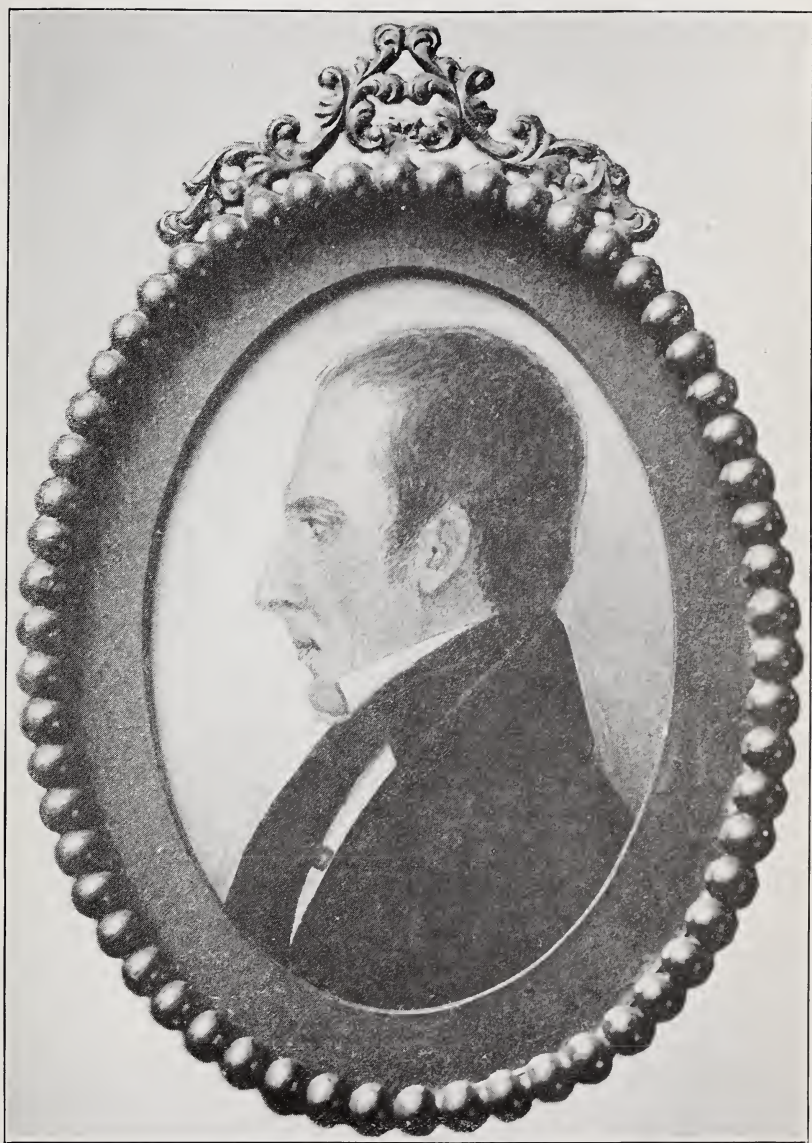
Without opposition, therefore, from his own party, Douglas was elected to the United States Senate,¹⁶³ December 13, 1846, over Cyrus Edwards, Whig.

In those days, it had been customary for the successful candidate for the Senate, to celebrate his victory with a grand ball. This Douglas did in exactly the same manner he did everything,—generously. Giving \$1,500, a great sum those days,—to friends, he bade them spare no expense and no pains to make the event the occasion of mirth. His instructions were followed to the letter and to the great discomfort of those who were crowded into the Senate Chamber and Hall of Representatives for that especial purpose. Thus at the age of 33, Douglas became a Senator in Congress. He sat

¹⁶¹ “I am glad we will spend the winter in Washington together, and propose that we make a mess of the entire delegation. They are all good fellows and would make pleasant companions.”

¹⁶² Elsah, Jersey County, Illinois.

¹⁶³ For six years from March 4, 1847.



GEN. JAMES SEMPLE.

through his second term in the House, and on April 7, 1847, he resigned his seat there. Douglas was fortunate in bringing with him from the House, a fine reputation. It gave to him soon, the position of Chairman of the Committee on Territories,¹⁶⁴ and to that committee he brought the knowledge he had gained in the same position in the House. His first day in the Senate Chamber was a proud one for him. The ambition of his life had been gratified¹⁶⁵ and if his record for successes was to continue, nothing could stand between Douglas and the White House. Beyond any doubt such an ambition had seized him already and he may have resolved upon the course he intended to pursue. But between the plan and its successful pursuit, many a well built calculation has gone to smash. Douglas was not a good strategist; he was no trimmer. He preferred the sledge hammer to the burglar's kit, the dark lantern and the gum shoe, in all of his campaigns and it must be owned that his favored implement made him his friends in the country where young men loved to follow the banner inscribed, "God loves a fighter." Those Illinois and north-western friends were the props which supported Douglas for so long. They listened to no word of calumny nor to the seductive whisper of opposition promise. They followed him blindly until 1854 when he chose to take the step which so many have seen fit to call the fatal success of that year. At the repeal of the Missouri restriction great numbers refused and balked. Then Douglas made the greatest conquest of his life; he won them back.

Webster had been denied a hearing in Boston just as Douglas had been denied a hearing in Chicago; but, Douglas, by sheer force, won his way back to favor and beat the greatest exponent of free territory in the United States as well as the wisest politician of the age, while Webster never regained an inch of his lost ground. Therein, Douglas made for himself a reputation for mastery which few others have reached in political life.

¹⁶⁴ On December 18, 1849, Douglas was nominated for the position by Senator Mangum. The vote stood: Douglas, 33; Corwin, 2; Hunter, 2; Chase, 1; Turney, 1; Webster, 1.

¹⁶⁵ Douglas left the House just as Lincoln was permitted to enter it.

Notwithstanding the fact that his colleague, Senator Breese, was far more learned than Douglas, the former made little impression upon legislation during those first two years of the Douglas incumbency and which proved to be the last two of Breese's. During the 30th Congress, Breese made various attempts to secure the passage of his pet measure of relief for the Central Railroad¹⁶⁶ and whenever information was desired by other senators, the questions were addressed to him generally; but when it became necessary to push the measure, Breese found it necessary to fall back upon Douglas to gain the support of the Senate. The secret of that success lay, in a great measure to the industrious habits of Douglas in committee work, so that when subjects arose in which he was interested, he found himself a first class floor worker, able to put through measures and command votes where many a more brilliant senator failed. His genius for organization was the same in working through a bill that it had been at home when smoothing out the discordant elements in a rebellious county. While Breese seemed impotent to get the Central Railroad bill through the Senate, Douglas secured its passage in that body with unanimity.

As Douglas discovered his power of conquering opposition to his measure, he rather liked the flattery which was heaped upon him. Clay himself during the fight for the compromise measures, took frequent occasion to make such remarks as "you are the most generous man living."

The size of his majorities when running for the House, had been regarded by Douglas with great pride; he had courted big leads when a winner and a big vote when a loser, and he brought that pride into the Senate; the unanimity of the vote on the Central Railroad gratified him immensely, coming as it did after Breese, his colleague, had failed all along to get his bill recognized. The fact that he had no opposition in his party for the Senate, had its weight with swelling that vanity somewhat. He not only liked, but ex-

¹⁶⁶ The bill to give the State of Illinois alternate sections of land in trust for the Illinois Central railroad, to own when that company should complete its road, was passed through Congress at last, through the influence of Douglas. To the people of Illinois it is regarded as his ranking service.

pected flattery. Success had inspired a love to lead and make suggestions to others for their guidance. In that respect no man's advice was better than that of Douglas. His judgment, beyond question, was almost infallible in business matters and if one will read carefully his speeches in the Congressional Globe, it will be seen that his predictions for the future of his country, regarded as extravagant, by those opposed at the time, almost without exception, have been fulfilled. In his expansion speeches, he did not hesitate to hint at the possibility of future possessions in the Pacific Ocean. In a purely personal way, he is credited¹⁶⁷ with planning a neat little compensatory scheme, as it were, for his friend and now cousin by marriage, David C. Reid, when he went into North Carolina to spend his 1848 vacation at the home of his wife, once Miss Martin.

At that time, North Carolina was Whig territory beyond all hope of possible recovery, so it was thought. The social test had prevailed by statute for so long a period that it had pervaded the stronger atmosphere of society itself. To hold the office of representative in the legislature, a property holding test was required. To be a state senator, a greater holding was required, and by the time the office of Governor was reached, the property qualification had reached a very pretty figure. Legislation seemed to tell the poor devil who was intelligent but poor, that he should work out his future in some other line than politics. Politics were for gentlemen in North Carolina.

We are furthermore told¹⁶⁷ that the state Democratic convention was held at about that particular time and that Douglas attended it at the invitation of friend Reid who was a delegate. At the further invitation of Reid, Douglas made a speech, the like of which the aristocrats of North Carolina never had heard. "Let me urge you," cried Douglas, "to name a candidate for Governor on the manhood platform instead of a property platform." The convention cheered the sentiment. When Douglas found that his suggestion had

¹⁶⁷ S. A. Douglas, Jr.

taken well, he continued by suggesting that the convention nominate his very good friend Reid, for Governor. "You may not elect him this time, but at the next election you will elect him." Reid was nominated on the spot, and the Whig majority was cut to 854.¹⁶⁸

At the next convention, Douglas was present and Douglas made a speech as before, wherein he suggested another trial of Reid upon the same platform. At the ensuing election, Manly, the opposing candidate, was beaten by nearly 3,000 votes.¹⁶⁹ It has been said, too,¹⁷⁰ that from that date no Whig ever secured office upon the state ticket. Those two speeches of Douglas must have had a very wide influence.

It was during the preceding year, so fruitful of good things for Douglas that, perceiving with prophetic vision, the possibilities of Chicago, he removed thence and established his residence at the Tremont House (1847).

PART XIII.

Occupied as it was with the many and vexatious questions which related to the country's latest conquest, all of them centering around some phase or another of the subject of slavery, the 30th Congress adjourned without providing any form of government for that territory. Gen. Bennet Riley, who had been sent to California as military governor, with a handful of troops, was creditably administering the only law known there, when upon the discovery of gold in the year 1848, people by thousands tumbled madly into the country. Men went money mad and vast numbers from eastern states plunged into it with a disorder almost chaotic.

Removed from the baneful influence of politics and counter orders, Gen. Riley, who comprehended the situation, acted promptly in the emergency by calling a constitutional¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Election of 1848, Charles Manly received 42,536 votes; Reid, 41,682.

¹⁶⁹ Election of 1850, Manly received 42,337 votes; Reid, 45,080.

¹⁷⁰ S. A. Douglas, Jr.

¹⁷¹ His proclamation was issued June 3, 1849.

convention.¹⁷² A state was erected tentatively, officers were elected¹⁷³ and before Calhoun could grasp the situation, a free state, carved out of territory designed for slavery, was sending officers over the great distances to knock at the doors of Congress for admission.

In his first message to Congress,¹⁷⁴ President Taylor stated, that "No civil government having been provided for California and New Mexico, by Congress," the people would doubtless present their constitutions to Congress and apply for admission in a short time. He furthermore recommended a "favorable consideration of their application." During moments of sanity any but the extreme slave extensionist would have welcomed such an empire as California, but under the fatuous tactics of the wildest of them, no measure would have been favored that did not pay its toll in slavery extension votes. Those extremists had been surprised. Calhoun was angered at such an impropitious and unwarranted interference with his plans. He was displeased with Taylor's message which was debated for weeks, aimlessly, but nevertheless vindictively. The course of the President in sending Mr. Thomas Butler King¹⁷⁵ to California, to co-operate with the people, was attacked and resolutions of inquiry were passed demanding of the President his reasons for assuming that grave responsibility.

The contest for Speaker of the House added its irritating influences and though a skillful make-shift elected Cobb and thereby placed the committees beyond control of the hated abolitionists, the unexpected development of so much anti-slavery extension sentiment and possibilities awed the extremists, especially Calhoun who had mastered so many forces opposed to him before that time. The moral force behind the opposition to slavery, he had disdained. But this time, oppose it though he did, he discovered its overmastering influence, and he sulked.

¹⁷² Delegates were elected August 1, 1849; convention met at Monterey, Sept. 1, and adjourned October 13.

¹⁷³ Peter H. Burnett was elected Governor.

¹⁷⁴ Dec. 4, 1849.

¹⁷⁵ April 3, 1849.

The angry debates upon the interminable slavery question began long before the speakership contest was settled and as a sample of the mad outbursts, the following has been selected from the remarks of Mr. Toombs:

"I do not then, hesitate to avow before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, and to abolish slavery in this District, thereby attempting to fix a national degradation upon half the states of this Confederacy, I am for disunion; and if my physical courage be equal to the maintenance of my convictions of right and duty, I will devote all I am and all I have on earth, to its consummation."

Over in the Senate the first frenzies in this war of words, was excited by a proposal to print some resolutions of the Vermont legislature, which instructed her Senators to use every exertion to prevent the extension of slavery into the new territories and to procure a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and wherever Congress had jurisdiction, denouncing it as "a crime against humanity," and also speaking of the "so-called compromises of the constitution."

The present wildness in Congress had been foreseen, and for the purpose of lending his great genius to its suppression, or at least to a composition of differences, Henry Clay had been called from retirement and returned to the Senate. Upon reaching that body it took but little time to grasp the contentions and demands of the conflicting interests.

The North claimed that the alleged uncertainty of the Texan boundary was but a pretense put forward to take away and dedicate to slavery, a substantial portion of territory which came to us as Mexican territory and hence protected against slavery by the Mexican inhibition, and under that Mexican inhibition, the North demanded:

1. The establishment of governments for all the territories, with a prohibition of slavery.

2. The admission of California.
3. The abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.
4. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The South contended for:
 1. An efficient Fugitive Slave Law.
 2. The establishment of territorial governments for all the territories, including California, but without a prohibition of slavery.

Douglas is credited with the expression, "It looks as though something would have to give."

On January 14th, 1850, Mr. Houston submitted a series of resolutions. On the 16th, Mr. Benton introduced a bill proposing to Texas a reduction of her limits, for which she should be paid \$15,000,000. On the same day, Mr. Foote of Mississippi introduced a bill establishing territorial governments for California, Deseret, New Mexico, and to enable the people of San Jacinto to be formed out of Texas, to form a state government. On January 29th, as if by common consent, Mr. Clay introduced his set of resolutions, tentatively—which he hoped might settle all existing questions of difference which had agitated the minds of the southern men in a greater or lesser degree, and which were discussed promptly:

It being desired for the peace, concord and harmony of these states, to settle and adjust amicably, all existing questions of controversy between them, arising out of the institution of slavery, upon a fair, equitable and just basis. Therefore

"1st. Resolved, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the states of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.

"2nd. Resolved, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law, either for

its introduction into, or exclusion from, any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all the said territory not assigned as within the boundaries of the proposed State of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

“3rd. Resolved, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte, commencing one marine league from its mouth and running up that river to the southern boundary line of New Mexico; thence with that line eastwardly and so continuing in the same direction to the line as established between the United States and Spain excluding any portion of New Mexico whether lying on the east or west of that river.

“4th. Resolved, That it be proposed to the State of Texas, that the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of the legitimate and bona fide public debt of that State contracted prior to its annexation to the United States and for which the duties on foreign imports were pledged by the said State to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of \$....., in consideration of the said duties so pledged having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having henceforward become payable to the United States; and upon the condition also that the said State of Texas shall by some solemn and authorized act of the Legislature or of a convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which it has to any part of New Mexico.”

“5th. Resolved, That it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, whilst the institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the district and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the district.

“6th. But resolved, That it is expedient to prohibit, within the district, the slave trade in slaves brought into it from states or places beyond the limits of the district, either to be sold therein as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets without the District of Columbia.

“7th. Resolved, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law, according to the requirement of the Constitution, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any state, who may escape into any other state or territory in the Union. And,

“8th. Resolved, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slave holding states, but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.”

On February 5th and 6th Mr. Clay addressed the Senate and on the 13th, the President communicated the constitution of the State of California. Mr. Foote suggested it be referred to a select committee of fifteen. Mr. Douglas moved to refer it to his committee,—Territories. On February 25th, Mr. Foote offered his resolution to refer all pending resolutions upon the vexed subjects to a select committee of which Mr. Clay was to be the chairman, three northern Whigs, three northern Democrats, three southern Whigs and three southern Democrats.¹⁷⁶

It has occurred all along to the writer that this whole agitation was precipitated for the sole purpose of trying to overcome the effect of the Mexican prohibition and by fine spun theories and noise to secure a foothold for slavery in the new territory secured from Mexico. To use the same arguments which had been used in the case of Texas and the Louisiana purchase would be fatal; slavery came with the territory brought. If lawful there why fight the law of Mexico which forbade slavery? Wherefore a fight for everything with the expectation of securing a compromise. Douglas held for the Mexican prohibition as an abstract principle, but he favored free California and the right of the people of the remaining portion, to be erected into one or more territories, to decide the matter for themselves. In reply to a petition from the women of Dover, New Hampshire,¹⁷⁷ “that

¹⁷⁶ This motion prevailed ultimately and Senators Clay, Dickinson, Phelps, Bell, Cass, Webster, Berrien, Cooper, Downs, King, Mangum, Mason and Bright were selected to form that committee.

¹⁷⁷ February 12.

slavery may not be extended into the territories of New Mexico and California," Mr. Douglas thought it should be received, and among other things, said:

"I have always held, and hold now, that if the people of California want slavery they have a right to it, and if they do not it should not be forced upon them. They have as much right as the people of Illinois or any other state to settle the question for themselves. I go further, and I hold that to prohibit slavery in the territories, whilst it is a violation of the great fundamental principles of self-government, is no violation of the rights of the southern states. I go further, that to recognize the institution of slavery in the territories is no violation of the rights of the northern states. In that sense, neither have a right there, in my opinion, to do either. Either to prohibit or establish slavery, by an act of Congress, over a people not represented here, is a violation of the rights of the people of California. Their rights are to be affected, their rights are to be violated by an act of Congress when they are not represented here. Talk to me about the rights of the North, or the rights of the South! Neither has any rights there, as far as the institution of slavery is concerned. . . . I hold that, till they do establish it, the prohibition of slavery in the territories which we acquired by treaty, attached to the soil and remained in force. I hold it as a legal proposition. I am ready to maintain it, either on the fundamental principles of law or the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States; as a principle of law, and a principle, sir, that, while it may be controverted, can never be overturned."

But Mr. Calhoun was not willing to accept an even chance with the anti-slavery extension people. He demanded nothing short of the undisputed privilege of entering territory already inhibited to slavery by the laws of Mexico and in default of receiving that privilege he favored disunion, "shan't play," etc.

The altogether unlooked for opposition to slavery at this time, aroused Mr. Calhoun to make his last appeal. Too

weak to deliver it himself, Mr. Mason of Virginia read it for him. Said Mr. Calhoun in that last speech:¹⁷⁸

“Having now, Senators, explained what it is that endangers the Union, and traced it to its cause, the question again recurs, How can the Union be saved? This I answer: There is but one way by which it can be, and that is by adopting such measures as will satisfy the states belonging to the southern section, that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their safety.”

Article Five of the Constitution should become a dead letter! If the people of the North continued to multiply and entertain notions about freedom repugnant to those of Mr. Calhoun and the conservative Mr. Toombs, those notions should be abandoned to “satisfy the states, etc.” A unanimous position it must be said! The Texas slavery law was right; the Mexico anti-slavery law was wrong!

Cass deplored such logic. Webster tried to pour balm upon the wounds of Mr. Calhoun in his famous seventh of March speech in these conciliatory words: “—but I will not do a thing unnecessarily that wounds the feelings of others, or that does discredit to my understanding. I would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the mere purpose of a taunt or reproach. I would put into it no evidence of the votes of superior power, exercised for no purpose but to wound the pride, whether a just and rational pride, or an irrational pride, of the southern states.”

Mr. Calhoun continued to sulk. Even the effort of Mr. Webster failed to rouse him into amiability and on the 13th of March he is found in the depths of hypochondria:

“Mr. Foote (in his seat): ‘I am on good terms with everybody.’”

“Mr. Calhoun: ‘I am not. I will not be on good terms with those who wish to cut my throat. The honorable Senator from New York justifies the North in treachery. I am not the man to hold social intercourse with such as these.’”

¹⁷⁸ March 4, 1850.

“Mr. Foote (in his seat): ‘I think he, (Mr. Seward) will have to be given up.’ ”

“Mr. Calhoun: ‘I recognize them as Senators—say good morning and shake hands with them—but that is the extent of my intercourse with those who I think are endangering the Union.’ ”¹⁷⁹

And listen to the fine scorn of Mr. Davis: “A measure of compromise! I look upon it as but a modest mode of taking that, the claim to which has been more boldly asserted by others.”

In other words, the possible expansion for slavery in the prohibited country was being denied them by the hold-up process!

Deplorable arguments for peace, but excellent ones for a compromise! On March 11th Mr. Seward uttered his famous words, “But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority—”, which kindled fresh flames of fury in this already terrible conflagration.

The duly certified senators from California had reached Washington. Douglas demanded the admission of California at once. Those opposed were urging delay and using dilatory tactics for the purpose, until almost at the expense of patience, Mr. Douglas when urged to give way for the passage of appropriation bills said: “So long as they (the office-holders) can obtain their salaries, you care not if the people of California are exposed to be plundered and murdered.

“Sir, if either are to be abandoned, let your office-holders be abandoned.”

In his 13th of March speech, he reiterates his position upon the Mexican prohibition in California:

“The question is already settled, so far as slavery is concerned. The country is now free by law and in fact, it is free according to those laws of nature and of God, to which

¹⁷⁹ Cong. Globe, Vol. 21, p. 520. These are the last words recorded as being spoken by Mr. Calhoun on the floor of the Senate.

the Senator from Massachusetts alluded, and must forever remain free.

“The excitement is subsiding, and reason resuming its supremacy. The question is rapidly settling itself, in spite of the efforts of the extremes at both ends of the Union to keep up the agitation. The people of the whole country, North and South, are beginning to see that there is nothing in this controversy, which seriously affects the interests, invades the rights, or impugns the honor of any section or state of the Confederacy.

“They will not consent that this question shall be kept open for the benefit of politicians, who are endeavoring to organize parties on geographical lines. The people will not sanction any such movement. They know its tendencies and its danger. The Union will not be put in peril; California will be admitted; governments for the territories must be established; and thus the controversy will end, and I trust forever.”

Mr. Davis, it will be remembered in trying to discredit the people of a territory who, Douglas insisted, were entitled to make their own laws, asked Douglas some questions:

“A word now, to the Senator from Illinois, Mr. Douglas. It is to his argument that I address myself. The difference between that Senator and myself consists in who are a people. The Senator says that the inhabitants of a territory have a right to decide what their institutions shall be. When? By what authority? How many of them? Does the Senator tell me, as he said once before, from the authority of God?”

Mr. Douglas obliged Mr. Davis with a response:

“The Senator from Mississippi puts a question to me as to what number of people there must be in a territory before this right to govern themselves accrues. Without determining the precise number, I will assume that the right ought to accrue to the people at the moment they have enough to constitute a government; and, sir, the bill assumes that there are people enough there to require a government and enough to authorize the people to govern themselves. If, sir, there are

enough to authorize the people to govern themselves. If, sir, there are enough to require a government, and to authorize you to allow them to govern themselves, there are enough to govern themselves upon the subject of negroes as well as concerning other species of property and other descriptions of institutions.

“He insists that I am not in favor of protecting property,—I wish to allow these people to pass such laws as they deem proper respecting their rights in property without any exception. He might just as well say that I am opposed to protecting property in merchandise, in steamboats, in cattle, in property of any other description; for I desire to put them all on an equality; he desires an amendment which he thinks will recognize the institution of slavery in the territories as now existing in this country. I believe it is prohibited there by law at this time, and the effect, if not the object, of his amendment, would be to introduce slavery by law into a country from which I think a large majority of this Senate are of opinion it is now excluded, and he calls upon us to vote to introduce it there. But, sir, I do not hold to the doctrine that to exclude any species of property by law from any territory is a violation of any right to property. Do you not exclude banks from most of the territories? Do you not exclude whiskey from being introduced into large portions of the territory of the United States? Do you not exclude gambling tables, which are properly recognized as such in the states where they are tolerated? I am opposed to any provision in this bill prohibiting the people of the territory from legislating in respect to African slavery.”

To carry the reader through the interminable intricacies of this session would not be profitable. Men permitted themselves to be carried to inordinate pitches of excitement, including Mr. Clay.

The Omnibus Bill bunched the various items of Mr. Clay's resolutions together in the forlorn hope that it might attract votes from those who might oppose some of its parts.

On March 25th, Mr. Douglas reported his two bills¹⁸⁰ from his committee as follows: "A bill for the admission of the State of California into the Union," "A bill to establish the territorial governments of Utah and New Mexico, and for other purposes."

These bills were read, ordered to a second reading, and ordered to be printed.

From the first, Douglas doubted the expediency of the single bill, yet he voted consistently for it.

On May 8th, Mr. Clay reported his Omnibus Bill from his Committee of Thirteen, in which were added to the Douglas bills defining the powers of the territorial legislature, the words, "nor in respect to African slavery."

The effect of the amendment was to deny to the legislature of the territories, the privilege or authority to legislate upon the subject of African slavery.

Douglas very aptly put his position before the Senate when he used these words:

"The position that I have ever taken has been, that this and all other questions relating to the domestic affairs and domestic policy of the territories ought to be left to the decision of the people themselves, and that we ought to be content with whatever way they may decide the question, because they have a much deeper interest in these matters than we have, and know much better what institutions suit them than we, who have never been there, can decide for them."

Davis objected with his new theories of joint ownership of the territories by the states. He would acknowledge no argument however able, against it. The states were in business together; a partnership in a body of land, for the government of which the partners could not agree. In that very unsatisfactory arrangement, Mr. Calhoun demanded as the only solution of the disagreeable business to let the South have its own way, and Mr. Davis seemed to follow pretty closely that line of thought.

¹⁸⁰ These same bills, united by a wafer, were incorporated into the Omnibus Bill by Mr. Clay, against his own protest, Mr. Douglas having magnanimously sacrificed his pride of authorship for the welfare of the country.

On July 31st, the New Mexico item was stricken from the Omnibus Bill. The Texas boundary next fell by the wayside. California and other items followed, leaving Utah alone to proceed upon its way in the great Omnibus Bill and on the next day, under an amended title, Utah was permitted to stand and the bill, as passed, was sent to the House. Thereupon, the California bill of Mr. Douglas was debated until the 12th, when it was ordered to third reading. On the day following, it was passed in the Senate. On August 7th, a bill making proposals to Texas for the establishment of her northern and western boundaries, its general features and objects being practically identical with those of the Omnibus Bill, was introduced, and on the 9th, it was passed in the Senate. The bill to erect the territory of New Mexico and a Fugitive Slave Bill, were passed also, the latter a very unsavory one, it must be owned, and on the 28th day of August, the bill to suppress the slave trade in the District of Columbia, the last measure recommended by the Committee of Thirteen, was taken up, and on September 16th it was passed.

All passed the House and all were approved by the President. It was during the heated debates upon the Omnibus Bill that Douglas referred to the subject of unfriendly legislation for which the South impaled him immediately after his Freeport speech, as if the Freeport speech contained the first allusion to the subject:

“In all republican states, laws and ordinances are mere nullities, unless sustained by the hearts and intellects of the people for whom they are made, and by whom they are to be executed.

“A law passed by the National legislature to operate locally upon a people not represented, will always remain a dead letter, if it be in opposition to the wishes and interests of those who are to be affected by it.”

Without these explicit words, to which great importance should be attached, one can gather from the extracts herein made, nothing but a contention for unfriendly legislation.

The attachment of Douglas for the West, was never better illustrated than during these heated debates on the California question. His insistence upon the erection of territorial governments and their subsequent admission to statehood was carried into the debates at this time when to do it, meant displeasure from the South.

On the 8th day of December, 1848, he gave notice, that "he should tomorrow, or at some early day, ask leave to introduce bills to establish the territories of Minnesota, Nebraska and New Mexico," and, pursuant thereto, he did introduce such bills.

So noticeably strong were all his western sympathies, that he was lampooned during his candidacy for the presidency in these words, by the Breckinridge and Lane campaign committee:

"A western confederacy of which Mr. Douglas is to be the head. A southern confederacy of which Johnson, Bell, Soule, Clemens, & Co. are to be the chiefs. The northern confederacy will be handed over to Lincoln, Seward & Co. All these parties are leagued together to compass Lincoln's election." ¹⁸¹

PART XIV.

The various extracts appearing herein were not made for purposes of criticism; simply to place before the reader some of the extremes which confronted the country when Congress came to settle the status of the territory acquired from Mexico. The views of the northern extremist cropped out more forcibly after the passage of the compromise measures.

Those measures left scars. The radical men from the North viewed with abhorrence,¹⁸² the legislation which placed freedom and slavery on the same plane in the territories of

¹⁸¹ Breckinridge and Lane campaign document No. 16, published in Washington in 1860.

¹⁸² Blaine, Vol. 1, 98.

Utah and New Mexico.¹⁸³ They believed a wrong had been perpetrated; that a dishonest advantage had been taken of them. They believed that the Mexican inhibition should never have been relinquished to any part of the Mexican acquisition. They believed, as many a less radical man believed, that the moving inspiration for the Compromise in the House, where defeat was expected, lay in the baseless claim of \$10,000,000 for payment of the depreciated debt of Texas, much of which was alleged to have come into possession of members and their friends and which almost immediately raised them into positions of affluence. The Fugitive Slave law which offered a premium to United States Commissioners for remanding slaves, enacted as part of the measure, was regarded as abominable.

In no place did the storm of opposition rage with greater fury than in the City of Chicago, the new home of Senator Douglas. Those opposed to slavery extension, and to any and every compromise with it, even to sharing with the extensionists the privilege of testing local strength in the territories, noised their denunciations of Douglas' conduct in most intemperate language. The Common Council, considered a body of deliberation and reasonable conservatism, passed¹⁸⁴ certain resolutions on the night of October 21st in words as follows:

“Whereas, The Constitution of the United States provides that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it; and

“Whereas, The late act of Congress, purporting to be for the recovery of fugitive slaves, virtually suspends the *habeas corpus* and abolishes the right of trial by jury, and by its provisions not only fugitive slaves, but white men, ‘owing service’ to another in another state, viz., the apprentice, the mechanic, the farmer, the laborer engaged on contract or otherwise, whose terms of service are unexpired, may be captured

¹⁸³ Subsequently adopted a slave code.

¹⁸⁴ 9 to 3.

and carried off summarily, and without recourse of any kind; and

“Whereas, No law can be legally or morally binding on us which violates the provisions of the Constitution; and

“Whereas, Above all, in the responsibilities of human life, and the practice and propagation of Christianity, the laws of God should be held paramount to all human compacts and statutes; therefore,

“Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the free states, who aided and assisted in the passage of this infamous law, and those who basely sneaked away from their seats¹⁸⁵ and thereby evaded the question, richly merit the reproach of all lovers of freedom, and are fit only to be ranked with the traitors Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Lord and Master for thirty pieces of silver; and

“Resolved, That the citizens, officers and police of the city be, and they are hereby requested to abstain from all interference in the capture and delivering up of the fugitive from unrighteous oppression, of whatever nation, name or color.

“Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law lately passed by Congress is a cruel and unjust law, and ought not to be respected by any intelligent community, and that this council will not require the city police to render any assistance for the arrest of fugitive slaves.”

Many warm friends and supporters of Douglas regretted his course in supporting the more objectionable of the compromise measures, particularly the Fugitive Slave enactment. Those Chicago protests were the first from Illinois which had ever reached his ears from friends. They were the first rumblings of a long series of seismic forces beneath the political feet of his party.

¹⁸⁵ This reference is intended to aim at the absence of Douglas when the Fugitive Slave Law came up for action. He was absent on very important business in New York. He explained with candor that he was in favor of it and would have supported the measure if present. The bill was called up unexpectedly during that absence.

Before that date, adulation from his friends had been varied only when expressing impatience at the slightest obstacle thrown in the path of his rapid and successful career by way of criticism. Douglas had grown to expect not only approval but support whenever and wherever he made a move. Legislatures had become his subservient tools. He had grown to believe a word expressing desire was the only requirement from him to bring about obedience or to correct a false impression by his followers and obedience had become so uniform, he found himself in no humor to receive criticism now. Perhaps he reasoned that if he could with comparative ease, talk a United States Senator into argumentative collapse, he could with reasonable certainty, talk the unreasoning people into a state of harmlessness. The demonstration of noisy disapproval, if intended to influence in him a change of course or even to disconcert him, miscarried.

On the night of the 22d of October, 1850, a meeting of citizens was held in the City Hall to ratify the action of the Council. Thomas Richmond presided and Judge George Manierre was made chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. It has been said that Douglas very calmly walked into the meeting and from the platform, announced amidst profound silence, that he would appear upon the same platform on the following evening to defend every measure of the Compromise, especially the one which seemed to cause greatest offence in Chicago, the Fugitive Slave Law, and he called upon every citizen of Chicago who was interested, to appear and listen and to ask him questions which he would be more than pleased to answer. A storm of hisses and groans followed, through which Douglas stood calmly, smiling here and there to faces that he recognized, until the storm had spent its force. In the moment of silence which followed, he stated that he would make no remarks that evening because the object of the meeting was to ratify the action of the City Council, consequently a speech in defense of the compromise measures would be out of place. From this point the story of that celebrated meeting never has been told truthfully.

Instead of an adjournment without action, Douglas was assailed bitterly in the speeches, and the resolutions which were passed, six in number, challenged the Fugitive Slave Law and its policy in bitter terms.

Agreeably with his notification, Douglas spoke from the same platform on the next evening. By many of his friends, the speech was considered one of the best efforts of his life. Never did his deep bass voice roll off its sentences with such force and melody as he spoke in his deliberate manner of the great fundamental principle of popular sovereignty. At all events he carried his audience by storm. At the close of his meeting which lasted until nearly midnight he asked for and secured the adoption of the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That it is the sacred duty of every friend of the Union to maintain and preserve inviolate, every provision of our Federal Constitution.

Resolved, That any law enacted by Congress, in pursuance of the Constitution, should be respected as such by all good and law-abiding citizens, and should be faithfully carried into effect by the officers charged with its execution.

Resolved, That so long as the Constitution of the United States provides that all persons held to service or labor in one state, escaping into another state, “shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom the service or labor may be due,” and so long as members of Congress are required to take an oath to support the Constitution, it is their solemn and religious duty to pass all laws necessary to carry that provision of the Constitution into effect.

Resolved, That if we desire to preserve the Union, and render our great republic inseparable and perpetual, we must perform all our obligations under the Constitution, at the same time that we call upon our brethren in other states to yield implicit obedience to it.

Resolved, That as the lives, property, and safety of ourselves and our families depend upon the observance and protection of the laws, every effort to excite any portion of our

population to make resistance to the due execution of the laws of the land should be promptly and emphatically condemned by every good citizen.

Resolved, That we will stand or fall by the American Union and its Constitution, with all its compromises, with its glorious memories of the past and precious hopes of the future."

One might suggest that these resolutions do not think much of Douglas' "unfriendly legislation" views.

Buckner S. Morris, one time mayor of Chicago, who was present, offered this additional item, after which it was adopted with those submitted by Douglas:

"Resolved, That we, the people of Chicago, repudiate the resolutions passed by the Common Council upon the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, passed by Congress at its last session."

This speech of Douglas was the first one made in a free state in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law.

The Common Council held its adjourned meeting on the night following the Douglas meeting in order to discuss the subject further in the light of the Douglas explanations. For the purpose of bringing the questions before the house, Alderman John C. Dodge who had voted affirmatively on the original resolution, moved to reconsider the former vote of censure and the motion was carried. Alderman Richard J. Hamilton followed by offering the following and then moving to lay the same upon the table:

"Ordered that the clerk be directed and requested to expunge from the records of the Council, the preamble and resolutions adopted at the late meeting of the Council on the evening of the 21st in reference to the act of Congress passed at its last session, commonly known as the Fugitive Slave Law."

Under Alderman Hamilton's motion this order was tabled until November 29th following. This reconsideration and this tabling in the manner above set forth, gave rise to the claim made by the partisan friends of Douglas that he

had forced the original resolution down the throats of the opposition.

On November 29th when the Council met to dispose of the matter finally, Alderman Hamilton's order was taken from the table and on motion it was voted to substitute for it the preamble and resolutions following:

"Whereas, The Fugitive Slave Law recently passed by Congress is revolting to our moral sense and an outrage upon our feelings of justice and humanity, because it disregards all the securities which the Constitution and laws have thrown around personal liberty, and its direct tendency is to alienate the people from their love and reverence for the government and institutions of our country; therefore,

"Resolved, That as the Supreme Court of the United States has solemnly adjudged that state officers are under no obligations to fulfill duties imposed upon them as such officers of the City of Chicago, we do not therefore consider it our duty to counsel the city officers of the City of Chicago to aid or assist in the arrest of fugitives from oppression, and by withholding such aid or assistance we do not believe that our harbor appropriations will be withheld, our railroads injured or our commerce destroyed or that treason is committed against the country."

Alderman Collins preamble and resolution were passed by the same vote of 9 to 3.

From the wording of the resolution it will be seen readily what lines of argument the friends of Douglas pursued to secure a recession of the original resolution of censure.

From this point began the formation of political parties on geographical lines which Douglas had deprecated with such feeling. The Southern Whigs who favored all the measures, at once drifted away from the Northern Whigs who opposed them. Many Democrats from the Free States too, while seeming to cohere, as a matter of fact loosened their party fealty and gradually drifted away and into anti-slavery extension ranks.

In that battle, Douglas laid the foundation of his prominence in the struggle of succeeding years. There can be no

doubt of his conscientiousness in the support of the compromise measures for the reason that most of his antagonisms were with Senators from the South who demanded the right to take their slaves to any United States territory, and from which source it had been customary to look for support in presidential campaigns. At no time did he spare Calhounisms like the joint ownership of the territories by the states; protection of slaves to the exclusion of other personal property and the vicarious position of the government as agent of the states. To one assertion of the first contention he asked of its author: "What share had the South in the territories? or the North? I answered, none at all. The territories belong to the United States, as one people and are to be disposed of for the common benefit of all, according to the principles of the Constitution. No geographical section of the United States is entitled to any share of the territories."

To the next: "You confer upon them (the territories) the right to legislate upon all rightful subjects of legislation except negroes. Why except negroes? Why African slavery? * * * The government contended for, authorizes them to protect property in horses, in cattle, in merchandise and property of every kind and description, real and personal; but the Senator from Mississippi says that you must exclude African slavery." Douglas also referred to a stock of liquors as a case in point. If the territory by law prohibited its sale, should the owner thereof be permitted to sell the same in open violation of the territorial law because he might have removed thence with his liquors from Mississippi?

The Compromise measures afforded more time to the north to populate the west!

Though not the author of the popular sovereignty conception,—used by Cass in his Nicholson letter and his Democratic platform of 1848,—from this point Douglas became its stoutest champion, never swerving therefrom, until by the lapse of time, the measure became generally known as his own. With the law as it was, from the standpoint of his party's platform, the compromises appeared to be the only practical expedients for use in the vexed question of slavery extension—to permit

the people of the territories to settle the question as they saw fit until all became states and until—perhaps,—the Constitution could be revised. The position he took at all times was, that slavery should not be debated upon the floors of Congress, thereby to stir up sectional feelings. For the purpose of banishing the subject from the floor of the Senate, he moved to strike from the Omnibus Bill the words “nor establishing or prohibiting African slavery.” He also said in the course of the subsequent debates: “I do not believe, sir, that the Senate can agree upon any principle by which a bill can pass, giving governments to the territories, in which the word ‘slavery’ is mentioned.” He foresaw the growing opposition and realized the dangers from debate. A reformation, if such were possible, he desired to see emanate from the states and territories themselves and through his party exactly as Lincoln, rejecting the first overtures from the nascent Republican party, declined to join it, because he thought the change could be wrought through the Whig party to better advantage.

Times without number, including the great debates of 1858, Douglas contended that the evil would work its way out duly, through the influences of civilization and he many times cited for his authority the change in the majority of the Thirteen Original states, which entered the Union with slavery.

But while popular sovereignty and the compromise measures were disappointing to many of the leaders north and south, popular sovereignty grew in favor with the people north and south when the smoothness of its working became noticeable. That was true of the South in particular; for example: Foote of Mississippi supported the compromise measures while Davis, his colleague, fought them bitterly; more bitterly than any other Senator. To give out the appearance of a hearty support at home, the partisans of Davis nominated him for Governor on what they were pleased to denominate a “States Rights” ticket. The followers of Foote took up the challenge laid down by the Davis men and nominated Foote under the head of a “Union” ticket. At the

election which followed,¹⁸⁶ Foote was elected by a substantial majority. At a subsequent period, Davis tried to explain the defeat from local causes, but before he left the subject, he was compelled to admit that the people "crucified" him. The fact was undoubted, that the people south, were not in favor of disunion and had they been permitted to take the reins from the leaders, they would not have favored it in 1861. At the same time,¹⁸⁶ Alabama elected a majority of Union Congressmen. Louisiana elected Whigs to some of the important offices and South Carolina, the home of Calhoun, elected a "Co-operative ticket" by 7,000 votes over the "Secessionists." While Douglas, the expounder of the doctrine, made no unkind allusions to these endorsements, Davis was implacable. He desired to succeed . . . Calhoun as the leader of extreme views for the South. He gloried in his opposition to the measures and when various senators were trying to square their votes for reference to their constituents, he arose to state: "If any man has a right to be proud of the success of these measures, it is the senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas)." Ever after that celebrated contest there appeared a desire on the part of Davis to discount the growing influence of Douglas with his party. The same desire seemed to poison the pen of his biographers to a certain extent, particularly one¹⁸⁷ who wrote: "Douglas was the representative of expediency." "Douglas was preeminently the representative politician of his section, and throughout his career was a favorite with that boastful, bloated and mongrel element, which is violently called the 'American people,' and which is the ruling element in elections in the Northern cities. . . . Davis was the champion of the South, her civilization, rights, honor and dignity."

Douglas triumphed. Slavery agitation became quieted and popular sovereignty received credit for much that went to create that quietude. The Whig convention of 1852 came along and Scott's nomination was made upon a platform declaring unequivocally in favor of the Douglas solution—popular sovereignty.

¹⁸⁶ November, 1851.

¹⁸⁷ Alfried, 101, etc.

Abolitionism had been silenced. The crushing defeat of the Whig party which swept it into oblivion for all time followed and Douglas, the recognized leader of his party, seemed to stand the dictator of his party's and his country's policies.

PART XV.

Beginning with his career in Morgan County, Douglas became the popular idol of the young men. His daring attracted them as it disquieted certain southern members of his party, later. As his career broadened to take in a congressional district, the loyalty and support of the young men continued and increased. Douglas carried their ardent support into the Senate and now when with but few scars he emerged from the great fight on the compromise measures, the young men became clamorous for the nomination of their idol for the presidency. "Young America," as they were styled by the older members of the party, retorted that old fogies had run the politics of the country long enough. Thus Young America and the Old Fogies found themselves at loggerheads when the time for the Democratic convention approached in 1852.

It must not be assumed because of his great popularity with the young men that Douglas had no following with the older generation. He did. Douglas, like Napoleon, was able to attach to his fortunes men from all the walks of life and from all ages, willing and in many instances eager to lay down their political existences if thereby the welfare of Douglas might be promoted. And just like Napoleon, too, Douglas had supreme confidence in his ability to lead. His succession of victories over all opposition and the flattery heaped upon him by his followers, in the very nature of things produced in Douglas a steady development of vanity and its consequent imperiousness, dangerous generally in politics. Though grown to exact party submission, up to the present moment, he found

it unnecessary to crack the party lash disagreeably. His followers loved to obey him for their love of the man. Douglas never was vindictive, either, to a party enemy. When the smoke of battle had passed away, if he had conquered, as he had generally, up to the present, Douglas became the affable, generous, patient Douglas he had been before the battle.

In the year 1852, Douglas stood before the American people in the light of a master politician and as something of a statesman as well. Without a dissenting voice, his party reaffirmed his doctrine of popular sovereignty.

But every man of commanding genius has his frailties. Douglas had as many as he could carry conveniently. His Young America friends, too, carried away with youthful enthusiasm, made some very damaging mistakes. Among the numerous influential periodicals which they secured for the purpose of pushing the candidacy of Douglas, was the Democratic Review, a monthly magazine. In those publications, they styled themselves "Young America," and alluded to such men as Cass, Buchanan and Marcy as "hucksters," "old clothes horses," "old fogies." They were declared to have outlived their usefulness and other uncomplimentary things, so that when the time for the convention approached, the youngsters found it impossible to make any alliances with any of the older candidates. Provoked as were the latter, they were only too glad to throw their strength to one unheard of like Pierce, rather than to one whose followers had so persistently lampooned them.¹⁸⁸

The pestiferous meddling with the small politics of Illinois, while not injurious to his cause in Illinois, did have its influence in other states. An incident may be cited in Illinois which disgusted such men as Bissell and Koerner. Bissell's letter expresses the criticisms fully and is attached:

New York, Aug. 13, 1851.

Dear Judge:

I have been here some five or six days. Shall be required to remain here three or four days longer—then go to Wash-

¹⁸⁸ Orth, 317.

ington—all on business of the R. R. Co.—so that it will be about the 20th before I can start for home. I am very anxious to return as speedily as possible; and I trust I shall be there as early as the 26th inst. After I left home, and before my arrival here, the R. R. Co. had sent for me to come on here—so that my departure from home was opportune.

I was nearly two days in Chicago. Douglas was absent—so was Peck, and nearly everybody else. They are very much divided there on the question of a candidate for Gov. Mattison has his friends, as well as some enemies there. I staid but a part of one night at Springfield—conversed with Calhoun and Treat. They are opposed to Mattison. Whether that circumstance is to be regarded as indicative of a prevalent sentiment round about the capital, you can judge as well as I. I did not anywhere let my own preference be known.

You would be acceptable everywhere, so far as I can judge, as a candidate for Lieut—and so I hope it may turn out.

Douglas has been pushed too fast, just exactly as we anticipated. I wish he were back right where he was six months ago. It would then be much easier to nominate him. There is already a regularly organized opposition to him; and with some men it is even bitter. The danger just now is from Buchanan's friend's. If the Free-Soilers of this state will strike for Douglas at *the right time*, they can secure his nomination and his election and there is no other party or set of men in the Union can do the same. I am on good and intimate terms with Dix, John Van——(Buren) and others of the *Eve. Post*. And I think I shall have the satisfaction of effecting some good for Douglas in that quarter before the convention sits. I cannot help but remark, however, that his ridiculous R. R. letter, all un-called for and unnecessary, and designed solely to increase his importance in *Chicago*, has injured him here in the estimation of every one who has taken the trouble to read his letter—I should rather say, his *stump speech* for it is nothing else; and hardly creditable to *his* intellect even at that. He must give up meddling in little

petty local matters if he wants to be considered a sufficiently large man for President. He ought to be above grocery stump speeches now.

If you meet my little girls, tell them you have heard from me.

Yours ever,

Hon. G. Koerner.¹⁹⁰

W. H. Bissell.¹⁸⁹

The railroad letter herein referred to, was written by Douglas in reply to Breese who had made the claim of pater-
nity of the Illinois Central Railroad. It was the hobby of Breese and was gratified by every other politician in the state. To Breese's original letter which appeared in the Daily Illinois State Register, December 28, 1850, Douglas replied by letter which appeared in the same paper, January 20, 1851. Breese replied by letter which appeared February 6, 1851, and to it Douglas replied by letter which appeared March 13, 1851.

It is astonishing that Douglas would resort to tactics so insupportably childish. His letters are not above the effort of a schoolboy trying to establish his claim to fame because his brother could eat his length in ears of sweet corn.

On the first day of June, 1852, the Democratic convention met in Baltimore. In the order of their strength on the first ballot, the following were candidates: Cass, then in his 71st year; Buchanan at 65, Douglas at 39, the youngest candidate whose name had been presented at a National Convention for consideration up to that moment, Marcy, Butler and Sam Houston.

The convention dominated by the South resolved just as the South desired, that "all efforts of the Abolitionists or others to induce Congress to interfere¹⁹¹ with questions of slavery or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences." . . .

¹⁸⁹ First Republican Governor of Illinois.

¹⁹⁰ Made Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, at election in 1852.

¹⁹¹ Notice this stand for non-intervention!

The doctrine of Douglas, exactly! The Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law, especially named, were most heartily endorsed and as indicating the present absence of all slavery agitation in the country and the satisfaction of the convention thereat, the convention added, "the Democratic party will resist all attempts at reviewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." The attention of the reader is asked to this resolution when he may have reached the year 1854, when fresh demands by the followers of Calhoun were in process of incubation.

On the first ballot, Cass had 116 votes, Buchanan 93, Marcy 27, Douglas 20, Butler 2, Houston 3. On the eleventh ballot, Cass received 101 votes, Buchanan 87, Douglas had risen to 50, Marcy received the same 27, Butler 8, and Houston 8. On the fourteenth ballot Douglas had 92, and his friends had high hopes of his ultimate nomination. On the next ballot Douglas still led all opponents with 92 votes, Buchanan 83, Cass 64. On the thirty-first, Douglas led with 92, Buchanan 79, Cass 64, Marcy 26, Butler 16, Houston 10, showing that Douglas could secure no more strength. On the thirty-third, he fell to 60 and on the thirty-fifth, he further dropped to 53. On the forty-sixth, he fell still further to 32. On the forty-eighth, 38, and on the next, General Franklin Pierce received 283 votes and became the nominee, unanimously. Prior to that vote, it will be noticed that no candidate had a clear majority, which under the generally established rule, would have been the signal to the minority to throw its strength to the man who was shown to be the clearly expressed choice of the convention.

Before that convention met, foreseeing a possible deadlock, the subject of the candidacy of Pierce had been canvassed by Caleb Cushing and Benjamin F. Butler, to see what might be best to do in just such an emergency as came up at the convention. At the little caucus dominated by them,¹⁹² it was decided that Pierce would be the strongest because the

¹⁹² Butler's Book.

South would take to him with greater kindness than any other of the candidates. This understanding disturbs the claim made by Abolitionists that Douglas was the tool of the South! Pierce supplemented the declaration for non-intervention by these words:

“Notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiment which then existed in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigor to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have the power to avert it, those who placed me here, may be assured.”

The declarations so emphatically and unequivocally set out at this time must not be forgotten when the year 1860 is reached and we find the politicians who framed them declaring for intervention by Congress to legislate protection to slave interests in the territories.

Douglas tendered his successful rival his heartiest cooperation by stumping 28 of the 31 states of the Union. For not one minute was he idle. Popular sovereignty was preached as never before and as by this time every southern man favored that adjustment, the ovations given him were almost dramatic. He opened his campaign at Richmond, Va.,¹⁸³ in a speech which became the touchstone of Democratic principles for the spell-binders of the party and which had a tremendous circulation in Illinois. For a platform which charged its nominees and of course their friends that the question of slavery must be a dead issue, that speech which aroused the South against Scott, the Whigs and the entire North on that very issue, was a piece of rank disobedience. Lincoln took offense at it and attempted to answer it before the Scott Club of Springfield, which at his request, had extended the invitation.

¹⁸³ July 9, 1852.

The constant preferment of Douglas, had rankled in the breast of Lincoln. He had longed to pull him down. Some of the first sentences of his speech betray that feeling almost immoderately.

“This speech has been published with high commendations in at least one of the Democratic papers in this state, and I suppose it has been and will be in most of the others. When I first saw it and read it, I was reminded of old times, when Judge Douglas was not so much greater man than all the rest of us here, as he is now,—of the Harrison campaign twelve years ago, when I used to hear and try to answer many of his speeches; and believing that the Richmond speech, though marked with the same species of ‘shirks and quirks’ as the old ones, was not marked with any greater ability, I was seized with a strange inclination to attempt an answer to it; and this inclination it was that prompted me to seek the privilege of addressing you on this occasion.”

During his remarks, Lincoln emphatically endorsed the speech of Douglas before the people in Chicago, made in defense of the compromise measures. But very like another speech made by Lincoln, in answer to a like speech made by Douglas,¹⁹⁴ his attempt was a dismal failure from every standpoint, with the possible exception of his answer to the indecent remark made by Douglas, “It was the hand of Providence that saved us from our first and only military administration; Taylor was gathered to his fathers.”

Douglas came off handsomely from his labors in behalf of Pierce.

PART XVI.

In 1848, Douglas had been the unanimous choice of his state for President, but being the friend and supporter of Cass, he declined to entertain the candidacy, complimentary and spontaneous though the endorsement was and tempting as might have been the offer when only 35 years of age. Well might he be proud of that endorsement at such an age, and

¹⁹⁴ In 1840 at Springfield, Herndon and Weik, Vol 1, 189.

he was proud of it. Before the next convention, as already noticed, he led the vote for many ballots. With the almost unanimous election of Pierce; with both houses overwhelmingly Democratic; with the death of Webster and Clay, in 1852; with himself the acknowledged leader of his party and easily the foremost man in the Nation, though not the President, he commanded the destinies of his party and stood before the people as the most likely man in the country to become President either in 1856 or 1860, depending largely upon his ability to hold his leadership. As a debater upon public questions, he was without a peer in the Senate. From every side came the voluntary admissions that it could not well be conceived, in what respect he could show a greater power in debate than he had displayed in the great questions of state which had shaken the foundations of the Nation in 1850. But unquestioned as was that power, little he concerned himself with the movement which was approaching with incredible swiftness when all that power was to be called to greater deeds in the defense of his own good measures and his party's bad ones.

As the wealth of California increased in imagination and in fact, the overland migration of the Argonauts increased and demands for their protection across the plains also increased. Politicians dare not ignore those demands altogether. Outfitting points in Iowa and Missouri had become features of commercial venture which the slave-holder of the latter state was compelled to regard with the same interest as the Free-Soiler of Iowa. Each state had its great trail to whose wants each was more than solicitous to administer. Each state at once recognized with more than passing interest the great empire which lay westward at its doors and a new interest resulted, common to both. Wherefore, business played its very important part in bringing to notice the two great bodies of land denominated Nebraska and Kansas, and Douglas, the most acute man of business that had ever entered the United States Senate, was the first to perceive their value and the early need of not only protection to the emigrants,

but the establishment of a form of government so essential to the development of growing sections. Chicago, the home of Douglas, also becoming very largely the base for supplies for those transportation trains, would have urged him to favor the erection of territorial governments from local reasons if he had not been moved thereto from patriotic motives, as he was at all times. His position as Chairman of the Committee on Territories permitted him to follow his inclination as well as the rising demand for action with regard to Nebraska and Kansas. St. Louis, then of rather greater commercial pretensions than Chicago, was just as loud in her demands for the opening up to settlement, of the country immediately to the west of Missouri, so that for a certain distance the Free-Soiler and the Slave extensionist found the assistance of each other not only agreeable but necessary and for a considerable time, they moved harmoniously together.

Since the bill of 1848, introduced by Douglas for the erection of Nebraska into a territorial form of government, the subject had lain dormant until December, 1851, when Willard P. Hall, Representative from Missouri,¹⁹⁵ gave notice of the introduction of a bill for the same purpose, and although the Missouri delegation favored the organization of the territory immediately to their western border, and actively supported Mr. Hall, the bill perished.

On December 13, 1852,¹⁹⁶ Mr. Hall introduced a bill for the organization of the Territory of the Platte, but that bill never was reported from the committee. In neither of these bills was the subject of slavery or the repeal of the compromise restriction mentioned, which illustrates superficially the complete indifference to its fate at that time, even in the State of Missouri.

On February 2, 1853,¹⁹⁷ William A. Richardson, the successor to Douglas in the House, introduced House Bill No. 353, "to organize the territory of Nebraska." This bill which made no reference to slavery, passed the House February 10,

¹⁹⁵ *History of Nebraska*, Vol. 1, p. 136.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *History of Nebraska*, Vol. 1, p. 137.

1853, by a vote of 98 to 43. The northern boundary of the territory described therein was the 43d parallel, the present boundary of that state; its eastern limit was to be the west line of Iowa and Missouri; its southern boundary was to be the territory of New Mexico and the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and its western boundary was to be the summit of the Rocky Mountains. In the debate upon the bill it is made to appear that Mr. Brooks of New York objected strenuously to it because, as he insisted, the Government had no right to take possession of the country until the Indian title had been extinguished. Mr. Hall, the able lieutenant of Douglas, and Richardson, answered in a manner to disarm criticism upon that point that if it were desired to protect life and travel through what was now recognized as a needed acquisition for purposes of civilization, the territory must be organized and the extinguishment might follow as it had in other notable instances. In the course of those very debates it is worthy our most intelligent consideration, that Mr. Howe of Pennsylvania taunted Joshua R. Giddings, who was a member of the Committee of Territories by asking "why the Ordinance of 1787 is not incorporated in this bill? (Laughter.) I should like to know whether he or the committee were intimidated on account of the platforms of 1852? (Laughter.) The gentleman pretends to be something of an anti-slavery man; at least I have understood so."

Mr. Giddings, who was not numbered among the trimmers and who was not the man to dodge a responsibility, retorted: "With the permission of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Richardson), I will say to my friend that the south line of this territory is $36^{\circ} 30'$. The law authorizing the people of Missouri to form a State government, enacted in 1820, provides in express language:

"That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, not included within the limits of the state contemplated by that act¹⁹⁸ (Missouri), slavery and involun-

¹⁹⁸ Cong. Globe, 26, 543.

tary servitude, otherwise than for crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, *shall be*, and is *hereby, forever prohibited.*'

"This law stands perpetually, and I did not think that this act would receive any increased validity by a re-enactment. There I leave the matter. It is very clear that the territory in that treaty must be forever free, unless that law be repealed."

Continuing, "Mr. John W. Howe: I should like to know of the gentleman from Ohio, if he has not some recollection of a compromise made since that time?"

Mr. Giddings: "That does affect this question."¹⁹⁹ And, illustrating the then temperate spirit of anti-slavery statesmen, Mr. Giddings added, "I am not in the habit of agitating these questions of slavery unless drawn into it."²⁰⁰

Hall fought valiantly, answering the Indian objections with reason and force, especially the objections of Howard of Texas by charging the latter with desiring to settle the Comanches and other wild tribes of Texas into Nebraska territory which would drive the overland routes from Missouri and Iowa to Texas. The appearance of business jealousies could not better be demonstrated than in the wordy duel between Howard and Hall when the latter said: "If in course of time a great railroad should be found necessary from this part of the country to the shore of the Pacific, and the doctrine prevail that all the territory west of the Missouri River is to be a wilderness from this day, henceforth and forever, Texas being settled, this country will have no alternative but to make the Pacific road terminate at Galveston or some other point in Texas.

The narrow commercial spirit of New England opposed the bill. A. C. Dodge, a man of great power as well as great feeling with every measure which concerned the West, favored it.

On February 17, Douglas reported the bill as it came from the House, without amendment, and on March 2, he tried to

¹⁹⁹ Dixon, 424.

²⁰⁰ Dixon, 424. Cong. Globe, Vol. 26, p. 543.

get it up for consideration, complaining at the same time that for two years the Senate had refused to hear a territorial bill. There may have been business reasons; there may have been reasons of jealousy from little New England, but above them all, there had arisen the as yet unexposed but very substantial reason in votes—for that refusal.

Of all the southern Senators, but two favored the bill, those from Missouri. That opposition, just beginning to be suspected, was masked behind such statements as that of Rusk of Texas, who said, its passage "would drive the Indians back on us," and the bill failed of consideration by a vote of 21 to 25.

On March 3d, Senator Douglas again moved to take up the bill for consideration, to which Senator Atchison of Missouri, afterward so notably and so disgracefully interested in Kansas troubles, replied:

"It is only a question of time whether we will organize the territory at this session of Congress, or whether we will do it at the next session; and for my own part I acknowledge now, as the Senator from Illinois well knows, when I came to this city at the beginning of the last session, I was perhaps as much opposed to the proposition as the Senator from Texas now is. The Senator from Iowa (Mr. Dodge) knows it; and it was for reasons which I will not now mention or suggest. But, sir, I have upon reflection and investigation in my own mind and from the opinions of others—my constituents whose opinions I am bound to respect—come to the conclusion that now is the time for the organization of this territory. It is the most propitious time. The treaties with the various Indian tribes, the titles to whose possessions must be extinguished, can better be made now than at any future time; for, as this question is agitated, and as it is understood, white men, speculators, will interpose and interfere, and the longer it is postponed the more we will have to fear from them, and the more difficult it will be to extinguish the Indian title in that country, and the harder the terms to be imposed. Therefore, Mr. President, for this reason, without going into detail,



UNITED STATES SENATOR
DAVID P. ATCHISON, OF MISSOURI.

I am willing now that the question shall be taken, whether we will proceed to the consideration of the bill or not.’²⁰¹

But Senator Atchison could not repress the feelings and reasons “which I will not now mention or suggest.” They weighed heavily upon him who did not value silence as did Davis and those others who entertained thoughts. Atchison continued:

“I had two objections to it. One was that the Indians title in that territory had not been extinguished, or at least a very small portion of it had been. Another was the Missouri Compromise, or, as it is commonly called, the slavery restriction. It was my opinion at that time—and I am not now very clear on that subject—that the law of Congress, when the State of Missouri was admitted into the Union, excluding slavery from the territory of Louisiana north of 36° 30’, would be enforced in that territory unless it was specially rescinded; and, whether that law was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States or not, it would do its work, and that work would be to preclude slave-holders from going into that territory. But when I came to look into that question, I found that there was no prospect, no hope of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, excluding slavery from that territory. Now, sir, I am free to admit that at this moment, at this hour, and for all time to come, I should oppose the organization or the settlement of that territory unless my constituents and the constituents of the whole South, of the slave states of the Union, could go into it upon the same footing, with equal rights and equal privileges, carrying that species of property with them, as other people of this Union. Yes, sir, I acknowledge that that would have governed me, but I have no hope that the restriction will ever be repealed.

“I have always been of the opinion that the first great error committed in the political history of this country was the Ordinance of 1787, rendering the Northwest Territory, free territory. The next great error was the Missouri Compromise. But they are both irremediable. There is no remedy

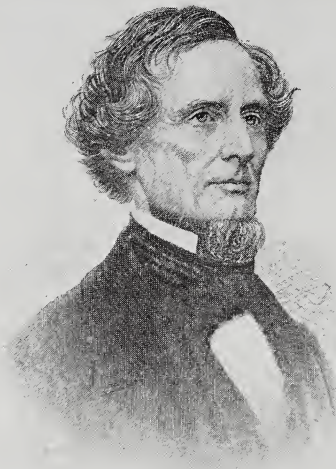
²⁰¹ Dixon, 425.

for them. We must submit to them. I am prepared to do it. It is evident that the Missouri Compromise cannot be repealed. So far as that question is concerned, we might as well agree to the admission of this territory now as next year, or five or ten years hence.

“Another reason that I will assign why I was opposed to this measure, and why I still think it objectionable in a local point of view, so far as my immediate constituents, the people of western Missouri, as well as those of Iowa and Arkansas, are concerned is, if you organize the Territory of Nebraska and extinguish the Indian title, and let in the white population upon that territory, it extends our frontiers from seven hundred to one thousand miles west, and we raise up competition with what we now have. The states of Iowa and Missouri have now the best of markets for all their products. But if we extend this frontier from year to year, competition will increase, and we will be compelled to turn our agricultural products down the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, to the east instead of the west; yet we are not so selfish but that we are willing to extend the power of the United States still further to the west. We know that it must come, and that in a very few years. The pressure of population from the older states and from Europe has been such that they roll up against the frontier, and the most populous counties in the State of Missouri are upon the western boundary line of that state.”

Applying the torch as Atchison did thereby, all of Pierce's good intentions and the good resolutions of the Democratic platform were very quickly to be nullified and the country precipitated into the fiercest slavery agitation it had witnessed.

Douglas was an intent listener. The entire South listened intently and profitably to the exploitation of the program which noiselessly it had chosen to demand, compromises or no compromises, as the price to be paid for the admission of any future state. Emigrants and New Englanders in constantly increased numbers were demanding more land to cultivate. All of them were opposed to slavery. Plainly enough



Joseph Davis.

the end of slave states was present unless by making Kansas a slave state to influence the California, Utah and New Mexico vote in the future a latitude practically unlimited could be secured and preserved into which to pour pro-slavery votes for use in a contest of votes. The South had further resolved that the moment one more slave state had been secured to equalize the vote in the senate, never again would a free state get into the union unless a corresponding slave state came with it. The death of Clay and others and the retirement of Benton had made that threat possible of accomplishment. (Atchison would support it when demanded.) At this point the program had been divulged. The senator from Missouri, ostensibly for the bill had disclosed the features of the South's antagonisms to the further organization of territories and Atchison had answered with lucidity the reasons why the senate for two years had refused to consider bills for the organization of territories as complained by Douglas. The spirit of Calhoun had swept away the last vestige of the influence of Clay and Benton and compromise measures, and rule or ruin had been supplanted. Jefferson Davis was an apt pupil of his more than apt teacher! Like the effect of touching an electric button every anti-slavery mind in the north became inflamed.

Douglas closed the debate and never did that past master of debate contest for a righteous measure with better logic and more courage.

Without a doubt, after the explanations by Atchison, Douglas had penetrated the thinly veiled objections of southern opposition in its philanthropic regard for the Indian; but lacking the security of anything more substantial than conjecture, he made no allusion to motive. Insisting as he did, that the act was very dear to his heart, who is there can place his finger upon the occasion when Douglas did not give it the benefit of every resource within his resourceful grasp? Not one objection offered by the opposition was permitted to escape his consideration and not one but was fully and honestly met by innumerable precedents and provisions in the

new bill providing for just such objections and emergencies. The morning of the last day of the session dawned before he finished his efforts and then by a vote of 23 to 17, the bill was laid upon the table.

Friends of the measure were confronted with a stone wall opposition, or with support which like Atchison's, knocked the props from under in its vapid effort to straddle. What were friends of it to do? From the standpoint of the South, Davis knew; but until Atchison's talk was injected into the proceedings, nothing but opposing votes had intervened, as Douglas had complained.

PART XVII.

The necessity for a legally constituted government to the west of Iowa and Missouri, to afford protection for the constantly increasing travel over the plains, had assumed a degree of importance and urgency which could be ignored no longer by western Senators and Representatives in Congress. Constitutional protection was demanded. The legitimate influences theretofore brought to bear upon them, were carried at last to Pierce himself, who desired a re-election and was working for it with all the ardor of the man who has had a taste of official life so sweet as White House life. That official, dominated by the cabinet influence of Jefferson Davis, his Secretary of War, desired the opportunity to put to flight the damaging rumors then industriously circulated to the effect that he opposed a repeal of the Missouri restriction and favored the contentions of the Freesoilers. Nominated and elected by southern influence, dominated by southern influence and expecting a continuation of his official life through the same influence, those rumors had caused President Pierce more than a little of embarrassment and whether from advice or wisdom of his own, he reached the conclusion that through the instrumentality of this measure two birds might be killed with one stone:—in other words, he might retain

his southern support and he might secure certain western support which naturally favored Douglas.

Douglas, the most thoroughly western man in the Senate, ambitious and enthusiastic always for the glory of his country abroad and for its development within, had reached a state of mind with regard to Nebraska, which in Douglas meant unremitting effort in her behalf. His western friends, as influential members of the dominant party,—of the same mind,—proposed to press its claims upon the 33d Congress with all the energy and strategy at their command. Two favorable influences therefore appeared to greet the measure when it should come up for consideration.

On the other hand, members of the southern branch of the same party, were as determined to oppose it,—unless remodeled to meet their approval,—by all the arts known to resourceful and successful past masters of political manipulation and wordy legerdemain.²⁰² Thus matched, with the administration, who on demand might be counted upon to see that the proper remodeling was done, the case might be said to be one of diamond cut diamond, with odds preponderating in favor of the southern branch.

It would be uncomplimentary to state that Douglas had not penetrated the motive which had governed former resistance long before it had been exposed by Atchison who, by the bye, had been overhauled by his southern friends for expressing the hopelessness of expecting no repeal of the Missouri restriction. Douglas knew well enough just what he had to combat and by the same process of absorption, the southern branch seemed to know just what they had to combat—justice and the trip-hammer blows of Douglas.

Douglas would not have made a first class Secretary of State; he would have made a model Secretary of War; the best to be found. Stealth and crafty sparring for time or advantage found no favor with him as mediums of warfare.

²⁰² "The bill itself was silent as to the act of 1820, and if we judge from the dialogue between Mr. Howe and Mr. Giddings, this silence was interpreted by either side to suit their respective views. To the one it meant that the legislation of 1820 was rendered a nullity by that of 1850—to the other it was expressive only of the fact that the act of 1820 still existed in full force, and required no declaration of that existence."—Dixon.

W. A. Richardson was far better equipped for managing the strategic points of the coming contest and to him Douglas looked for just such support as was required and which at last came to the measure.

On December 14, 1853, Senator A. C. Dodge, of Iowa, pursuant to notice duly given, as though acting in concert with the Committee on Territories, introduced "a bill to organize a territorial government for the Territory of Nebraska," which contained no reference to slavery. The bill was read a first and second time and referred to the Committee on Territories where it rested until January 4, 1854, the subject of grave debate and deliberation. On the last named date, Douglas reported it back to the senate with certain amendments and a report²⁰³ appealing to his party associates and to the Whigs as well, to accept for the bill a practical adaptation of the very latest utterances of their respective party platforms, to-wit, popular sovereignty as permitted Utah and New Mexico by the 1850 compromise measures.

After stating that the bill was designed to carry out in good faith the principle adopted by Congress in the measures of 1850, the same closes as follows:

"From these provisions it is apparent that the compromise measures of 1850 affirm and rest upon the following propositions:

First—That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories, and in the new states to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose.

Second—That "all cases involving title to slaves," and "questions of personal freedom," are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Third—That the provisions of the constitution of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all "the organized terri-

²⁰³ Senate Reports, Session 1, 33rd Congress, Vol. 1, No. 15.



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tories'' the same as in the states. The substitute for the bill which your committee have prepared, and which is commended to the favorable action of the Senate, proposes to carry these propositions and principles into practical operation, in the precise language of the compromise measures of 1850."

It became a question of the repeal or else no new territories! With Kansas so easy of access from Missouri, at first glance it looked like an easy conquest for the pro-slavery people. It may be safe to say, Douglas knew better.

Something of a commotion followed the introduction of the amended bill and the report. Senators debated the effect of the same upon the Missouri restriction and the people at large over the North, suspicious of the same purpose, grew restless and critical.

But Douglas had not asked for a repeal of the restrictive clause of the Missouri Compromise. The most he had urged in his report, was suggestive; tentatively to propose something for the courts to determine, or for the Senate to shape into form, agreeable to the wishes of a majority of its members.

To fasten slavery upon the people of Nebraska against their will, must not be considered as any part of Douglas' suggestions, as speeches without number can be cited corroborative thereof, and as the great fight upon this measure develops in these pages, let not the circumstance be overlooked, that if Douglas fought northern or abolition opposition to the bill, he fought the southern extremists just as bitterly when subsequently, the Lecompton constitution came forward as the pet measure of Buchanan and the extremists. South, and, too when his support of it would have won for him the presidency without doubt. And let it also be remembered in the same connection that Douglas never made the bids for the presidency that were made during the same contest by Seward and Chase who opposed him. Both the latter gentlemen were candidates for President and as the future developed, both became political beneficiaries little short of Lincoln himself, leaving Douglas, the real gladiator, who

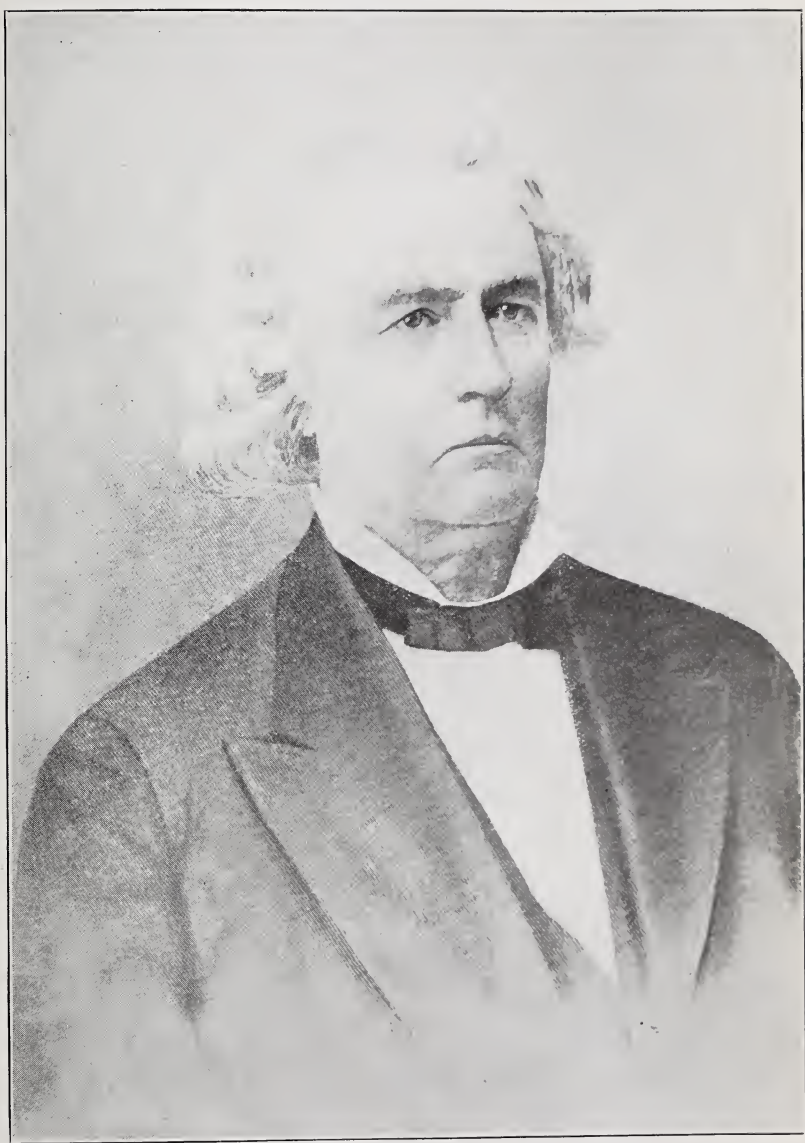
sustained the fury of the long fight, vanquished, and them the legatees of his valor. Douglas fought the slave holding oligarchy when it meant political death while for the others fighting the same element, it meant office and power and fame undying. Altogether too much stress has been laid upon a party success as the corollary judgment of merit, and altogether too little regard has been had for the heroic work of the one man above all others who made it possible for Seward and Chase and Lincoln to ride into immortality.

Douglas submitted the amended bill and the report with the avowed and determined purpose of securing the passage of the bill at that session of Congress.

From the Senate Journal, it would appear that nothing worth the notice, was done with the bill until January 16, 1854, when Senator Dixon gave notice that "when the bill to establish a territorial government in the Territory of Nebraska, should come up for consideration, he should offer the following amendment:

"Sec. 22. And be it further enacted, That so much of the 8th section of an act approved March 6, 1820, entitled 'An Act to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories,' as declares 'That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be forever prohibited,' shall not be so construed as to apply to the Territory contemplated by this act, or to any other Territory of the United States; but the citizens of the several states and territories shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the territories of the United States, or of the states to be formed therefrom, as if the said act, entitled as aforesaid, had never been passed.' 7204

²⁰⁴ Dixon, 443.



UNITED STATES SENATOR ARCHIBALD DIXON, OF KENTUCKY.

Although a Whig, Dixon was a pro-slavery man of pronounced type and in speaking upon the point, so stated with much emphasis. Unlike Douglas in his report, he insisted that Nebraska did not occupy a relative position with New Mexico and Utah. He insisted that the Mexicans had a law upon the subject of slavery upon their admission which should not be disturbed without their consent; that slavery was abhorrent to the people; while Nebraska was a country without laws and without population and that the Missouri restriction forbidding the people of one section to remove thence with their property of whatsoever kind,²⁰⁵ was unconstitutional and void, and recognized only for purposes of expediency. He charged the bill with speciousness in the proposition that new states might come into the Union "with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of admission," when not a slave-holder could enter the territory with his property until *after* the Constitution of the state had been made—and what possible chance had the slave-holder when the constitution was to be made by people who owned no slaves? He further demanded for the South an outlet for surplus slave population and inasmuch as most of the free states had prohibitory laws against the settlement of free negroes in those states, such an outlet he insisted must be provided to save the slave states from the possible disaster which overwhelmed San Domingo. As affording the only remedy, he demanded the repeal of the Missouri restriction.

We are permitted to learn from the pen of Senator Dixon's wife and amanuensis, that on the day following the announcement of Dixon's proposal, he was unable to leave his room from illness and that during that day, his parlor was crowded with visitors, all congratulating him and expressing delight at his unexpected action. Northern Democrats stood aghast, suspecting it to be a Whig bombshell thrown into the Democratic camp to destroy their party. Another statement which may have an interest because of the man's bearing upon several subsequent occasions, is to the effect,

²⁰⁵ The old Calhoun contention.

that John C. Breckinridge entered, and holding Dixon by the hand, said in the most impressive way and with great emphasis: "Governor, why did none of us ever think of this before?" That statement was truly a slander against the distinguished Senator from Missouri, Hon. David R. Atchison, who had made some remarks upon the floor of the Senate in a strain sounding very much like a possible repeal of the restriction!

But now here follows the part of the story which has more to do with the subject of this book, Senator Douglas.

"In the afternoon, I think, of the next day, or it may have been the day after, Judge Douglas called to see Mr. Dixon, and asked him to drive out with him, so that he might have an opportunity to talk uninterruptedly. Upon Mr. Dixon's return he told me of the conversation between them, and of the arguments he had used—and that finally Judge Douglas had said of the repeal—'By G—d, sir, you are right, and I will incorporate it in my bill, though I know it will raise a hell of a storm.'"²⁰⁶

In a letter dated October 1, 1858, directed to Mr. Foote of Mississippi and published in the Louisville Democrat, we are further told:

"After declaring his approbation of Judge Douglas' views in everything that he regarded as material, and expressing his deep interest in his success; after scoring Buchanan for his departure from the principle of non-intervention in the Kansas-Lecompton matter (in which he attempted to force slavery upon the people of Kansas against the expressed will of the majority); and for his course towards Douglas in the celebrated senatorial contest then going on between Douglas and Lincoln—Mr. Dixon says: 'Of Judge Douglas personally, I have a few words to utter which I could not withhold, without greatly wronging my own conscience: When I entered the United States Senate a few years ago, I found him a decided favorite with the political party then dominant both in the Senate and the country. My mind had

²⁰⁶ Dixon, 445.

been greatly prejudiced against him, and I felt no disposition whatever to sympathize, or to co-operate with him. It soon became apparent to me, as to others, that he was upon the whole, far the ablest Democratic member of the body. In the progress of time my respect for him, both as a gentleman and a statesman, greatly increased. I found him sociable, affable, and in the highest degree entertaining and instructive in social intercourse. His power as a debater, seemed to me unequalled in the Senate. He was industrious, energetic, bold and skillful in the management of the concerns of his party.

“He was the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party in the Senate, and, to confess the truth, seemed to me to bear the honor which encircled him with sufficient meekness. Such was the palmy state of his reputation and popularity on the day he reported to the Senate his celebrated Kansas and Nebraska bill.

“On examining that bill, it struck me that it was deficient in one material respect: it did not in terms repeal the restrictive provision in regard to slavery embodied in the Missouri Compromise.

“This to me, was a deficiency that I thought it imperatively necessary to supply. I accordingly offered an amendment to that effect.

“My amendment seemed to take the Senate by surprise, and no one appeared more startled than Judge Douglas himself. He immediately came to my seat and courteously remonstrated against my amendment, suggesting that the bill which he had introduced was almost in the words of the territorial acts for the organization of Utah and New Mexico; that they being a part of the compromise measures of 1850, he had hoped that I, a known and zealous friend of the wise and patriotic adjustment which had then taken place, would not be inclined to do anything to call that adjustment in question or weaken it before the country. I replied that it was precisely because I had been, and was, a firm and zealous friend of the compromise of 1850, that I felt bound to persist in the movement which I had originated; that I was well

satisfied that the Missouri restriction, if not expressly repealed, would continue to operate in the Territory to which it had been applied, negating the great and salutary principal of non-intervention which constituted the most prominent and essential features of the plan of settlement of 1850. We talked for some time amicably, and separated. Some days afterwards, Judge Douglas came to my lodgings, whilst I was confined by physical indisposition, and urged me to get up and take a ride with him in his carriage.

“I accepted his invitation and rode out with him. During our short excursion we talked on the subject of my proposed amendment, and Judge Douglas, to my high gratification, proposed to me that I should allow him to take charge of the amendment and engraft it on his territorial bill. I accepted the proposition at once; whereupon a most interesting interchange occurred between us. On this occasion, Judge Douglas spoke to me in substance thus:

‘I have become perfectly satisfied that it is my duty, as a fair minded national statesman, to co-operate with you as proposed in securing the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction.

‘It is due to the South; it is due to the Constitution, heretofore palpably infracted; it is due to that character for consistency which I have heretofore labored to maintain. The Repeal, if we can effect it, will produce much stir and commotion in the free states of the Union for a season. I shall be assailed by demagogues and fanatics there without stint or moderation. Every opprobrious epithet will be applied to me. I shall be, probably, hung in effigy in many places. It is more than probable that I may become permanently odious among those whose friendship and esteem I have heretofore possessed. This proceeding may end my political career. But acting under the sense of duty, I am prepared to make the sacrifice. I will do it.’

“He spoke in the most earnest and touching manner, and I confess that I was deeply affected. I said to him in reply:

“ ‘Sir,—I once recognized you as a demagogue, a mere manager, selfish and intriguing. I now find you a warm hearted and sterling patriot.

‘Go forward in the pathway of duty as you propose, and though all the world desert you, I will never’ ”²⁰⁷

Dixon thus tells us what has come to us from every source, that Douglas was surprised. Douglas did not affect surprise. He never was guilty of stage performances in public or private. What he said, he meant and what he did always spoke louder than words.

Although Douglas expected the majority to propose amendments, he was not prepared for one so drastic.

In common with other friends of the bill, he regarded the amendment in the light of a poisoned dart aimed directly at the heart of his cherished bill, and very naturally, he remonstrated. Taking new bearings and further counsel, he called upon Dixon. Following the Dixon *salon* and the call upon Dixon, Douglas called upon the President (mentioned later), after all which, it was perceived what alone could secure for the bill that consideration which common justice demanded. With the alternative of something or nothing, he conformed his will and pleasure to those necessities, firmly believing when he took such a resolution, that slavery never could secure a foothold in any part of the country to be affected by the bill,²⁰⁸ for climatic as well as sentimental objections. He had made such statements upon the floor of the Senate and he made similar statements during the period of uncertainty which surrounded the bill during those anxious days spent in scenting the conditions to be exacted before passage of the bill might be assured. At the same time, he learned that a demand which could not be ignored, insisted upon the division of the vast area mentioned in the bill, into two parts or sections, one to be called Nebraska and to lie along the Oregon and Salt Lake trail, the other to be called Kansas and to lie along the other great overland route called the Santa Fe trail.

²⁰⁷ Dixon, 145.

²⁰⁸ Toombs always insisted publicly and privately that slavery never could get a foothold in Kansas.—Stovall, 160.

These considerations, to be mentioned with greater minuteness at a later period, moved Douglas to give notice on January 17, 1854, that on the next Monday (23) he would ask the Senate to take up the bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska.

On the same day, Senator Sumner gave notice that he would offer an amendment, "That nothing herein contained shall be construed to abrogate or in any way contravene the act of March 6, 1820, etc."²⁰⁹

After resubmission, on the 23d, Douglas submitted a report from his committee, to the Senate, which proposed as a further amendment, a bill to create two territories in place of one—one to be called Kansas, the other to be called Nebraska—(considered later). And then—

"The section providing for the election of a Delegate is amended by adding to the words, 'that the Constitution, and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States,' the following:

" 'Except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise measures, and is declared inoperative.' "²¹⁰

Secure in the belief that the administration stood behind the measure notwithstanding former expressed wishes to avoid another agitation of the slavery question, Douglas introduced his bill and upon the following day, the 24th, called it up in the Senate for consideration.

Not only did Messrs. Chase²¹¹ and Sumner, but Norris, Cass and other Democrats, desired that time be given them to consider the grave changes which had been made in the vital character of the measure. Whereupon Douglas submit-

²⁰⁹ Cong. Globe, Vol. 28, p. 186.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 222.

²¹¹ "The simple bill which Dodge introduced has undergone very important changes," said Chase. Cong. Globe, Vol. 28, pt. 1, p. 239. Hist. Neb., Vol. 1, p. 239. Douglas grew insanely angry when after this postponement the "Address" appeared. As stated, others including Dixon asked it.

ted "a motion that the bill be postponed to, and made the special order of the day for, Monday next, and be the special order from day to day until disposed of."

In support of that motion, Dixon, arose and said: "I hope the motion of the Senator from Illinois will prevail. I think it due to the Senate that they should have an opportunity of understanding precisely the bearings and the effect of the amendment which has been recently incorporated into the bill as originally reported by the Committee—I mean that portion of the amendment which alludes to slavery within the Territories proposed to be organized—Nebraska and Kansas. So far as I am individually concerned, I am perfectly satisfied with the amendment reported by the Senator from Illinois, and which has been incorporated into the bill. If I understand it, it reaches a point which I am most anxious to attain—that is to say, it virtually repeals the Act of 1820, commonly called the Missouri Compromise Act, declaring that slavery should not exist north of the line of 36° 30', north latitude.

I here take occasion to remark, merely with a view of placing myself right before the Senate that I think my position in relation to this matter has been somewhat misunderstood.

I have been charged, through one of the leading journals of this city,²¹² with having proposed the amendments which I notified the Senate I intended to offer, with a view to embarrass the Democratic party. It was said that I was a Whig from Kentucky, and that the amendment proposed by me should be looked upon with suspicion by the opposite party. Sir, I merely wish to remark that, upon the question of slavery, I know no Whiggery, and I know no Democracy. I am a pro-slavery man. I am from a slave-holding state; I represent a slave-holding constituency; and I am here to maintain the rights of that people whenever they are presented before the Senate.

The amendment, which I notified the Senate that I should offer at the proper time, has been incorporated by the Senator

²¹² Washington Union.

from Illinois into the bill which he has reported to the Senate. The bill, as now amended, meets my views, and I have no objection to it. I shall, at the proper time, as far as I am able to do so, aid and assist the Senator from Illinois, and others who are anxious to carry through this proposition, with the feeble abilities I may be able to bring to bear upon it. I think it due to myself to make this explanation, because I do not wish it to be understood that upon a question like this, I have, or could have any motive except that which should influence a man anxious to secure what he believes to be a great principle—that is, Congressional non-interference in all the territories, so far as this great question of slavery is concerned.

I never did believe in the propriety of passing the Missouri Compromise. I thought it was the result of necessity. I never thought that the great Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Clay, when he advocated that measure, did so because his judgment approved it, but because it was the result of a combination of circumstances which drove him to the position he assumed; and I have never thought that that measure received the sanction either of his heart or of his head.

The amendment, then, which I gave notice that I would propose, and which I intended to have proposed, if it had not been rendered wholly unnecessary by the amendment reported by the Senator from Illinois, from the Committee on Territories of which he is the honored chairman—I intended to offer under the firm conviction that I was carrying out the principles settled in the Compromise Acts of 1850; and which leave the whole question of slavery with the people, and without any Congressional interference. For, over the subject of slavery, either in the states or the territories of the United States, I have always believed, and have always contended, that Congress had no power whatever; and that consequently, the act of 1820, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise Act, is unconstitutional; and at the proper time, I shall endeavor to satisfy the Senate and the country of the truth of these propositions.”²¹³

²¹³ January 24, 1854.—Greeley, Vol. 1, pages 228-229.

To which Douglas responded as follows:

“As this discussion has begun, I feel it to be my duty to say a word in explanation. I am glad to hear the Senator from Kentucky say that the bill, as it now stands, accomplishes all that he desired to accomplish by his amendment, because his amendment seemed to myself, and to some with whom I have consulted, to mean more than what he now explains it to mean, and what I am glad he did not intend to mean.

We supposed that it not only wiped out the legislation which Congress had heretofore adopted excluding slavery, but that it affirmatively legislated slavery into the Territory. The object of the Committee was neither to legislate slavery into nor out of the territories; neither to introduce nor exclude it; but to remove whatever obstacles Congress had put there, and apply the doctrine of congressional non-interference, in accordance with the principles of the Compromise measures of 1850, and allow the people to do as they pleased upon this as well as all other matters affecting their interests.

The explanation of the honorable Senator from Kentucky shows that his meaning was not what many supposed it to be, who judged simply from the phraseology of the amendment; I deem this explanation due to the Senator and to myself.”²¹³

A tremendous outcry in the North arose at once against Douglas. Believing himself to be attacked unjustly, and temperamentally unable to take abuse passively, he was aroused to an aggressiveness which would not have appeared, otherwise. From this hour Douglas waged a running fight such as but few men dare invite and such as none but Douglas could endure. He fought the northern men for days and weeks together upon every motion. The aisles and galleries were daily and nightly filled to suffocation to listen to the rolling voice, the swaying figure and many times the vitriolic speeches of the “Little Giant,” and despite the roars for order from the presiding officer and threats to clear them,

²¹³ January 24, 1854.—Greeley, Vol. 1, pages 228-229.

the "Little Giant" was cheered over and over again. It was not infrequent for those crowds to remain all night, tired, hungry but determined, listening to every word and that deep, rich, sonorous voice until the morning dawned and the Senate adjourned.

PART XVIII.

The motion of Douglas to postpone, was carried of course. His was but another of an endless number of courtesies extended to others, whether friend or foe, on the floor of the Senate.

As his report had prepared the public mind in the North for a fruitful yield of objection, so the interim permitted by the postponement gave Chase, Seward and Sumner ample time to promulgate an "Address to the people of the United States"²¹⁴ through the medium of which it was hoped to rouse public sentiment against the measure, to such a pitch that at least the House, more in touch with public clamor, would listen and decline to agree with the proposal of the Senate which might be relied upon to carry through any Administration measure.

The Address denounced Douglas in unmeasured terms for his part in the attempt to abrogate the Missouri restriction. Its appeal produced the desired results throughout the North where agitation began and excitement, fanned by the more radical and fanatical Abolitionists, soon had that section of country ablaze with indignation. Ministers of the Gospel, as desired, preached against the bill. They exhorted men to oppose it. They signed protests and by January 30, when the bill came up for consideration, public opinion against the bill was expressed in language too immoderate to bear repetition. Explanations were hurled back indignantly and many times with reproach or scorn. Legislatures which happened to be in session at the time, passed resolutions demanding

²¹⁴ January 22, 1854.

the Senators and Representatives of their states to oppose it. Men who theretofore had permitted themselves to be brow-beaten into many party measures rose in anger to oppose it. Freesoilers, Whigs, Union Democrats dropped their differences and fused their influence against the repeal of the Missouri restriction. In Illinois, nothing but the imperative orders of Douglas prevented the adoption of resolutions of denunciation against the bill because the people were thoroughly aroused against disturbing the compact of 1820.

Douglas expected no such outburst even though Dixon has seen fit to state that Douglas foresaw just such possibilities, and when he became the target for much newspaper abuse it should not require the medium of pen and paper to draw the inference that he resented it. The words in the last three lines of the postscript especially referring to his ambition to become President, were not calculated to soften his wrath or swerve him from the course he had mapped out with reference to securing for the open country to the west, a regularly constituted territorial government.

His perennial patience in debate, and his urbanity disappeared for the time, and his reply to the Address, as delivered, is said to have been couched in form and words very different from those given by the reporter for the Congressional Globe. Every eye became focused upon him and his actions were sent to every reader of a newspaper in the country.

With a composure differing little from the mask of death, the southern Senators and Pierce folded their hands, accepted the benefits of the bill and generously permitted Douglas to snatch the chestnuts from the burning brands for their future use when in good time Douglas might be killed off, knowing enough of the Douglas temperament to believe that once interested, he would not abandon his support of a bill.

The legislature of Rhode Island was first to respond with resolutions denouncing the bill, which it did at once and they were presented to Congress on January 30, when the bill was first taken up for consideration. On February 1st, Mr. Sum-

ner presented a memorial from citizens of Pennsylvania. Without reference to chronological order, another and by far the largest remonstrance dated Boston, Massachusetts, March 1, 1854, was signed by 3,500 clergymen of New England. Though dated March 1st, as explained by Mr. Everett who presented it²¹⁵ to the Senate, it was signed very largely before that date.

Private protests were poured into the mail of Douglas from personal friends. Congress was deluged with them.

By this time it should be noticeable how the same southern men, who in 1850, ridiculed the idea of popular sovereignty, now regarded it in the light of a sacred right. At the same time it might not be amiss to call attention to a later period, when, failing to capture Kansas, popular sovereignty became again a flagrant humbug, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States," and the Dred Scott decision conveniently gave them another license to discard popular sovereignty and demand more concessions. On February 3d, Mr. Chase offered an amendment to Douglas' substitution to "strike out from section 14 these words: 'was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise measure, and' so that the clause will read: 'That the Constitution, and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820,' " Which would leave the section as a simple repeal, without reason.

After long arguments and many personal passages the proffered amendment of Chase was defeated, yeas 13, nays 30.

The objections to that part of the bill stating that the Compromise measures of 1850 *superseded* the Missouri Compromise, were found to be unanswerable and Douglas himself on February 7th, moved an amendment to the 14th section of the bill to read as follows:

²¹⁵ March 14.

“That the Constitution and laws of the United States, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which being *inconsistent* with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories as recognized by the legislation of 1850 (commonly called the Compromise measure) is hereby declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.”

On the 15th, the amendment was agreed to, yeas 35, nays, 10, Douglas having added these words: “I move the amendment, with the general concurrence of the friends of the measure. It will apply to both territories.”

On the same day, Chase introduced his celebrated amendment to follow immediately after the words above given in the Douglas amendment: “Under which the people of the territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein.”

When asked to add the words “or introduce,” so that the rule might work both ways, Chase candidly stated: “I do not believe that a territorial legislature, though it may have the power to protect the people against slavery, is constitutionally competent to introduce it.”

This Chase amendment was debated with much heat while debate upon the bill generally proceeded. Each hour seemingly brought forth new and greater objections, many of which had to be obviated to please its friends. By Jones of Tennessee it was objected that the repeal of the Missouri restriction left the territory to be affected, in the condition it was found under the French law, with slavery a legal institution, revived. While some of the more radical Senators

argued against such an effect, the moderates perceived the force of the objection at once and Mr. Badger of North Carolina substituted the following amendment to the 14th section: "Provided, That nothing herein shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the act of the 6th of March, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery."

This was agreed to, yeas, 35; nays, 6.

Douglas then moved to strike out the provisions giving to the Governor the power of absolute veto, inserting in lieu thereof a clause conferring a limited one. In the same motion, Douglas moved to strike out the clause declaring that the acts of the territorial legislature should be submitted to Congress and if disapproved, should be null and void. These amendments designed to give greater freedom to the legislatures were adopted without division.

In its present form the bill permitted aliens, or, at least, those persons who had not taken out final naturalization papers, to vote, to which Atchison and others objected strenuously; whereupon, Mr. Clayton moved to strike out the words: "And those who shall have declared on oath, their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act." In the vote upon that question, it will be noticed that Douglas opposed the motion strenuously. He favored liberal naturalization laws, always. All the northern friends of the bill save one, stood by him; but, it was carried by a vote of 23 against 21.

Many times Chase had insisted that if it was the design to give to the people of the territories the right to do as they pleased, it was no more than right that the right be extended to every feature of government. He argued that if they could vote for or against slavery, they could vote for their own officers and in order to test the sincerity of the Senate as he said upon the question, he offered an amendment to that effect.

This amendment was defeated by a vote of, yeas, 10; nays, 30. Determined to fight the measure to the last ditch, Chase continued to ask for amendments and to speak for them. Though beaten at every turn; though realizing that he was talking against votes, yet he continued, his next effort being directed toward a change in the boundary as set forth in the bill.

In favor of the amendment, 8; against, 34.

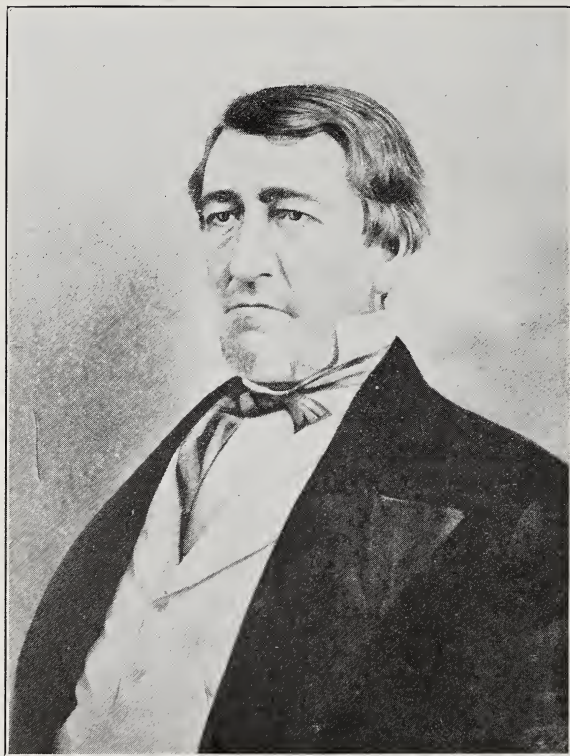
In due time, the bill was reported to the Senate. All amendments made in the Committee of the Whole were concurred in without a count except the Clayton amendment which Douglas still opposed, and which, after debate, was concurred in by a vote of 22 to 20. Thereupon the bill was ordered engrossed for third reading by a vote of 29 to 12. On March 3rd, the question was put: Shall this bill pass?

We are told that when it came time for Douglas to close the debate, knowing well enough its certainty of passage, he desired to waive his closing speech. He was overruled. Still objecting that the hour, then about midnight, was altogether too late to further tire the Senate, he was overruled again by friends of the measure and for five hours he held the crowded galleries and aisles and the Senators spellbound. Of that outburst, his enemies were compelled to make the doubtful admission that it was the greatest speech ever made in support of a bad cause. Others, begrudgingly have consented to state that considering his lack of learning, it would pass otherwise for a very acceptable presentation of his side of the case. In the midst of the discussion in the early part of the evening, Seward, more generous than the learned critics who have attempted to tell us of the speech from the distance of sixty-years, said: "I hope that the Senator will yield for a moment, because I have never had so much respect for him as I have tonight." And the floor was yielded. Though requested times without number to yield to interruptions and that too by those who had signed the Address, Douglas generously yielded and patiently permitted them to object and criticise; but with every interruption, he came back to the

question with more vigor and more eloquence and more reasons to sustain his position than at the moment of the interruption. The suffocating crowds striving to keep in place against others from without trying to squeeze into impossible spaces, fought to retain seats or standing room. Frequent outbursts of applause were threatened with visitations from the Sergeant-at-Arms by the President, but without avail. At intervals, enthusiasm would burst and sweep over the chamber in spite of the efforts of the crowd to suppress it. That night was the proudest of all the career of Stephen A. Douglas! He used no useless nor ornate figures of speech; he told no anecdotes; he affected no humor; those features of public speaking did not belong to his style of oratory; he shot his bolts straight at the bull's eye in plain English which any child could understand. Excited²¹⁶ as he must have been when referring to his enemies of the address, he shook his mighty shock of hair and with clenched fist raised aloft, he shot vitriolic sentences thick and fast at their offending heads. It is safe to say, that no more pitiless punishment was ever administered to an offending Senator than was rained upon the heads of the signers of that Address. Beyond a doubt, he carried his support of the measure much further than it would have been permitted to go, had he not been wrought up to a white heat under the stings of that Address. Much of the contemporaneous criticism and which is effectual no longer, should have been charged to the intense feeling of the man smarting under the sting of such terms as "servile demagogue," which at this day and age would not be tolerated at a cocking main if cocking mains themselves were tolerated at this day and age. At ten minutes of five the vote was taken. At five minutes after five o'clock in the morning, the Senate adjourned after a continuous session of seventeen hours.

The bill, entitled "An Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," was sent to the House for concurrence on March 7, 1854. Passing the unimportant periods of the bill in the House, under the able management of W. A.

²¹⁶ In cases so unusual as this, it has been said that his eyes took on a steel blue tinge.—Hon. Robert M. Douglas, January 22, 1909.



WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON.

Richardson, we find this bill was not taken up for more than two months after its arrival in the latter body. There were scruples to vanquish, objections to remove and many other obstructions which could be removed only by smoothest actions and manner, because the House was not so overwhelming in its loyalty to party upon that particular bill. The hum of dissatisfaction which could not be ignored by aspiring men, rose louder and higher.

A House bill, almost a duplicate of the Douglas bill, having been reported from the Committee on Territories by Mr. Richardson, its chairman, on January 31st, Mr. English, an uncompromising Democrat, proposed to strike out the clause repealing the 8th section of the Missouri act. The proposal was smothered. On March 21st, the Senate bill, by a vote of 110 to 95, was sent to the Committee of the Whole. On May 8th, Mr. Richardson moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole, avowing his purpose, when in committee, to move to lay aside all other bills and take up its Nebraska bill. After considerable maneuvering, the House was brought to a vote upon the motion which was agreed to, 109 to 88.

Mr. Richardson then moved to lay aside bill after bill until the Nebraska bill was reached, when he moved to amend it by striking out all after the enacting clause, and inserting a substitute in the exact words of the Senate bill, with the exception of a restoration of the words affecting alien voters which had been stricken out by the Clayton amendment.

On Thursday, May 11th, Mr. Richardson submitted a motion to close the debate upon the bill, whereupon the opposition resorted to tactics calculated to defeat it. The struggle was a long one, continuing until a few minutes before 12 o'clock midnight of Friday the 12th, when after a session of thirty-six consecutive hours the House adjourned.

On Monday, 15th, the House resumed the consideration of the motion, but as by the rules any motion to suspend the rules could take precedence over the pending proposition, Mr. Richardson, to avoid having his motion crowded out by

efforts thereunder moved to suspend the rules, to enable him to offer the following resolution:

“Resolved, That debate on House bill No. 236, to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, shall terminate at 12 o’clock, Saturday, 20th inst., and that the consideration of the special order on Bill No. 295, for the Pacific railroad, be postponed until the 24th inst.”

To carry the motion required a two-thirds vote, and in this case the motion was carried, 137 to 66, and the resolution was introduced, N. P. Banks, John Wentworth and James H. Lane, voting in the affirmative. Without those votes,—all opposed to the repeal of the restriction,—that bill never could have been taken out of the Committee of the Whole. All night long the session lasted again when the resolution was adopted.

The next day, and following until Saturday, the bill was considered, Richardson closing the debate. At this point Mr. Alexander H. Stephens originated and was enabled to execute a parliamentary maneuver which, if recognized as legitimate, must prove of great assistance to party leaders in times of trouble. He moved that the enacting clause be stricken out, when the hour for closing the debate had arrived. By the most vigorous use of the party lash, the motion was carried and all pending amendments were thus disposed of, the bill being reported as dead from the Committee of the Whole to the House, Stephens and his aids voted “not to agree to the report of the Committee of the Whole,” thus bringing the House to an immediate vote on the engrossment of the bill. Richardson at this time moved an amendment in the nature of a substitute,—in effect the Senate bill—and thereupon demanded the previous question. On the vote following, his amendment was adopted, yeas 115, nays 95. The bill was ordered to be engrossed, the previous question was again ordered and sustained and the bill was passed,²¹⁷ yeas 113, nays 100.

During the exciting scenes in the House, we are told by John Wentworth that while the minority was fighting every

²¹⁷ May 23d.

inch and with every prospect of success, that Douglas arm in arm with Representative John C. Breckinridge, was walking up and down the lobby, an interested spectator and more or less annoyed²¹⁸ at the defection of so many Democrats. While Benton, who had secured the privilege of speaking only through the strategy of Wentworth, was closing his powerful speech against the repeal, Douglas came toward Wentworth and said in a manner as though to taunt him for his treason: "The Abolitionists are quite successful under you as their new leader."

The bill had thus passed the House in form an original bill, but it was in everything else but the alien clause, the bill of the Senate. On May 24th, it was sent to the Senate. There Mr. Pearce attempted to reincorporate the Clayton amendment, but his motion was rejected 7 to 41.

At one o'clock on the morning of May 26th, Douglas closed the debate and the bill was ordered to a third reading, 35 to 13. It was then read a third time and passed without a division.

It was said of Douglas at or about the time of the introduction of the substitute bill, that had he declined to adopt the Dixon amendment, that Cass stood ready to do it; in fact, that Douglas hastened his actions in order to secure credit with the South. In answer to the assertion it only remains to be said that Cass, upon the floor of the Senate, denied any such intention. Atchison, then the President *pro tempore*, of the Senate, speaking of the incident in after years when under the exhilarating influence of too much liquid refreshment, proclaimed to his hearers that he was the originator of the amendment which Dixon submitted and that if Douglas had not submitted to his demands, and adopted it, he would have resigned and introduced it himself. But little importance should be attached to the statement.

²¹⁸ If Douglas did not originate the Repeal it must be admitted that right or wrong he fought with desperation for that purpose.

PART XIX.

Though often submerged for the moment, never was there a time during the service of Douglas in the Senate when slavery was not uppermost in the minds of its southern and many of its northern members, and no one knew better than Douglas the uselessness of applying to it repressive measures on the one side or of permitting it unbounded license. To stave off disunion from one source and abolition from the other and thus preserve a common harmony, became his ambition. The character of the self imposed negotiations, in the language of a recent writer,²¹⁹ required and "developed the highest powers and loftiest patriotism." Results do not detract from these powers and that patriotism one hair's breadth.

From afar Douglas saw the hour approaching when negotiations and concession must end and when the issue must be settled for all time.

To secure the admission of western states it was his policy to concede until in 1854 his concessions went to the extent of giving the slave extensionists an equal chance to win Kansas. Douglas was modern and practical as well as far-seeing. Backed by the Constitution, all moderate Abolitionists admitted as of course, that the slave states could not be invaded. On the other hand, a large number of moderates believed in slavery or at least considered there was no better state for the negro,²²⁰ but they were just as devoted to the Union. While that equipoise was maintained, it appeared easy by compromise to secure a measure of harmony. With its constitutional license and hard money investment in slaves, moral considerations could work but slowly. But with the advance of time, the extremists upon both sides obtained the supremacy, and that made further compromise impossible, even within Democratic party lines.

²¹⁹ Brown.

²²⁰ Brown.

The influences behind Pierce demanded the repeal of the Missouri restriction. So respectable an authority as the late John Wentworth, then a Union Democrat Representative in Congress, placed himself on record to the effect that Pierce, backed by his cabinet, favored the repeal and as he (Wentworth) personally knew, Pierce drafted the original section designed for the purpose and sent the same over to Douglas' committee for use.²²¹ The statements of Wentworth are entitled to the highest consideration.

At about the time²²² of the introduction of the repeal, Greeley presented the same view to the readers of his *Tribune*,²²³ wherein he stated that an uneasiness was noticeable in the position of Douglas before the people and that by reason of cabinet interference and dictation, another bill was framed.

At the time of the dedication of the Douglas monument in 1878, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* published the same view. Some of its statements were made off-hand without reference to dates; but it very faithfully presents the same situation which others saw plainly enough:

"He (Douglas) became the mainstay of the Administration, which, under the inspiration of Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, devised a measure for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Away down at the bottom of this scheme lay a plan to make a territory west of Missouri, which would send old David Atchison, who had lost his seat, back to the Senate of the United States in order that he might continue the agreeable game of whist and the somewhat prosy

²²¹ After learning the rebuff of Douglas, at Chicago, Pierce expressed his "deep interest" in Douglas' conflict at home.

Washington, Sept. 11, 1854,

My Dear Sir:

I found your note of Aug. 30th, late Saturday night on my return from Capon Springs. I am glad to learn this morning that the Post Master General has anticipated many instructions from me in relation to the P. O. at Elgin. He informs me that Mr. Wilcox was appointed on the 4th inst. You have indeed a great battle to fight, but it is pleasant to know that it will be fought bravely & ably and to believe that it will terminate in a complete triumph of the right. I shall observe with deep interest every moment in the progress of your conflict and trust you will not fail to write me often.

In haste,

Yr. friend

Frank Pierce."

Hon. S. A. Douglas, Chicago, Illinois.

(From the collection of Judge Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis.)

²²² January 31, 1854.

²²³ The semi-weekly edition.

classic discussions which had been going on for years between him and Mason, of Virginia, and that particular clique of ponderous respectabilities. It took an amount of hauling to drag Douglas in; but the united efforts of the Administration, and the urgency of General Robert Armstrong, the owner of the Washington Union—a man of great personal influence and popularity in those days, and the father-in-law of Arnold Harris, Douglas' chief friend—prevailed. Being in, the Little Giant, with Alexander H. Stephens, as his lieutenant in the House, made a great and successful fight, laying the foundation for the war of secession, and procuring his own political ruin.²²⁴

After Atchison had been overhauled and made to understand that the Missouri restriction could be repealed, he became insanely insistent for repeal, upon the stump and in private conversation, going to the extreme length of boasting that he forced Douglas into incorporating the repeal into the bill, though, of course, his boasts were overdrawn.

Writing to William Walker as early as December, 1852, while on his way to Washington, Mr. Abelard Guthrie, who had been elected a provisional delegate to Congress, throws some light upon the special influences at work, against which Douglas had to contend:

"I traveled in company with senators Beyer and Atchison of Missouri and Representatives Richardson and Bissell of Illinois. I am sorry to say our Missouri senators are by no means favorable to our territorial projects. The slavery question is the cause of this opposition. I regret that it should interfere—it ought not. Mr. Atchison thinks the slaves in Nebraska are already free by the operation of the Missouri Compromise Act, and asks a repeal of that act before anything shall be done for Nebraska."

The same Mr. Guthrie writing August 9, 1856, to the New York Tribune stated that he had been a candidate for re-election as a delegate in 1853; but because "the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was now first agitated, and it was

²²⁴ Dixon, 456.

thought important to success that the territory should be represented by one favorable to that measure," he complained that the influence of the Administration was against him and he was defeated for such re-election by a large Indian vote.

Another authority which is incontestible, has come to us to the effect that the demand for the repeal came from the Administration:

Maj. George M. McConnel, son of Maj. Murray McConnel, then fresh from college had gone to Washington to act in the capacity of secretary to his brother-in-law, McDougall, then a Representative, subsequently Senator from the State of California. McConnel and McDougall! Benefactor and honored friend in the old days back in Jacksonville! Occupied with his duties at the hotel apartments of McDougall, young McConnel was almost startled one morning by the abrupt entrance of Douglas; with the dark scowl, darker and fiercer than ever, and the deep horizontal furrow between the eyes and across the nose, more than ever conspicuous, McConnel was ready to expect anything short of an earth quake.

Maddened by the misrepresentations of the press and the indignities which hanging his body in effigy had heaped upon his head, he had sought his old friend McDougall for a quiet little conference. A copy of the New York Times containing the Address lay upon the table in plain sight. Snatching it up, he growled, "lies; all lies!" and flung it down again. He glared around the room and then for the first time spied young McConnel seated in its farthest corner, unnoticed, unrecognized and fearful for results. The face of a McConnel at that moment appeared to Douglas like a light from heaven. With outstretched arm, he walked across the floor and taking the young man's hand, he asked with the warmth and pleasure of a school boy, "Why, George, how came you here? I am delighted to see you." Boy that he was, Douglas sat beside him and opened his heart. "And I am not the author of the bill, at all!" insisted Douglas. "It came to me

from a higher source.” Following up the statement, Douglas went over the history of the bill, stating with true Douglas feeling and insistence that the Dixon idea had been interjected into his bill by a majority of his committee against his strenuous opposition. He furthermore stated that he was opposed to it first, because he was not willing to extend slavery; that he was hostile to the institution “on general principles,” though believing the slaveholder had political rights which the non-slaveholder could not legally question; and second, because he feared the policy of repeal would be fatal to the party with whose fortunes he had identified himself all his political life. But he had been overruled and now he found himself placed where he must choose either to champion a measure which, though offensive to himself, was approved by the majority of the party of which he was the acknowledged leader, or throw away that leadership and with it the entire fruit of his public career. “If I do this,” he said, “I lose all hope of being of any benefit to my country—to say nothing of sacrificing my personal ambitions—because no one leader is powerful enough to resist a stampede of his party, any more than one buffalo can resist a stampede of his herd. It’s a terrible position for me to occupy, my boy,” he continued, “but I’ll do what seems to me best for all.” During the conversation, he manifested strong feeling, rising and walking excitedly across the room, speaking vehemently, and resenting both the merciless tyranny of his own party and the bad faith of his opponents who had asked for delay in introducing his bill for further examination, when in reality, as it proved, it was sought for no other purpose than to send out the Address which maligned him personally and impugned his motives in a way which some of the signers of the Address knew to be false.²²⁵

The order reached Douglas, but before assuming the responsibility which he had been asked by proxy, to take, he

²²⁵ Upon discovery of these statements in Moses’ History of Illinois, the writer at once interviewed Major G. M. McConnel for the purpose of substantiating them. Not only did he substantiate them, but he did so with corroborative evidence impossible to overcome.

insisted upon conferring direct with the President, the day before the substitute bill was to be introduced, which happened to be Sunday. With other members of his committee and his old friend Richardson, chairman of the same House committee, he repaired to the house of Jefferson Davis, Pierce's Secretary of War, to learn if it would be agreeable to the President to discuss the subject on Sunday. Davis proceeded at once to the White House, arranged for the interview, remained through the same and when concluded, Douglas retired thoroughly impressed with the wishes of the Administration and its expectations.

After the manner of California when seeking statehood, those particularly interested in the territory of Nebraska, in order to command a more respectful consideration from Congress, anticipated to a limited extent, congressional action, by designating a territorial capital and electing two delegates to represent the proposed territory in Congress, those delegates went forward to Washington and proceeded with their purpose with true western vigor. They were admitted to the floor of the House without votes, but that their voices were heard is not to be doubted. One of these delegates was selected from the northern part of the proposed territory, the other from the southern part, with the hope and expectation that two territories instead of one might be organized out of the vast country embodied in the bill. Of that proposition, Senator Douglas was constrained to say when introducing the bill:

“There are two delegates here who have been elected by the people of that territory. They are not legal delegates, of course, but they have been sent here as agents. They have petitioned us to make two territories instead of one, dividing them by the 40th parallel of north latitude—the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Upon consulting with the delegates from Iowa I found that they think that their local interests as well as the interests of the territory, require that the proposed Territory of Nebraska should be divided into two territories, and the people ought to have two delegates. So far

as I have been able to consult with the Missouri delegates they are of the same opinion. The committee therefore have concluded to recommend the division of the territory into two territories, and also to change the boundary in the manner I have described."

Which change, as explained by Douglas, was suggested, to avoid division of the Cherokee country.

Business considerations never were urged with greater boldness than by the people interested, when asking first for the erection of the Territory of Nebraska and then for its division. Meetings were held in Iowa at which division was demanded. The one held in Glenwood, Mills County, Iowa, in October, 1853, was a notable one and excited the very warmest support of Iowa politicians. Immediately opposite Iowa, as the northern half of Nebraska was, it was quite natural that Iowa should desire as much as possible to exercise a sort of proprietary interest over the territory, which could not be done when in competition with Missouri. In the resolutions adopted at this meeting requesting their Senators and Representatives to use their best efforts to carry out the policy set forth in the resolutions, they also directed a copy to be sent to Senator Douglas, and asked the *St. Mary's Gazette*, *Western Bugle*, *Chicago Democratic Press*, *Peoria Press* and *New York Herald* to publish the proceedings of the meeting. Nor did the resolutions neglect the absorbing subject of the border states, "That the valley of the Nebraska or Platte river and the South Pass is the route most clearly pointed out by the hand of nature for a world's thoroughfare, and a natural roadway for the United States, connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific."²²⁶

In the month of November, 1853, meetings were held in Council Bluffs, one of which was addressed by Senator A. C. Dodge.

Bernhart Henn, a resident of Fairfield and Representative in Congress, from Iowa, as early as June 11, 1853, had established a brokerage office at Council Bluffs for the pur-

²²⁶ Hist. Nebraska.

chase and sale of land warrants, under the firm name of Henn, Williams & Co. In a speech made in the House, he discloses "the views of Iowa" upon the subject with clearness: "The bill is of more practical importance to the State of Iowa, and the people of the district I represent than to any other state or constituency in the Union." In answer to "the unjust charge made on this floor by several, that it was the scheme of southern men, whereby one of the states to be formed out of these territories was to be a slave state," he demands: "Do they not know that the delegates sent here by the people interested in the organization of that country proposed this division?"

Continuing, he urges the 40th parallel as the line designed by nature for the dividing line between two states:

" . . . a line that will be of immense importance to the prosperity and commerce of Iowa; a line that will make the commercial and political center of Nebraska on a parallel with the great commercial emporiums of the Atlantic and the harbor of San Francisco. . . .

"The organization of two territories instead of one has advantages for the north, and for Iowa in particular, which should not be overlooked. It secures in the Platte valley one of the lines of Pacific railways by making it the center of commerce, wealth and trade. It brings to the country bordering on Iowa the seat of government for Nebraska. It at once opens up a home market for our produce. It gives to western Iowa a prominence far ahead of that which ten years ago was maintained by the towns in the eastern portion of our state. It brings Iowa nearer to the center of power and commerce."

Mr. Hadley D. Johnson, one of the provisional delegates, has stated that after consultation with citizens, it was decided to advocate the organization of two territories instead of one and that upon the presentation of the case to Douglas, the latter adopted Johnson's plan. Senator A. C. Dodge thought so much of the plan that in introducing Johnson to Douglas, he personally endorsed it with a great deal of warmth. If

there was to be a Pacific Railroad, as seemed probable, the people of Iowa felt deep interest in it and desired the people immediately to their west to entertain toward Iowa the utmost feelings of friendliness and comity. No United States Senator entertained stronger anti-slavery views than Augustus Caesar Dodge, yet by consulting the Congressional Globe, it will be seen that he voted uninterruptedly with Douglas and against his own father who sat but a few seats distant in the same body, for the division of the territory and for the admission of Kansas and Nebraska, even under the necessity of voting for the repeal of the Missouri restriction. His original bill made no reference to the repeal but realizing the necessity and desirability for a government to the west of Iowa above any other ordinary consideration, and knowing as he came to know that one way and one only could be pursued with success, he chose to follow that way in company with Douglas and other able and patriotic men.

Said Dodge:

“Originally, I favored the organization of one territory; but representations from our constituents, and a more critical examination of the subject—having an eye to the systems of internal improvement which must be applied by the people of Nebraska and Kansas to develop their resources—satisfied my colleague who was a member of the committee that reported this bill, and myself, that the great interests of the whole country, and especially of my state demanded that we should support the proposition for the establishment of two territories. Otherwise, the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must have fallen south of Iowa.”

Jones, his colleague, a member of the Douglas committee, pressed the same arguments upon Douglas, and naturally, Douglas was influenced.

Henn never believed slavery could secure a foothold in the new territories. Upon the point, he said:

“These territories will, nay, must, become non-slaveholding states; . . . all of Nebraska, if not all of Kansas, will be settled by emigrants from non-slaveholding states.

Three thousand of these, from free states, are now on the line of Nebraska and fifteen hundred on that of Kansas ready to step over as soon as the bill passes."

Benton of Missouri, who opposed the repeal, never believed slavery could secure a foothold in the new territories. Upon the point, he said:

" . . . ; and what chance would the slave-holders have in such a contest? No chance at all. The slave owners will be overwhelmed and compelled to play a most unequal game, not only in point of numbers, but in point of stakes."

Dodge insisted that the effect of the bill would be to free several hundred slaves which might be taken thence as domestic servants.

And what did Douglas in his speech of January 30th, 1854, say about the matter? "When settlers rush in, when labor becomes plenty and therefore cheap, in that climate, with its productions, it is worse than folly to think of its being a slave-holding country. I do not think of its being a slave-holding country . . . I have no idea that it could."

And yet the zealot has been found to record this judgment: "For the division of the Nebraska country had no meaning if it were not made in order to secure a part of it to slavery."

The movement which led to the division of the territory into two parts, found its origin in the same motives which brought about a division of the old Territory of Dakota in which movement the writer took a very active part.

If Kansas was to become a slave state, Lindley, Miller and Oliver, members of the House from Missouri, were excessively derelict in duty and even Atchison took little part in the debates which had to do with division.

Backed by the last resource of the Pierce Administration, the measure was whipped through the House and with the later concurrence of the Senate, became a law.²²⁷ Among the southern members, Whigs became Democrats and with

²²⁷ "Passing both houses of Congress, in 1854, it was approved by the Pierce administration, sanctioned by the Democracy generally, and greeted by the South as a triumph." Alfried, 95.

inconsiderable exceptions, all stood solidly together in its support. In the excited North, Whigs disappeared altogether. Old political friends became estranged. There was a drifting apart of men and lifelong friendships were torn asunder, never again to mend themselves. Lincoln, who had been compelled to dwell obscurely in the shadow of Douglas' great name, emerged from his books and his briefs and his disappointments to take up that journey which though it added two more to his already long list of defeats and disappointments, swiftly and surely took him to the White House. The wheels of fortune thenceforth took a reverse turn as Douglas found upon his return to Chicago.

Upon his arrival in Chicago on the 25th of August, Douglas found a most formidable organization opposed to him, determined to thwart his political ambitions thereafter so far as possible and under all circumstances to prevent his making any explanatory speeches to the people. In this effort every variety of sentiment and all classes of mankind met upon equal and common terms. The Know Nothing party with its secret society plan of organization had taken the City of Chicago by storm and thousands of Democrats favorable to the free-state cause espoused the doctrine. Political leaders were at sea, afraid to antagonize it lest their political heads might roll into the political waste basket. Whigs, Free-soilers and the rag tag of every political shade of opinion were fused and as an expression of the times put it, "fused and thused" to make it uncomfortable for the home coming of Douglas. He had offended especially the Know Nothings by his bold denunciation of their organization in his Fourth of July address at Philadelphia,²²⁸ and that powerful organization which had paralyzed the Democratic party in Chicago,

²²⁸ The secret methods of the Know Nothings, followed by startling political victories for their party, especially in Philadelphia, threw the Democrat party into a state of nervousness bordering on panic. Politicians became afraid to voice an opinion, fearing their statements might gravitate into a Know Nothing lodge,—Douglas excepted. He not only did not fear them, but he reviled them and their methods. Happening to be in Philadelphia on July 4th, he was invited to speak at the Democratic celebration of the day. He agreed, provided he might speak on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and on the subject of the Know Nothing party. That speech, the first public denunciation of the order, did more to put that party to rout than any other agency. At all events, it liberated Democracy from its blight.

from the moment of his arrival in Chicago, August 25th, marked him for political execution.

Douglas remembered a similar attempt to throttle him in Chicago in 1850 and it was not impossible that his recovery made him a little conceited about his ability to talk down the present opposition. But he was to discover that anti-slavery sentiment had grown to proportions which he had failed to comprehend or keep himself in touch with. It might be said of the present crowd of opponents that Chicago had no bills for harbor appropriations before Congress as before, consequently but little of the business consideration found opportunity for expansion with them. The opposition was a substantial and determined one, almost bordering upon fanaticism. Of that opposition and its probable strength and recklessness, Douglas received ample notice and it seems useless to add that with the enlargement of each and every danger, he became the more determined to speak his mind upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The Democratic Press, once indeed Democratic as its name implied, had turned with vindictive fierceness upon Douglas and permitted no effort to escape which might enrage the people. At that moment the once powerful Democratic party had taken wings with but few exceptions and those exceptions were just then frightening themselves with shadows. But backing or no backing, the "Little Giant" determined to face the music.

Ex-Governor William Bross, who has given perhaps, the most truthful account of that disgraceful affair to which one may turn, says:

"On Tuesday morning before the meeting, I published a statement of the programme of the Democracy, and told our liberty-loving citizens how to prevent its accomplishment. It was determined by the Democracy to fill North Market Hall at an early hour with the rabble, thus preventing other people from gaining admittance, pass resolutions strongly indorsing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Senator Douglas, and have that go out as the opinion of the people of Chicago.

The substantial and order-loving people were urged to turn out early, and thus defeat the schemes of the political tricksters. Mr. Douglas' friends, knowing that this advice would be strictly followed, changed their plan, and built a platform in front of the south door of the North Market Hall. This meeting was an immense one, perhaps the largest up to that evening ever held in the city.'²²⁹

One other representation in the so-called exposure of that programme was to the effect that Douglas had selected a bodyguard of 500 armed Irishmen who were to be present to compel respectful silence while Douglas spoke. The statement was made for no other purpose than to inflame the Know Nothings to boisterous and incendiary acts. Bells were tolled during the day. In many instances, flags were hung at half mast upon the shipping in the river and harbor. Ministers of the Gospel contributed by demanding every effort to be put forth to deny Douglas the opportunity to "pollute the pure atmosphere of Illinois with his perfidious breath." Under these flattering auspices, Douglas appeared a little before 8 o'clock of September 1st, 1854, to address the "liberty-loving citizens" of Chicago. Judge I. L. Milliken, Mayor of Chicago, consented to preside.

Had some of those people who have charged Douglas with being a trimmer, a compromiser, a neutral quantity, enhanced that crowd of liberty-loving citizens with their presence, it is quite likely the charge in its most incipient stage would have languished and more than likely, have died.

It has been said "the very first sentence he uttered was considered an insult to the people (the liberty-loving people!) and the press of the city." He charged them with "not understanding so plain a proposition as the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the press with persistently misrepresenting and maligning him," and that the insulting remark was followed with groans and hisses for two or three minutes. Someone questioned a statement of the speaker's and the preconcerted rumpus began in dead earnest by the "substantial and

²²⁹ The crowd filled Michigan street between Clark and Dearborn.

order-loving people." Douglas paused until a monetary lull was reached when he told the meeting that he came there to address his constituents, and he intended to be heard. Instantly a juvenile pandemonium was launched accompanied by a vocabulary of billingsgate which in point of noise would do honor to settling day on the Board of Trade. The speaker appealed to his somewhat excited friends to remain tranquil and leave him to deal with the crowd. He denounced the violence of the mob, and in defiance of threats and cat-calls, he read aloud so that it could be heard above the roars of disapproval, a letter which he had received to the effect that if he dared to speak, he would be mobbed.

Douglas could marshal a style of language exactly suited to such a demonstration and at intervals when Job might have lost his reputation for patience, Douglas poured upon "our order-loving people," a few sentences which would melt the pen trying to reproduce them. Succeeding demonstrations were but repetitions of their predecessors. Half hours of sparring, howling, bellowing ran their unholy lengths into hours. Sheriff Isaac Cook, then the great friend of Douglas, urged by the latter to remain tranquil, could not resist the temptation to show his indignation during one of the instants of suspense by screeching, "Truth skrushed to earth will rise agin. You can't stop 'er, by G——!"

In the face of such mad opposition, Douglas fought until exhausted. He took out his watch to remark the time of day. It was later than he had thought. Waving his hand aloft, he sent them this parting shot: "It is now a quarter after twelve o'clock. I must go to church and you may go to h——!" He took his carriage and the driver started for the Tremont House—a short distance—but made so difficult by the mob which closed about it, that had not a thoughtful bridge-tender at Clark street turned the bridge and thereby stopped the angry crowd from further indecent interruption, some unfortunate accident might have occurred. It might be well to add that a month or two later, Douglas was invited by his political friends to partake of a public dinner. He

accepted the invitation. On the 9th of November, the time appointed, about two hundred gentlemen sat down to a table at the Tremont House and in response to their request, he made substantially the same speech which he had intended to make to the people in September.²³⁰

Douglas may have been imperious as so frequently charged. He had a perfect right to be imperious upon such an occasion. Imperiousness could but evoke the highest admiration from men who were not possessed of the spirit of the mob. The Democratic press on the Monday following could have paid him no better compliment than to state as it did: "The spirit of a dictator flashed out from his eyes, curled upon his lips, and mingled its cold irony in every tone of his voice and every gesture of his body. His manner as well as his language, furnished a practical illustration of the possibility of reversing the natural order of master and servant, of representative and constituent, in a free government."

Concede if you please that he was imperious, he was the same Douglas when upon the floor of the Senate, he defied Buchanan and his own party when attempting to cram down the throats of the people of Kansas, a constitution which did not represent their sentiments. So, too, he was the same Douglas, when he uttered these words:

"I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances," and

"* * * a widespread conspiracy exists to overthrow the best government the sun of heaven ever shed its rays upon."

If by that mad demonstration, it was calculated to drive Douglas into obscurity, into penitence or even into hysterics, never was mob so thoroughly deceived. Resolute, fearless as he was always, unconquerable, Douglas went about his business serenely and in contempt of the incident which in the fullness of time became a reproach to every man who was a member of it.

²³⁰ Andreas, Vol. I, page 610, is authority for the statement that, after the riot, with a view of keeping up a flow of bad blood, it was declared in one of the Chicago papers that the "Little Giant" had bought up all the fire-arms in town and had given heavy orders for more.

Political frenzy absorbed by writers who should know better, have caused it to be written that the action of Douglas was "a bid for southern support in the next Democratic convention," when during the course of the debates upon the bill Chase was compelled to admit:

"Now, sir, it is well known that all these great measures in the country are influenced more or less, by reference to the great public canvasses which are going on from time to time. I certainly did not intend to impute to the senator from Illinois—and I desire always to do justice—in that, any improper motive. I do not think it is an unworthy ambition to desire to be a President of the United States. I do not think that the bringing forward of a measure with reference to that object would be an improper thing, if the measure be proper in itself."

At the very moment Chase made the explanation, he was seeking that same goal. Clay's assistance in two great compromises, caused him to be written down a patriot though a perennial candidate for the presidency. Webster, another candidate and another of the galaxy of immortals, as almost the parting act of his senatorial career, participated in the Compromise of 1850 and made his celebrated seventh of March speech in its behalf for no other purpose, as was charged by his enraged constituents than as a bid for southern votes. Douglas, in his interview, gave to young McConnel his reasons for supporting the repeal and the threadbare charge of ambition must not be considered too seriously. If his was a tactical mistake as was Lincoln's opposition to the Mexican War, then the adroit advantage which Lincoln, Seward, Chase and others took of it to lift themselves into that fame which never can be reviewed impartially the tactical mistake should be permitted peacefully to slumber in that comprehensive cemetery wherein so many tactical blunders of great men repose.

Douglas did not possess the temperament of the poet. He did not profess nor attempt to furnish ideals, but from the very commonplace material at hand, he furnished the only

substantial article which could be improvised at the time, to remove a little further off what at last proved to be the inevitable. He had seen plainly enough the ultimatum which must be met at some dread time. Lincoln had not. The latter's faith led him at Alton to proclaim this sentiment:

"There never was a party in the history of this country, and there probably never will be, of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country. * * * There will soon be an end of it (slavery) and that end will be its ultimate extinction. * * * This controversy will soon be settled, and it will be done peacefully, too. There will be no war, no violence."

Douglas offered something. Lincoln, Chase, Seward and others offered nothing. Lincoln protested: "Now I have upon all occasions, declared as strongly as Judge Douglas against the disposition to interfere with the existing institution of slavery."

Lincoln would not invade the slave states and he would give them a fugitive slave law.

At Ottawa, Douglas declared: "I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln and his party will dissolve the Union if it succeeds."

And was Douglas very far wrong?

The hour was supreme indeed, when during the exciting scenes the slightest miscalculation might hurl Douglas from his lofty pedestal and at the same time plunge his country into a sea of troubles. Exalted as was his position, it was not one to excite envy. As the responsible majority leader, he found himself confronted with that menace to the Union which had pressed itself upon every important session of Congress in one form or another since the year 1820, and upon him as leader, rested a responsibility as well as a sense of danger, from which Lincoln, Chase, Seward and other ambitious Abolition leaders not only were exempt, but as subsequent events proved, present disaster provided them with ammunition by which they achieved ultimate success.

Douglas led the fight as it came to him and in point of generalship, he is but now coming into his own. Picture, if you will, Senator Douglas at his desk in the Senate Chamber in 1861 after the southern states had gone out! Gone beyond all possible recall. That which he had foreseen and which by his measures he had tried to avert, had happened and when, all too late, Lincoln and his friends were offering conciliatory measures to attract the seceding states back again into the Union. Acts organizing the territories of Colorado, Dakota and Nevada were passed without inserting a word of prohibition on the subject of slavery as had been insisted with Oregon, in the same latitude.

“It will therefore always remain as one of the singular contradictions in the political history of the country, that, after seven years of almost exclusive agitation on this one question, (slavery) the Republicans, the first time they had the power as a distinctive political organization to enforce the cardinal article of their political creed, quietly and unanimously abandoned it. * * * Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wade and Mr. Chandler, the most radical in the Senate on the Republican side, sat still and allowed the bill to be passed precisely as reported by James S. Green of Missouri, who had been the ablest defender of the Breckinridge Democracy in that body. * * * and all the other radical Republicans vouchsafed no word explanatory of this extraordinary change of position.”²³¹

The Republicans took precisely the same ground inferentially, as that taken by Webster in his famous seventh of March speech and Douglas, and to say the least, the contentions of Douglas stood approved without the acknowledgment due him and which in common decency should have been recorded in the journal of proceedings. The words of Seward and Sumner belied their votes. The dangers to the Union seen and parried by Webster and Douglas had been “cruelly denied them as a justifying motive.” Mr. Douglas had been supplanted in his chairmanship by Mr. James S.

²³¹ Blaine, Vol. I, p. 271.

Green of Missouri. Seward waived his demands for an anti-slavery guaranty, Green waived for the pro-slavery guaranty of the south and as Blaine has said: "It was the apotheosis of Popular Sovereignty." Without a word of explanation, the Republicans retreated from their position of prolonged agitation of the slavery question after Mr. Grow, chairman of the House committee and Mr. Green of the Senate committee had agreed that no reference should be made to the question of slavery. Why then could not the same concession have been made as desired by Douglas before the sister states retired? The only answer so far offered in charity has been that "the conflict had to come, sooner or later." Every point of contention had now been admitted and, stripped of the unhappy things said of him so many times, the statecraft of Douglas, tested by actual and fearful facts, stood out for all that was best for the country—a far sighted, sagacious, equitable policy, dictated by a patriotic regard for his country and from the highest motives.

Douglas loved his country as few Americans have loved it. Douglas loved his friends as no other man has loved them and to see one in peril and others deserting his standard, affected him exactly as another big hearted man would find himself affected.

PART XX.

So early as the year 1852, Douglas had become the dictator of his party in Illinois, and in dealing with party plans and party measures he was autocratic to the last degree. Speaking of him at and subsequent to that period, Governor Palmer has told us that his orders were "to shoot the deserters and by deserters he meant all Democrats who were unwilling to follow him,"²³²

Something of that spirit may have dominated him when upon that September night, he attempted to explain his

²³² Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer, p. 64.

actions in Congress concerning the Kansas-Nebraska matter. Meeting an unexpected resistance to his wishes, it enraged him without any doubt and filled him with a more or less mad determination to fight it out right or wrong, if it cost him his political life.

At all events, the temperament of Douglas was not of a character to grieve over an unfriendly overture like the Chicago demonstration. He was so constituted that when offered a personal affront, he could fight back, thrash his adversary soundly if he could and complacently close the incident for all time, and if the offender were a Whig or an Abolitionist, he would thereafter greet him as before and open a new account;²³³ a trait of character wholly inconsistent with the spirit of the trimmer for political advantage. That characteristic in this instance was so overpowering that he was blinded, and like Pharaoh, he hardened his heart to what was nothing more nor less than a demonstration—perverted by the unwisdom of its leaders—of the expanding moral forces at work in society for the uplift of mankind, and whose strength and sincerity, Douglas underestimated and by reason of its offensiveness, he was made momentarily to detest. Southern men had sniffed the almost world-wide atmosphere of opposition to their institution from the first, and as it progressed, rather than conform thereto, or to attempt, properly to interpret it, they had determined when the last compromise had been reached and for the first time refused them, to withdraw from the Union and take with them the objectionable subject of difference between the sections. But in that very cheerful little assumption they had overlooked altogether one very important individual, just then fighting off an eclipse brought about largely on their account—Stephen A. Douglas.

²³³ A magnanimous instance is cited by Palmer, pp. 89-90: Palmer reached Washington on February 3d, 1861. The first man to send his card was Douglas, who, forgetting their quarrel long before, saluted Palmer with these words: "I have beaten you long ago and you at last have beaten me; according to your own limitation, we are friends again."

In April of the year 1854,²³⁴ men of various parties, including Lincoln, met in room 4 of the Tremont House to consider the subject of a united opposition to the Democratic party and Douglas, at the Congressional election to follow, the succeeding autumn. All over the northern part of the State the cry went up for a united opposition. The Tazewell Mirror proposed a "State convention of all parties and divisions of parties opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to be held at some convenient place in the State early enough in point of time to make arrangements for the fall elections of 1854." Some of the Whigs, the bigots of the party, were stubborn at first. They disliked to lose their identity to accomplish something deemed but temporary; they rather considered it the duty of the disaffected Democrats to come to them and their party. But the rapidly forming and somewhat noisy anti-Nebraska party grew too rapidly and became too sturdy to be menaced or swayed by Whig reluctance. To northern Illinois which had increased its population almost beyond belief, may be credited the opposition which very soon dissolved it altogether, driving the remaining Whigs into the opposition or the Democratic party.

This opposition, which had not taken time to agree upon a name, used its strength under the issue rather than the name and called an anti-Nebraska convention to meet at Springfield, on October 3rd, 1854, to nominate a candidate for State Treasurer and agree upon a plan for united and intelligent opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to Shields, a candidate for re-election—and to Douglas.²³⁵

Immediately after the Chicago affair, Douglas announced his intention of speaking for his party at various points over the State in view of the approaching congressional election. At Galena, Freeport, Waukegan, Woodstock and other northern Illinois points, he encountered the same manifestations of disapproval, but he walked over them all, rough-shod.

²³⁴ Lincoln, Trumbull, Mark Skinner, O. H. Browning, John E. Stewart, David Davis, Norman B. Judd, J. Young Scammon, Francis C. Sherman, and others, were present. Andreas, Vol. III, p. 834.

²³⁵ Twenty-six delegates attended.

Gravitating towards the central part of the State, he reached Springfield October 3rd, just before the time appointed for holding the convention of the opposition.²³⁶ It was likewise the appointed time for holding the first State fair²³⁷ and great crowds of people had flocked to the State capital from every quarter of the State. Douglas, Gen. Singleton and Major Harris, candidate for Congress against Richard Yates in the capital district had been advertised to speak at a Democratic mass meeting²³⁸ and the old time welcome to his former home which was given Douglas was reassuring.

Judges Breese and Trumbull, both anti-Nebraska Democratic candidates for Shields' place in the Senate, were expected to be present to reply to anything Douglas might say in defense of his vote and his activities in the Senate for the repeal. Lincoln, with an eye upon the same high office of Senator, and always camping upon the trail of Douglas, had prepared himself to answer Douglas from an altogether different standpoint. He was present and listened attentively to Douglas' speech, which by reason of inclement weather, was delivered in the hall of representatives.²³⁹ It was a brilliant speech and delivered in his old home, among old friends and admirers, it was received with old time outbursts of favor. The failure of Breese and Trumbull²⁴⁰ to arrive in time to reply Wednesday evening or afternoon as contemplated, permitted Lincoln the opportunity to enjoy that²⁴¹ afternoon without dividing his time with others. He spoke in the same room and Douglas was present as listener; a restless one, as has been stated. The many demonstrations of approval from Democrats could but annoy him, inured as he had been to the strictest party fealty. He interrupted Lincoln many times and at the conclusion²⁴² of the Lincoln

²³⁶ October 5. Hon. Thomas Rees, Publisher Illinois State Register.

²³⁷ October 3. Ibid.

²³⁸ October 3. Ibid.

²³⁹ Tuesday, Oct. 3.

²⁴⁰ Wednesday, Oct. 4.

²⁴¹ Breese, Trumbull and John Calhoun spoke at a meeting, Thursday afternoon, Oct. 5.

²⁴² At the conclusion of Lincoln's speech and before Douglas could begin his reply, Owen Lovejoy, who had been in the hall, rushed to the rostrum and notified the crowd that there would be an Abolition meeting there that evening. Subject, "Freedom." Lamon, 353.

speech, he rose to occupy the limited time remaining before the supper hour. Feeling, however, that it would admit of no adequate reply, he made but a few remarks, but those few indicated a degree of irritation akin to that at Chicago for what he considered the misapprehension of the people. He could not bring himself to believe it to be dissatisfaction. It was his intention to resume his reply in the evening, but other party arrangements forbade, not his disinclination. Besides, the Abolition meeting had just pre-empted the hall.

The moment was the most auspicious of Lincoln's life up that time and it may be said truthfully, that his career as known to us today, dates from that hour. The minds of the people were in a receptive state; most men desired to learn; others were critical and from Douglass' manner of reply, it was plainly observable that criticism annoyed and at times angered him. Criticism from friends was unbearable. It cannot be said that his reply reflected the same credit as his speech of the day before.

Though both men had confronted each other upon a common platform many times before that date, it must be added that it was the first occasion when those great rivals, with mature powers, contested for superiority over a living issue, having for its object something more than the distribution of offices. It was the beginning of their greater contest for public notice which ended when they became united for action against a common foe, presenting when thus together, the greatest sum of powerful human unities the world has ever seen. Acting upon the defensive was repugnant to every trait of the Douglas character. He did not know how to do it, much less to do it gracefully and when that much is said, it explodes the intimations that he could trim if he tried. It were impossible not to observe that the people fell in with what Lincoln had said at Springfield. John Calhoun,²⁴³ the true and tried friend of Douglas perceived the fact at once, especially the reference of Lincoln to the apostrophe once pronounced by Douglas: "The Missouri Compromise is

²⁴³ At this time Surveyor General of the Kansas-Nebraska territories.

canonized in the hearts of the American people, which no ruthless hand would dare to be reckless enough to disturb."

Breese and Trumbull, who had been delayed, took up the subject of repeal, duly.²⁴⁴ To meet the requirements of the convention which had not finished its labors, their speeches were deferred to 4 o'clock of the afternoon²⁴⁵ when Breese spoke for an hour, declaring among other things, "he would have suffered his right arm to be cut off rather than have voted for the repeal, had he been in the Senate." Without any doubt, there were those present, who suspected that Breese would have cut off both arms for a seat in the Senate.

In the absence of Douglas, John Calhoun, the inimitable; the early friend and almost benefactor of Lincoln, one of the ablest men in the party, took the liberty of replying to Breese on the spot, and Judge Breese retired discomfited and resentful towards Calhoun and his ancient enemy, Douglas. When Breese beat Douglas for the Senate, the result was considered by Douglas as part of the game of politics and quickly forgotten for other matters of the future; but with Breese, he could not forgive Douglas for breaking at so youthful an age, into the monopoly of politics enjoyed by himself and his other exclusive beneficiaries.

That evening, Trumbull addressed a crowded hall, "scouting the charge that he had ever been a Whig or an Abolitionist." Until the experimental state of the new departure had been passed, most politicians scouted the charge of abolitionism though later, there was a very noticeable trimming of their sails before the growing abolition sentiment.

The week's discussion," as it was styled, did not result in establishing a unity of opposition to Douglas. The convention was an incipient and tentative one which, encouraged by the election of five out of nine²⁴⁶ members of Congress paved the way for its more successful one of 1856, the first Republican convention of the state.

²⁴⁴ October 5. Hon. Thomas Rees of the Illinois State Register.

²⁴⁵ Oct. 5.

²⁴⁶ Washburn, Woodworth, Norton, Knox and Trumbull. On his election to the Senate, the latter resigned and a Democrat was elected to succeed him.

Very soon after his speech at Springfield, Douglas journeyed over into Greene County and spoke in Carrollton to an enthusiastic crowd. By some it was thought to have for its object the defeat of John M. Palmer, an independent Democratic candidate for re-election to the State Senate from that senatorial district. That suspicion was enlarged when he proceeded directly to Carlinville, the home of Palmer. On that day, "just after sundown," Palmer reached home from Jerseyville where he had been attending court, and learning that Douglas was at the hotel, he went immediately to call upon the latter where a conversation of a couple of hours duration followed. Douglas, who was anxious for the return to the Senate, of Shields, demanded that Palmer agree to attend the legislature if elected and vote for the caucus nominee. Palmer insisted he was running as an independent Democrat and was against the Nebraska bill and especially opposed to the measure as a test of party orthodoxy. Douglas remonstrated. Palmer insisted that Douglas should agree that the Democratic caucus should pass no resolution favoring the measure. The argument upon the point which followed, was heated, when Douglas at last was constrained to say with a considerable show of passion: "You may join the abolitionists if you choose to do so, but if you do, there are enough patriotic Whigs to take your place and elect Shields." In making that threat against Palmer, it may be that Douglas took advantage of his long friendship with Palmer, or else, still smarting under his rebuff at Chicago, he might have applied the party lash with the certain expectation of receiving obedience; but that celebrated quarrel with Gov. Palmer, was one of the political mistakes which cost Shields his seat in the Senate a short while thereafter, for Palmer replied with spirit and acted accordingly: "We have fought the Whigs together. You now promise yourself that they will take my place and help elect Shields. I will fight you until you are defeated and have learned the value of your friends."²⁴⁷ And Shields was defeated,—largely through Palmer's influence.

²⁴⁷ Palmer, 69.

At the close of the political tournament, the friends of Lincoln became so enthusiastic over his anti-Nebraska speech that William Butler drew up a paper addressed to Lincoln, requesting and "urging him to follow Douglas up until election." The paper was signed by Butler, Dr. William Jayne, P. P. Eads, John Cassady, B. F. Irwin and others. Needless to state, Lincoln accepted the invitation. The constant and great successes of Douglas in obtaining distinction were offensive to the ambitions of Lincoln who "was intensely jealous of him, and longed to pull him down, or outstrip him in the race for popular favor."²⁴⁸ While between the two men there existed a friendship which was sincere as between men, between them as politicians, a rivalry existed which affected Lincoln the stronger because Douglas had been invariably successful in distancing the other in the race for public favor. They met at Peoria²⁴⁹ in joint debate, Douglas enjoying the opening and close. At that meeting Lincoln made substantially the same speech he made at Springfield and while attacking Douglas and his Popular Sovereignty dogma, and while it must be admitted he discomfited Douglas more than at any other time, it is noteworthy that he offered no substitute: He said:

"When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution."

Again: "When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one."

²⁴⁸ Lamon.

²⁴⁹ October 16.

There was little difference in the contentions of the men upon the abstract question of slavery. It then remained for them to discuss the repeal and that they did, Douglas speaking from a knowledge of the demands made upon him by his party and a knowledge of what might have been attempted or substituted had he not accepted the Dixon amendment, and Lincoln speaking from the outside standpoint of hostility against the action which disturbed present tranquility and gave to slavery the right to enter free territory even though it were but the right to have a vote upon the question. Public opinion in that part of the state favored the Lincoln contention as Douglas perceived. We are told²⁵⁰ that he proposed a truce with Lincoln, agreeing to leave the stump altogether if Lincoln would do the same. Lincoln agreed. Handbills had been distributed at Lacon, announcing the appearance of Douglas the following day to speak. At once the anti-Nebraska people sent to Peoria to ask Lincoln to reply and he agreed. But having agreed together to quit the stump, Douglas upon his arrival there pleaded his excessive hoarseness and Lincoln "informed his friends that he would not like to take advantage of the judge's indisposition and would not address the people." They separated then and there for the season.²⁵¹

Certain partisan writers have censured Douglas because while at Tiskilwa²⁵² he permitted Lovejoy to inveigle him into another debate at Princeton. Lovejoy challenged him. To refuse would be argued to imply cowardice. To comply meant to break the truce and lay himself open to the charge of perfidy. Stung with the bantering insistence of Lovejoy who was unable as Lincoln to take care of the Repeal measure, he yielded and spoke.

While some have censured Douglas for that act, the fact has been overlooked entirely or purposely omitted that Lin-

²⁵⁰ Lamon and Herndon.

²⁵¹ J. O. Cunningham, W. H. Ford, T. F. Bullman, the latter personally present.

²⁵² Wednesday, October 18. The night before Douglas stayed at Tiskilwa, six miles south of Princeton. A number of Princeton Democrats went over to Tiskilwa and escorted him to Princeton. Douglas spoke first for half an hour, Lovejoy occupied the next half hour and Douglas consumed the rest of the afternoon until dark.

coln went over to Urbana and in the court house there made an anti-Nebraska speech on October 24th without an aggravating challenge like that made to Douglas²⁵³ to induce it.

Inasmuch as the hand of the iconoclast has been at work upon the Peoria truce between Douglas and Lincoln in 1854, the writer fortunately has been furnished by Hon. Horace White of New York City with an item of evidence which must substantiate that which has never been doubted in Illinois before the present moment: the desire of Douglas at Peoria to discontinue their meetings for that campaign.

At the time of the Peoria meeting, Hon. William C. Goudy,²⁵⁴ the warm friend of Douglas, lived at Lewistown, Fulton County, adjoining Peoria County. The night before the Peoria meeting was spent by Douglas at the home of Mr. Goudy who very soon detected a more than noticeable nervousness in his guest.

"Judge Douglas, you appear to be ill at ease and under some mental agitation; it cannot be that you have any anxiety with reference to the outcome of the debate that you are to have with Lincoln; you cannot have any doubt as to your ability to dispose of him?" asked Goudy.

Stopping abruptly his rapid pace backward and forward across the room, Douglas answered with great emphasis: "Yes, Goudy, I am troubled, and deeply troubled over the progress and outcome of this debate. I have known Lincoln for many years, and have continually met him in debate. I regard him as the most difficult and dangerous opponent that I have ever met and I have serious misgiving as to what may be the result of this joint debate."

The Peoria Republican of October 20, 1854, gives color to the story:

"He was entitled, according to the terms of the discussion, to an hour after Mr. Lincoln had concluded. He arose to reply, but he had very little to say. He had talked himself

²⁵³ Letter J. O. Cunningham, Urbana, Illinois, March 11, 1909. Also newspapers of that time.

²⁵⁴ Mr. Goudy, in 1891, repeated this story to Hon. Francis Lynde Stetson of New York City, whose letter to Mr. White containing the same, lies before the writer, and from which it is taken verbatim.

hoarse in the afternoon, and with his voice, had gone his arguments. He made a feeble effort to collect them, but soon became conscious that the rout was complete. The people saw, and it was scarcely too severe to assert that he himself saw, that the alluring picture of "self government" that he had drawn, had been by the magical wand of Mr. Lincoln, obliterated,—converted into "airy nothing," and proved to be "the baseless fabric of a dream."

Dr. William Jayne, one of those who signed the request for Lincoln to follow up Douglas, attests the truthfulness of the truce in a letter:

"January 16th, 1909.

"F. E. Stevens,

Dear Sir: Your letter of January 14th, received. Mr. Herndon's statement about the arrangement entered into between Lincoln and Douglas to quit speaking in the campaign, is correct. This occurred at Peoria, October, 1854. On account of hoarseness, Mr. Douglas desired to close the campaign. Mr. Lincoln complied with the request made by Douglas.

Yours truly,

W. Jayne."

"If you desire, you can make any use of my letter you see proper."

While public opinion in northern Illinois ran strongly against Douglas because he stood higher in the scale of public view than Shields, the latter was made a target for immediate defeat at the polls because of his activity in supporting the repeal bill. Though the Democrats elected their candidate for State Treasurer by a majority of 2,915, five anti-Nebraska Congressmen were elected by majorities aggregating nearly 18,000 and the legislature was made anti-Nebraska by a majority of four. On the anti-Nebraska question, the Senate stood 14 straight Democrats, 11 anti-Nebraska. The House stood 34 straight Democrats to 41 anti-Nebraska. But Lincoln, who had been elected a member of the House, declined to receive his certificate. At the special election which fol-

lowed, a Democrat was elected to fill the vacancy and that cut the majority to two. Five Democrats had been elected to the legislature as Democrats but anti-Nebraska Democrats, to-wit: John M. Palmer, Norman B. Judd and Burton C. Cook to the Senate and Messrs. Baker and Allen from Madison County, to the House.

Considering his services, Lincoln was the man entitled to the Senatorship to succeed Shields; but first it took a very long time to whip the Abolitionists into line, many of them distrusted Lincoln. Lovejoy would not consent until Lincoln had promised to oppose the introduction of slavery into *all* territories. When he had made that promise, the Abolitionists fell into line and voted for Lincoln. The five anti-Nebraska Democrats however preferred a candidate of their persuasion and declined to vote for Lincoln. Thus apparently divided, Douglas hoped by hanging on, to wear out the opposition which hung by such slender bonds, and win.

Shields was nominated, practically without opposition, by the Democratic caucus. On February 8th, 1855, the legislature met in joint convention, to elect a Senator. On the first ballot, Shields received 41 votes, Lincoln received 45, Trumbull 5, Gustavus Koerner 2, William B. Ogden, Joel A. Matteson, William Kellogg, Cyrus Edwards, Orlando B. Ficklin and William A. Denning each received 1 vote, Randolph Heath from Crawford County not voting. Had the five Democrats voted for Lincoln, the latter had been elected, because Gillespie who had voted for Edwards, and Babcock who had voted for Kellogg, stood ready to go to Lincoln and so stated at the time. On the 7th ballot, the Democrats left Shields for Gov. Matteson, hoping thereby to secure the scattering Democrat votes for a man who had taken no part in the Nebraska bill and who at the same time had many close adherents by reason of his state patronage. On that ballot, Matteson received 44, or 3 more than Shields, Lincoln 38, Trumbull 9, Shields 1, McClernand 1, Koerner 1. On the ninth ballot Matteson 47, Lincoln 15, Trumbull 35, Williams 1, and very soon, Douglas would have won over enough opposition to

secure the election of Matteson; but at that important moment, Lincoln withdrew and on the tenth ballot, Trumbull was elected to succeed Shields, for a term of six years from the 4th day of the March succeeding.

As the preponderating influence for this political upheaval was attributable to northern Illinois, heretofore a minor and neglected quantity, something entirely new was given Douglas to consider thenceforward.

Very soon after the defeat of Shields, Douglas went south to visit the plantations, and New Orleans as the best point from which to reflect upon the state of politics south as well as north. While Indiana, Ohio and other northern states had surprised everybody with their tremendous majorities against the Kansas-Nebraska measure, the southern states voted as a unit to sustain the action of their representatives who had favored the measure.

At Washington, Douglas was invited to address a public meeting in the African church in Richmond, which proved to be a great demonstration in his favor.

PART XXI,

Upon entering the United States Senate, almost for the first time, Carl Schurz tells us he found Douglas, just then smarting under the sting of the Address, denouncing Chase, Seward, Sumner and others for what he styled the underhand advantage they had taken of him. Without delay, as he states in his "Reminiscences," Mr. Schurz judged Douglas to be a "formidable parliamentary pugilist, 'his manners smacked of the barroom idol of the rough element,'" and "his convivial association with that element left its unmistakable imprint in habits and deportment." The reminiscences of Mr. Schurz were not written on the spot, but at a period somewhat late in life when memories of several uncomfortable campaign engagements with the formidable parliamentary pugilist clouded the gentleman's judgment. The

likes and dislikes of Mr. Schurz were governed by fortunate or unfortunate experiences, just like those of the common individual with this difference: He kept a ledger account of his grudges into which a credit rarely found its way. Douglas, on the contrary, did not, and if any man in active public life had an honest right to cherish grudges for untruthful statements concerning his motives and actions, Stephen A. Douglas had it; yet, after a battle, no man ever heard him say an unkind word in private conversation, against an adversary. Anger is a common human passion, and although throughout his career, Douglas had been courteous to a fault, he did display anger upon the appearance of the Address. Its stinging words left a wound which did not heal in a minute, and for a time, his support of popular sovereignty was continued with added vigor and with a considerable show of venom. The verdict against the repeal, in Illinois, was not so emphatic as in Indiana and Ohio, but enough to indicate plainly that anti-slavery extension sentiment was an active force and growing rapidly in the breasts of men who made and unmade United States Senators. The official of that rank, just unmade by the legislature of Illinois was a case in point. Shields' defeat was unexpected, but discomfited for the moment, as he was, Douglas, like other notable northern Democratic Senators, declined to break with his party. Defeat was part of the game of politics and to have turned at that point would have warranted from friends the terms of reproach like those heaped upon him by foes. He could see the handwriting on the wall plainly enough; but then again, the continued fire-in-the-rear charge that he was a sympathizer with slavery, to the neglect of his constituents' opinions, very naturally repelled rather than invited his interest and assistance. The abuse of those times, poured unsparingly upon Douglas, was not like the criticism one hears today about a rival who entertains contrary views. It was scurrilous and unbearable.

With such indignities heaped upon him, Douglas was driven, perforce, either to surrender or defend his party

dogma. He defended, and in all his speeches for a time, an irritation is more or less apparent, notably his early criticisms of the Emigrant Aid Societies, of which the caustic Mr. Toombs took a much more rational view when he said:

“Whatever be their policy, whatever their tendency to produce strife, if they simply aid emigrants from Massachusetts, to go to Kansas to become citizens of that territory, I am prepared to say that they violate no law; they have a right to do so, and every attempt to prevent their doing so, violates the law and ought not to be sustained.”²⁵⁵

So, too, the Democratic majority had misjudged the spirit of the north. Good politics and good sense should have prompted the members of that majority to pour oil upon the waters of public opinion and sentiment which was moving the other way with such prodigious strides. Instead of dubbing the man a black Republican and a bigot, who differed honestly upon a point of conscience, even though covered by a constitutional license, they might have stemmed the tide of protest. Public opinion had been known to change a great many constitutions before that day, but so late as the time under consideration, we have no record of a constitution changing public sentiment. However, not to be too critical: The Democratic party had been autocratic for so long and Douglas had been the autocrat of that party for so long a time, that too much haste should not be exacted in demanding the hour when Stephen A. Douglas should refuse to accept the dictation of Democratic party leaders.

The position of Douglas upon his return to Congress is a difficult one to interpret faithfully and with justice to him, bound as he was by the strongest of party ties to the measure of Popular Sovereignty. After observing the adoption of the plan or dogma of Popular Sovereignty in 1852, with a unanimity from all but extremists on both sides and then in 1854 to witness its repudiation by storm in the north, and its acceptance with bonfires and fanfare in the south where it

²⁵⁵ Stovall's Robert A. Toombs, 116.

met opposition from the first, presented a revulsion of sentiment which rather upset the calculations of the best Democratic politicians in the country.

In the face of it Douglas could not straddle; he did not try to do it. His first utterances in Congress were critical of everything done and offered by the anti-slavery extension people.²⁵⁶

"If repugnance to domestic slavery can justify Massachusetts in incorporating a mammoth company to influence and control that question in any state or territory of this Union, the same principle of action would authorize France or England to use the same means to accomplish the same end in Brazil or Cuba, or in fifteen states of this Union. The same principle of action, when sanctioned by our example, would authorize all the kingdoms, and empires and despotisms in the world to engage in a common crusade against republicanism in America, as an institution quite as obnoxious to them as domestic slavery is to any portion of the people of the United States."

The criticism made by Lincoln during the debates of 1858, that it was counterfeit logic, might apply to the criticism of the Emigrant Aid Societies.

Speaking of the respective attitudes of New England, and Missouri adjoining Kansas, he thus offensively applies his criticism to New England and alludes to defiant Missouri as a very badly used neighbor:

"The material difference in the character of the two rival and conflicting movements consists in the fact that the one had its origin in an aggressive and the other in a defensive policy."

For the time, Douglas would not recognize that the people of Missouri could do wrong.²⁵⁷

The move to erect Kansas into a territorial form of government, was the signal for local disorders of a character little short of civil war, which continued for six years; the

²⁵⁶ His committee report.

²⁵⁷ Should the reader desire to gratify a curiosity upon the point, Webb's Scrap Book, filled with press notices and extracts from speeches, should be consulted.

south determined that Kansas should enter the Union a slave state in order to restore the equilibrium between the north and the south by the loss of California. A Mississippi organ of slavery thus openly flouts its sentiments concerning the policy the south should adopt:

“The appointment of a governor of Kansas is an act of vast consequence to the south. It suggests to us at once, the restoration of the equilibrium between the north and the south, lost in the admission of California, the extension of southern area and southern institutions—a return to the constitution and to its faithful administration.”²⁵⁸

The first manifestations of the disposition of the south to make Kansas a slave state, began after the bill for its erection became a law and not by any trade made with Douglas, however, and the sentiment echoed in the above quotation, which is but one of any number, may be held to be responsible for the mad actions which followed and continued until the south, after its protracted and ill-fated contention lost in the struggle and conceded that her efforts to extend slavery would be useless when urged against the overpowering population and sentiment of the north. Most losers would have retired without further stirring up a question becoming more and more odious over the civilized world; but the extremists fancying the world had no business to interest itself in their affairs, listened to nothing but the insidious sentiment of secession, whereby the south might draw itself apart from the world and enlarge in numbers and influence without enlargement in the finer ethics of human progress.

On November 29th, 1854, an election was held to elect a delegate to Congress. Atchison's fiery stump speeches were made with that election in view and the Missourians took them literally. The delegate Whitfield received over 1,100 votes more than the legal number of voters in the territory three months afterward.²⁵⁹ The census was taken in the fol-

²⁵⁸ Jackson, Miss., paper, June 13, 1855. Webb's Scrap Book, Vol. IV, p. 206.

²⁵⁹ Of ballots subsequently investigated, 1,114 were legal while 1,729 were cast by residents of Missouri. At one polling place 20 legal votes were cast while 584 illegal votes were cast. (Greeley and Annals of Kansas —.)

lowing February,²⁶⁰ under which Governor Reeder called a second election²⁶¹ for the purpose of electing members of the legislature. When the Missouri crowds came over again and voted, the Free-state voters to a great extent refused to vote.²⁶² The result was the election of 13 Councilmen, all strongly pro-slavery men but one, who was speedily expelled when the body met, and 26 representatives, many of them citizens of Missouri and all pro-slavery but one, who after the expulsion of the Councilman, resigned.

The majorities secured for this Popular Sovereignty experiment were approximately 6,320, more than twice the number of legal voters in the territory.²⁶³

Finding Governor Reeder a stumbling block, a rupture was conveniently made between him and the legislature. That body had met at Pawnee, about 100 miles from the Missouri border, but being so far from its base of supplies, it adjourned over the Governor's veto to the Shawnee Mission. Reeder declared the body dissolved thereby; but Reeder was removed by an administration which was very much pleased with the progress made with Popular Sovereignty from the standpoint of the slave-holder. Declining to be dissolved, the legislature proceeded to enact a code of laws taken from the statute books of Missouri almost verbatim. Of the few changes which in its wisdom it saw fit to make was one making it an offense punishable with death, to decoy slaves from their masters.

The Free-soilers of the territory in public meetings repudiated the work of the "Bogus Legislature." At Lawrence, on August 15, 1855, the first general meeting was held, at which it was resolved to request all bona fide residents,

²⁶⁰ Ascertained population, 8,601, whereof 2,905 were voters and 242 slaves. (Greeley.)

²⁶¹ March 30, 1855.

²⁶² But 831 legal voters voted, yet no less than 6,320 votes were polled.

²⁶³ The *Platte Argus* (Mo.) in its next issue said: It is to be admitted that they—the Missourians—have conquered Kansas. Our advice is, let them hold it, or die in the attempt." Gov. Reeder set aside the election in the only six districts from which protests were seasonably forwarded to him. New elections in all but one of the districts returned Free Soil members, but the pro-slavery majority refused to seat them. On the contrary, they seated their original fraudulently elected men.

without regard to party, to consult in their respective election districts and in mass convention or otherwise to elect delegates to assemble at Topeka on September 19 and consider upon all subjects relating to the welfare of the territory, particularly upon that having reference to the formation of a state constitution and subsequent admission to the Union as a state. The Topeka convention met duly at which a date, October 9, was fixed for the election of members of a constitutional convention to be held in Topeka on October 23. The convention met and formed a constitution which was ratified December 15, 1855. By the same instrument, the date, January 15, 1856, was fixed for an election of state officers. At none of these elections did the pro-slavery people vote, to any extent.

On January 24, 1856, Pierce sent a special message to Congress covering Kansas affairs, in which particular attention was called to the occurrences which were creating unfavorable comment, and also the attempt of its citizens to put the Topeka state government into operation and override the existing territorial government. He recommended the passage of a law authorizing the people of Kansas, whenever they might desire it and had sufficient population, to frame a constitution and prepare themselves for statehood. The measure was referred to the Committee on Territories. In the absence of Douglas, then sick at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, the matter slumbered until February 11th.

On March 12th he made his elaborate report. In general it condemned the Emigrant Aid Societies, the anti-slavery people of Kansas and everybody in sympathy with them. The document cannot be said to reflect credit upon Douglas.

On March 17th he reported "a bill to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a constitution and state government, preparatory to their admission into the Union when they have the requisite population." Upon the 20th, he addressed the Senate in support of the bill, and upon the general questions embraced in the report. From this moment, the life of Douglas is so intimately connected with Kansas

that you cannot well separate them, and in the course of development of Buchanan's administration and its alliance with the slave-power, Douglas did what few strong men have done. If ever man sacrificed personal prospects and sunk personal differences for the good of his country to the exclusion of every conflicting consideration, that man was Stephen A. Douglas, who by looking southward instead of westward, would have been made president one day. It has been popular to refer to this step in Douglas' career as having been taken in order to secure his return to the Senate, without which position he could not hope to become formidable as a presidential candidate in 1860. Preposterous! He weighed the consequences and took the step upon principle.

The subject, like all future references to the subject of Kansas, was debated more or less hotly, until June 25th. On that date, Mr. Toombs introduced an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the whole bill and on that day the pending bill, as well as all the proposed amendments and substitutes were recommitted to the Committee on Territories. On June 30th, Douglas reported the Toombs bill in lieu of all the propositions which had been referred to the committee. That bill was accompanied with a report which referred to the Topeka constitution in words which applied aptly to the subsequent Lecompton constitution and to which he clung with Douglas tenacity:

"The question now arises whether a constitution, made by a political party without the authority, and under circumstances which afford no safeguards against fraud, and no guarantee of fairness, and raises no presumptions that it embodies the wishes and sentiments of a majority of its inhabitants, shall be forced, by an act of Congress, upon a whole people as their fundamental law, unalterable for nine years.

"In the opinion of your committee, whenever a constitution shall be formed in any territory, preparatory to its admission into the Union as a state, justice, the genius of our institutions, the whole theory of our republican system, imperatively demands that the voice of the people shall be fairly

expressed and their will embodied in that fundamental law, without fraud, or violence, or intimidation, or any other improper influence, and subject to no other improper influence, and subject to no other restrictions than those imposed by the constitution of the United States."

The debate upon the Toombs' bill, which was a very fair bill, all things considered, continued until 8 o'clock of the morning of July 3d, when it passed the Senate, after a continuous session of 34 hours—yeas 33, nays, 12.

While the various measures were pending in the Senate, a bill for the admission of Kansas, was pending in the House, which on the first day of July was brought to a vote and rejected by a vote, yeas 106, nays 107. Whereupon a motion to reconsider the bill of Thursday, July 3d, was reconsidered and passed, yeas 99, nays 97.

In the Senate, the bill was referred to the Committee on Territories. On the 8th, Douglas reported it back with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause, and to insert in lieu thereof the provisions of the Toombs bill. The amendment was agreed to and the bill as amended, passed the Senate, yeas 30, nays 13. The Senate bill was now before the House in two forms, the first having been allowed to lie upon the Speaker's table. On July 29th, Mr. Dunn of Indiana, called up a motion made in February to reconsider a vote committing a bill to annul certain acts of the Kansas legislature. The House having voted to reconsider, that bill was then properly before the House for action, whereupon, Dunn moved to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert what is known as the "Dunn bill." Dunn moved the previous question and under its operation, his amendment was agreed to and the bill, so amended, passed, yeas 88, nays 74. The title was then changed to read, "An Act to recognize the Territory of Kansas and for other purposes." This bill when received in the Senate was referred to the Committee on Territories. Douglas, on the 11th of August, reported back the bill with a recommendation that it be laid on the table.

Among the reasons urged by Douglas in his report against this bill, was the first and most important one that it repealed the "great fundamental principles of self-government and state equality which it was the paramount object of the Kansas-Nebraska Act to maintain and perpetuate," and of course to reinstate the former Missouri restriction. Douglas also objected to the provisions which "legalize and establish for a time, hereditary slavery, not only in the Territory of Kansas (where there is no other local or affirmative law protecting it than the enactments of the Kansas Territorial Legislature, which have been alleged to be illegal and void, and which the House of Representatives, by amendments to the appropriation bills, have instructed the President not to enforce) but also in all that part of New Mexico which it is proposed to incorporate in the Territory of Kansas and where slavery was prohibited by the Mexican law, and it is not pretended that there is any territorial enactment recognizing or establishing it. Having thus asserted and exercised the power of introducing and establishing slavery in the Territories by act of Congress, and declaring children hereafter born therein to be slaves for life and their posterity after them, provided they shall be removed therefrom within a special period, the bill proceeds to affirm and exercise the power of prohibiting slavery in the same territories forever from and after January 1, 1858, by enacting and putting in force the . . . 8th section of the act passed March 6, 1820"

" It will be observed that these two sections (15 and 16) recognize the validity and binding force of the entire code of laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission, by the legislature of Kansas Territory, and provide for the faithful execution of all those enactments except the criminal code. . . ."

The Committee recommended that the bill be laid on the table and the bill was laid upon the table by a vote of 35 yeas to 12 nays. The House did not act upon the other bills relating to Kansas. In the General Appropriation Bill a

clause was inserted providing that no part of the money appropriated thereby to defray the expenses of the territorial government in Kansas should be drawn from the treasury until all the criminal prosecutions on charges of treason in Kansas, or for violation of the laws of the territorial legislature, should be dismissed, and the accused parties discharged.

To the Army Bill, the House attached a clause that no part of the military force of the United States should be employed to aid in the enforcement of any act of the Kansas legislature; requiring the President to disband the armed militia of the territory; to recall all the United States arms therein distributed, and to "prevent armed men going into the Territory to disturb the peace or to aid in the enforcement or resistance of real or pretended danger."

These provisions were struck out of the bills in the Senate. The House refused to agree to the amendments of the Senate, and the Senate insisted on their action. At last, the House yielded, except in the case of the Army Bill. Various committees of conference were unable to reach a compromise and on the 18th of August, Congress adjourned without passing the Army Bill.

The President reconvened Congress next day, to which he sent a message urging the necessity for the passage of an appropriation for the army. The former Army Bill and a new one were introduced; but the House insisting on its Kansas legislation, both failed of passage. At last, on August 30th, the House by a vote of 101 to 98 passed the third bill and Congress adjourned the same day without any legislation for Kansas.

PART XXII.

The 1854 Anti-Nebraska party in the state of Illinois, inchoate though it was, had accomplished the election of Lyman Trumbull, an anti-Nebraska United States Senator.

How much more, therefore, might be expected from it in 1856, solidified and more than ever determined to defeat Douglas' party in the State of Illinois and lay the foundation for his overthrow in the year 1858, when he should appear for re-election? As the first step in that direction, a convention of Illinois editors met in convention at Decatur, on February 22d, 1856,²⁶⁴ to promulgate a plan for uniting the various branches of opposition to Douglas and his party, into something tangible and efficacious for continued warfare, until their defeat had been accomplished. Resolutions to that effect, were passed and an appeal was sent out, urging all who shared anti-Nebraska views, to unite, and for the first step in a plan of action the editorial delegates recommended a delegate convention to meet at Bloomington, May 29th, 1856, to nominate a ticket and follow it up with a hot canvass for its election. They furthermore designated a state central committee of 11, one from each of the nine congressional districts, and two at large, to make the necessary call, fix the ratio of representation and otherwise to arrange for what is known as the first Republican convention held in the State of Illinois.

Accepting their obligations, the central committee fixed upon May 29, as the date and Major's hall in Bloomington, as the place, for holding that convention.

It was a heterogenous body; so badly spotted with adverse opinions and demands for the settlement of the slavery evil, that the Democrats denominated it "a speckled progeny of many conjunctions," or as others have rendered it "compunctions." There were present, Lincoln,²⁶⁵ and Browning, late Whigs; Owen Lovejoy, brother of the martyr, Elijah P. Lovejoy, original Abolitionist; Wentworth, Cook, Palmer and Judd, anti-Nebraska Democrats; noted Know-Nothings and men of every shade of temperament and opinion under the sun. John M. Palmer was made chairman of the convention and that body proceeded about its business very much after the manner recommended by the Chicago Tribune.

²⁶⁴ Lincoln was present in Decatur at the time, and at his hotel advised with the delegates upon every point which excited any debate.

²⁶⁵ This was Lincoln's formal affiliation with the Republican party.

The platform adopted, omitted to assert the right of trial by jury for the captured fugitive slave; it omitted to claim for him the writ of *habeas corpus*; slavery was not denounced as a felony and upon such a platform the anti-Nebraska men stood to fight Douglas. It has been judged rightly that nothing but the genius of Lincoln and his now noted Bloomington speech, could have welded the conflicting masses into homogeneity. Indeed, the nominee for Auditor at one time cursed the convention for its abolitionism, yet he accepted the nomination and did valiant service for the success of the ticket.

William H. Bissell, Free-soil Democrat, and one of the most popular men of the State, was nominated for the office of Governor.

The Democrats were alive to the needs of the hour. In fact, it may be stated that Douglas had begun to realize that the Nebraska bill had entailed upon the party in Illinois, the most serious losses. He is known to have stated at a subsequent time: "The Kansas question became the all-absorbing question in the Presidential election of 1856, and came near defeating the election of Mr. Buchanan."²⁶⁶ At the same time his eyes had been opened to the belief that the slaveholding interests were not dealing fairly with him or his Popular Sovereignty theory. To succeed at home, where the fight was likely to be made upon his personality as much as his measure, Douglas prepared himself for a hot campaign and surrounded it with every precaution that might be thought to insure success. McClernand, chairman of the state central committee, a Union man to the core; a statesman of the highest ability and one of the three or four principal men of the state, in a ringing address dated December 1, 1855, called upon the party to send delegates to meet in convention at Springfield, May 1, 1856, to nominate a ticket headed by a man who could beat Bissell, then known to be the agreed candidate for the new Republican party. By common consent but one man occurred to the Democrat leaders,—William A.

²⁶⁶ Cutts, A Brief Treatise, 108.

Richardson, the leader of the lower branch of Congress and who almost as much as Douglas was responsible for the passage of the repeal. Richardson was able, upright, sound upon party doctrine, a tremendous force upon the stump, and, as the fight seemed to center upon the measure with which his name became associated in its passage through the House, he seemed to have the call upon the nomination, though John Moore, the old Democratic state treasurer, was strong in the hearts of Democracy in Illinois. But an incident occurred in the afternoon of a day not long before the date of the convention which at least foreshadowed the leaning of such leaders as Douglas, McClernand, Ficklin and others. A company of Chicago militia made Douglas a complimentary visit to his house on the lake shore, almost where his monument was placed at a subsequent period. In the hilarity which succeeded the afternoon's entertainment, members of the party somewhat boisterously nominated Richardson for Governor, gave him three cheers and then dispersed. The incident had its weight. The fusion press, which at once taunted the democracy with submitting tamely to the dictatorship of Douglas, took this circumstance to settle upon the Democratic convention the nomination of Richardson.

On the first ballot, Moore led Richardson by 23 votes, but upon the third ballot, Richardson was nominated and Moore accepted a renomination for the office of state treasurer.

In the platform adopted, the convention affirmed that Congress had no rightful authority to establish or prohibit slavery in the states or territories; approved non-intervention and popular sovereignty, the compromise of 1850, and declared that the restoration of the Missouri restriction would be a flagrant violation of the constitution and the principles of self-government; asserted the national right of all men to religious freedom, declaring their opposition to proscription of foreign born citizens; and instructed the delegates to the Cincinnati convention to vote for Stephen A. Douglas for President. It was a campaign of unheard of complications and uncertainties. Morris was the candidate for Governor

of the Know-Nothings. Bissell, the fusion of all anti-slavery extension factions, was the candidate of the Republicans while Richardson was the candidate of the unconquered Democrats. The Germans of St. Clair and Madison counties, wholly democratic, went to Bissell unanimously while the Whigs of Sangamon, Morgan, Tazewell and Adams, the four largest counties of the state, went over to Richardson almost in a body. The fight was hot and Douglas covered the state from end to end.

Bissell was elected but at the same time Buchanan carried the state. That circumstance is explained partially by those Democrats who voted for Bissell and at the same time voted for Buchanan, because his absence from the country at the court of St. James, was thought to have removed him from all possible contamination by the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, and partially by the quotation below, taken from the Quincy Herald. Richardson polled 106,643 votes; Buchanan, 105,344; Fremont, 96,180; Bissell, 111,372; Fillmore, 37,451; Morris, 19,261.

The Quincy Herald, the Democratic paper of Richardson's home town for November 17, 1856, reads thus: "This is the first defeat he has ever encountered. Even now he runs ahead of his ticket, although defeated. Strange as it may seem, his party succeeds, he outruns his party, yet he is defeated. . . . It is not because he has not received the united vote of his party that he is now defeated, but it is because every Fillmore man in the state who could be induced to do so, voted for Bissell, while the portion of the Fillmore party that would have supported 'Old Dick,' if they had known of the defection of the Fremont wing, threw away their votes upon Buckner S. Morris, of Chicago,—the Fillmore candidate for governor. . . . If Morris had not been a candidate, it is a reasonable inference that two-thirds of those supporting him would have voted for Col. Richardson as against Bissell. . . ."

With the efforts made to elect Richardson and nominate Douglas for President, the Illinois Democrats found themselves seriously overworked in 1856.

An incident occurred at about this time which was calculated to work disaster to Douglas and his candidacy before the Cincinnati convention, by provoking him into an affair of honor. It was but one of many unsuccessful little plots to lead him into complicated situations: The occasion of this particular plot was over the presentation to Congress of the Topeka constitution which was accompanied by a forged memorial, praying admission into the Union. The genuine memorial took the ground, that Congress had no power to establish governments for the territories, and that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was unconstitutional; that the people owed no allegiance to them, and therein they asserted their inherent right to overthrow the territorial government without the consent and in defiance of Congress. Gen. J. H. Lane, one of the Senators under the Topeka constitution, naturally desiring to take his seat in the United States Senate, perceived at once that such document would damage his chances therefor. Accordingly a forged instrument, couched in more respectful language, was presented to Congress and admission asked. The trick, as might be expected, was disclosed at once, and Douglas as chairman of his committee, denounced it in unmeasured terms. Rumors were floated by gossiping experts in the public opinion, of an unexpected meeting between a fierce border fighter and the great champion of popular sovereignty. Douglas was not to be trapped into such a foolhardy proceeding. When, therefore, in April, 1856, General Lane asked of Douglas "for such an explanation of your language as will remove all imputation upon the integrity of my action or motives in connection with that memorial," he received what in a man with a thinner skin, would have amounted to annihilation in these words: "My reply is that there are no facts within my knowledge which can remove all imputation upon the integrity of your action or motives in connection with that memorial."²⁶⁷ Lane attempted two months later, to retaliate with an abusive card²⁶⁸ in the Wash-

²⁶⁷ Illinois State Register, May 8, 1856.

²⁶⁸ Davidson and Stuve, 634.

ington papers, but Douglas had so far reduced Lane's power for harm, that the card created no comment and attracted but little notice. The incident certainly failed ingloriously to influence adversely, the prospects of Douglas before the Cincinnati convention. The state delegation, composed of the strongest men of Illinois, like McClernand, Richardson, Ficklin, attended the convention with a powerful lobby of citizens interested in Douglas' political welfare.

The convention met at Cincinnati, June 2nd, 1856. John E. Ward, of Georgia, was made its permanent chairman. Among the planks and items of planks adopted, are to be found the following: "That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing upon this national platform, will abide by and adhere to the faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measure settled by the Congress of 1850, "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

5. And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union:

1. Resolved, That, claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the states and incite to treason and armed resistance to law of the territories, and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union— *non-interference of Congress with slavery in state and territory or in the District of Columbia.*

2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in National convention; ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of territories, and the admission of new states with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the states will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the constitution maintained inviolate and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union

insured to its utmost capacity embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American state that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people in all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justify it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other states.

Opposed to the tenor of the Democratic assertions, the Republican platform contained this resolution: "Resolved, That the constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States, for their government; and that, in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery."

Fremont and Dayton were nominated by the Republicans and by the American party, Fillmore and Donelson were nominated. The Whigs at Baltimore, ratified the nomination of Fillmore. On the first ballot of the Democratic convention, Buchanan received 135½ votes, Pierce 122½, Douglas 33,²⁶⁹ Cass 5. On the sixth ballot, Douglas dropped to 28. On the seventh he rose to 58, Georgia giving him 7 votes, Tennessee 12 and Arkansas 4. On the ninth ballot, Buchanan received 146 votes, Pierce 87, Douglas 56, Cass, 7. On the sixteenth ballot, Buchanan received 168 votes, Douglas 122,²⁷⁰ Cass 6. This ballot indicated the highest possible vote that Buchanan could hope to obtain; wherefore, as two-thirds of the delegates were required to secure a nomination, the nomination of Buchanan might have been delayed indefinitely or defeated but for the action of Douglas, who placed the endorsement of his Popular Sovereignty plank in the platform as of paramount glory to a nomination. Upon discovering the temper

²⁶⁹ Ohio, 4; Kentucky, 3; Illinois, 11; Missouri, 9; Iowa, 4; Wisconsin, 2.

²⁷⁰ New Hampshire, 5; Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 3; New York, 17; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 7; Mississippi, 7; Ohio, 6; Kentucky, 12; Illinois, 11; Missouri, 9; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3; Texas, 4; Iowa, 2; Alabama, 9.

of the convention and foreseeing the probable lack of a two-thirds vote for any candidate, Douglas sent his old friend, Richardson, the following message:

“Washington, June 4, 1856.

Dear Sir:—

From the telegraphic reports in the newspapers, I fear that an embittered state of feeling is being engendered in the Convention, which may endanger the harmony and success of our party. I wish you and all my friends to bear in mind that I have a thousand fold more anxiety for the triumph of our principles than for my own personal elevation.

If the withdrawal of my name will contribute to the harmony of our party, or the success of our cause, I hope you will not hesitate to take the step. Especially is it my desire that the action of the Convention will embody and express the wishes, feelings and principles of the Democracy of the republic; and hence, if Mr. Pierce or Mr. Buchanan, or any other statesman, who is faithful to the great issues involved in the contest, shall receive a majority of the Convention, I earnestly hope that all my friends will unite in insuring him two-thirds, and then in making his nomination unanimous. Let no personal considerations disturb the harmony or endanger the triumph of our principles.

S. A. Douglas.”

To Hon. W. A. Richardson,
Cincinnati, Ohio.”

The reading of this dispatch was interrupted by frequent and tremendous applause. Another dispatch received later and read to the Convention is as follows:

“June 5th, 1856, 9 A. M.

“Dear Sir:

I have just read so much of the platform as relates to the Nebraska bill and slavery question. The adoption of that noble resolution by a unanimous vote of all the states, accomplishes all the objects I had in view in permitting my name to be used before the convention. If agreeable to my friends,

I would prefer exerting all my energies to elect a tried statesman on that platform to being the nominee myself. At all events, do not let my name be used in such manner as to disturb the harmony of the party or endanger the success of the work so nobly begun. S. A. Douglas."

Hon. W. A. Richardson, of Illinois,
Burnet House, Cincinnati, Ohio."

The next dispatch which came to Richardson settled the candidacy of Douglas, very much to the regret of his friends, many of whom could not forget his action.

"Washington, June 5th, 9 1/2 A. M.

Mr. Buchanan having received a majority of the convention, is, in my opinion, entitled to the nomination. I hope my friends will give effect to the voice of the majority of the party. S. A. Douglas."

Hon. W. A. Richardson."

This withdrawal of Douglas at a critical time, made for him a feeling among certain of his warmest supporters, that by quitting at the first display of strength between candidates when the number had been reduced to two, compromised them, and something of that feeling existed when the Charleston convention met.

On the next ballot, Buchanan received 296 votes, after Col. Richardson, in an appropriate speech, had withdrawn the name of Douglas. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky received the nomination for Vice President.

Without any doubt, considerations of fear for the election, brought about the support of Buchanan who had been a candidate for the office before the two preceding conventions and who by young America had been denounced as an old fogey. But it seems to be error to assign to southern delegates timidity for results or motives of ingratitude toward Douglas, as is done habitually by writers. It may be true in general that the dividends paid upon debts of gratitude are small and that when Douglas declared the endorsement of Popular Sovereignty in the platform "accomplishes all the

objects I had in view in permitting my name to be used before the convention," the south may have considered the debt settled; nevertheless, the south as a body was not ungrateful to Judge Douglas in the Cincinnati convention. On the contrary, 73 southern delegates clung to him after the withdrawal of Pierce until Richardson had withdrawn his name, and even then many of the chairmen attested their attachment to the Douglas fortunes in words of warmest praise.

On the 16th ballot, Douglas received the following southern vote: North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 7; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Kentucky, 12; Missouri, 9; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 3, and Texas, 4, while Buchanan received but 8 from Maryland; 15 from Virginia; 3 from Georgia; 6 from Louisiana, and 12 from Tennessee.

Mr. Preston of Kentucky, who had received from Richardson the tip that he should withdraw the name of Douglas, attempted to pave the way for a harmonious concentration of the vote on Buchanan, but immediately he stated his object, he was interrupted by loud expressions of dissatisfaction and cries of "no, no! Don't withdraw!"

Said Mr. Avery of North Carolina when compelled to vote for Buchanan: "And General Pierce out of the way, we could not have returned to our constituents without having manifested in some way, our high appreciation of the eminent service rendered to his country by the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

Said Governor Manning of South Carolina: "* * * in the first instance Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and then to Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and she would have continued to yield to them unfaltering support as long as their names were presented by their friends to the convention."

Mr. Gardner of Georgia: "Next to him (Pierce), the delegation, or at least a large portion of them, thought it their duty to come to the support of Judge Douglas, of Illi-

nois. They considered it their duty to do so, in view of the fact that this gentleman had manfully battled for great constitutional and conservative principles."

Mr. Clayton of Mississippi: "She has thus far voted first for Pierce, next for Douglas, because she regarded them as the exponents and embodiment of her principles; * *."

Mr. Medary of Louisiana: "I assure you, Mr. President, that as the personal friend of that Little Giant of the Northwest, for whom so many of us have cast our votes, or for whom I am willing to do battle even single handed, * *."

Mr. Flournoy of Arkansas: "They then came enthusiastically and harmoniously to the support of the Little Giant of Illinois. They have voted for him since that time, and whenever his banner was seen to float, there were we seen to battle."

Three things occur to the mind of the writer as very plainly indicated at that convention. One, southern support of Douglas was warm and given because he had supported the Kansas-Nebraska bill and that the delegates did not permit the plea of availability to have the slightest weight with them. Next, the southern members did not misunderstand the effect of Popular Sovereignty. The planks in the platform offer no opportunity for misunderstanding and when in the course of the proceedings, they were adopted by every other state with unanimity, Virginia and Mississippi at first desired to retire to consult over them, but upon returning to report, they, too, voted unanimously to adopt them. Not only were those planks or resolutions understood, but in the course of calling the roll upon their adoption, we find such remarks as these:

Mr. Avery of North Carolina remarked: "North Carolina gives ten votes for the resolutions, and will give ten thousand in November."

Gov. Chapman of Alabama: "Alabama votes nine votes for the resolutions and in November, as usual, she will roll up her fifteen thousand Democratic majority."

Wickliffe of Kentucky: "Kentucky gives her twelve votes for the resolutions, and all she can promise would be a majority in November next."

Cheers and applause marked the speeches in each instance, so that in 1856, Popular Sovereignty was a very popular propaganda, without the first sign of any misunderstanding about its scope.

And finally let it be said that the north was beginning to feel its independence of southern influence in political conventions.

The necessity for hard work was but too apparent. The capacity of Douglas for hard and effectual work was just as well known; wherefore as the best stump speaker the Democratic party ever had, Douglas came into sudden and great demand, and like the generous man he was, he yielded with cheerfulness and jumped into the canvass with his whole heart.

It is doubtful if any Senator has been as familiar with his constituency or his state as Douglas. Though one of vast area, he had traversed every county and it has been said, every township of every county in his various campaigns. The struggles precipitated by the Kansas-Nebraska bill and Buchanan's nomination upon that plank, demanded his undivided attention. Yet, not only did he traverse his own state in the interest of Buchanan and Richardson, but he stumped Pennsylvania very thoroughly at the request of Buchanan and his southern friends and Ohio as well, and it might be added that he stepped over into three or four other states to push the fortunes of his party. Buchanan was elected, but as a minority candidate.

PART XXIII,

If Douglas had reached the pinnacle of his fame as leader of a great political party but a short while back, the year

1857 is to introduce him breaking ground for that greater and more enduring fame which crowned his career four years later.

During the winter of 1856-7,²⁷¹ the territorial legislature of Kansas passed an act providing for the adoption of a constitution, preparatory to asking again for admission into the Union. To surround the election with every appearance of fairness, provision was made for the registration of the legal voters in each county of the territory and when so made, the same was to be sent to the Governor whose duty it became to apportion delegates to the convention among the different counties in such proportion as the registry warranted. The registration was completed and forwarded to the office of the Governor. Governors Reeder, Shannon and Geary had crossed the stage of Kansas political activities and retired, leaving at this moment a vacancy for Buchanan to fill.

Very soon after his inauguration, he appointed to the office of Governor of Kansas, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, a gentleman of the highest order and as secretary he appointed F. P. Stanton of Tennessee, equally able and upright. By reason of the disinclination of Walker for an office which seemed to bring to the incumbent nothing but trouble, he delayed his acceptance and Stanton went forward to assume the duties of acting Governor until Walker should arrive. To apportion these delegates and otherwise act in the premises, required of acting Governor Stanton the exercise of a very high degree of patience and ability, because, among other things, he found himself confronted with an unusual emergency: Practically one-half the counties of the territory had been omitted from the returns. But he made his apportionment with scrupulous fidelity as far as he could go.

After a period of indecision which was overcome only by the joint persuasion of Douglas and Buchanan, Mr. Walker consented to accept the office of Governor of Kansas upon

²⁷¹ Feb. 19, 1857. Election for delegates was held on third Monday of June, 1857.

the express understanding that if upon comparison of opinions between himself, the President and his cabinet, it should be found that they concurred in the policy of submitting the forthcoming constitution to the people for ratification or rejection at a fair election, before it should be sent to Congress for Congressional action. Buchanan and his cabinet agreed to the proposal. Governor Walker, further to clinch his understanding with the administration, remained in Washington to prepare his inaugural address to the people of Kansas. Therein he urged the voters of all shades of opinion to vote for delegates,²⁷² with the assurance that the convention should assemble only for the purpose of framing a constitution to be submitted to them for ratification or rejection. He further passed the word that if the constitution should not be submitted for ratification or rejection and it failed to receive the sanction of the legal voters at such election, he would use his best efforts to defeat the admission of Kansas under it, and in that connection he added that he was authorized to state that the President and every member of his cabinet endorsed this position.

Buchanan instructed Walker, on his way westward, to call upon Douglas at Chicago, to see if the latter would endorse the line of policy upon which they had agreed, and in order that Douglas might understand that policy, Walker read his inaugural address as modified slightly in the handwriting of Buchanan. Douglas replied that while he did not precisely comprehend the right of the President to interfere with the convention, by insisting that the constitution should be submitted to the people, yet as a Senator who would have to vote for or against the constitution, he had no hesitation in saying that he should require satisfactory evidence that the constitution was the act and deed of the people of Kansas and a faithful embodiment of their will. At this point Douglas began his stand for his own interpretation of popular sovereignty which alienated the support of Buchanan and the

²⁷² The Free-Soilers, still apprehensive under the insufficient apportionment, declined to vote for delegates to the Lecompton convention.

South. With that assurance, Walker pushed on to Kansas and published his inaugural address, containing the pledge of himself and the President and his Cabinet, *that the constitution must be submitted to the people before Kansas could be admitted into the Union under it.*

Once in Kansas, the new Governor discovered what Stanton had discovered, that a fair election could not be held by the whole people for the reason that nearly one-half the counties in the territory had been omitted from the registration and consequently were deprived of the privilege of electing delegates. He acknowledged a great wrong had been done and regretted his lack of power to correct it. But he appealed²⁷³ to the people to vote and to trust to the fair dealing of the convention, with his assurance and that of the President and his Cabinet that the whole people should have an opportunity of voting for the instrument to be framed. Still skeptical from previous treatment, many Free Soil Democratic voters demanded from the candidates who offered themselves, a pledge in writing, to agree to no constitution which should not be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. In Douglas county, the largest in the territory, such a pledge was prepared, signed and published by our old friend John Calhoun,²⁷⁴ then Surveyor General of Kansas and Nebraska, who became president of that convention and by all his associates on the ticket.²⁷⁵ During the canvass, it was conceded by all concerned that the convention was to frame a constitution merely, and not to permit its operation without submission for ratification or rejection.

²⁷³ The Free-State party did not vote for delegates to the Lecompton convention, by reason of the incomplete returns and the unfair apportionment; but at Grasshopper Falls, a body of the leaders met August 26 to consider the promises made by Walker and Stanton. The honesty of those two officers could not be doubted and, with unanimity, it was resolved to vote at the election for a delegate to Congress and for members of the legislature, in the same ballot box with the pro-slavery party. Of the leaders, Charles Robinson, James H. Lane and C. K. Halliday were present and recommended the vote notwithstanding the territory had been apportioned by the pro-slavery legislature, so that every council district abutted on Missouri. Report of G. W. Martin, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society, Dec. 6, 1907.

²⁷⁴ And who became one of the first to nullify his promise and clamored loudest to choke off an honest vote.

²⁷⁵ There were eight delegates.

Before this convention assembled at Lecompton, another convention was held, composed of delegates from *all* the counties of the territory, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for delegate to Congress, to be supported by the Democratic party at the October election. For the purpose of securing the vote of the entire party, free-state men as well as pro-slavery men, a resolution was adopted by the convention, by a vote of 40 to 1, pledging the Democratic party to submit the constitution to the people for ratification or rejection.²⁷⁶ This Lecompton convention met²⁷⁷ about four weeks previous to the territorial election, which was held on the first Monday of October for the election of the delegate to Congress and for members of the territorial legislature. After organizing, by the election of Calhoun as president, and the appointment of committees and referring to them various parts of the proposed constitution, the convention adjourned or took a recess until²⁷⁸ after the October election,²⁷⁹ for the purpose as subsequently avowed and not very successfully contradicted, of ascertaining whether the pro-slavery party or the free-state party had a majority in the territory. As usual, a great number of fraudulent pro-slavery votes were cast, but, upon investigation by Gov. Walker and Secretary Stanton,²⁸⁰ the votes in two counties were rejected and the election was given to the free-soil party by a very large majority. At that unexpected turn in affairs, the convention determined not to submit the constitution, for fear of rejection. Instead, the pro-slavery leaders who constituted a large majority in the convention, determined to submit only one

²⁷⁶ Gov. Ransom, the Democratic nominee for delegate, made his canvass on the ratification or rejection plank.

²⁷⁷ Sept. 5, 1857.

²⁷⁸ Nov. 7, 1857.

²⁷⁹ Oct. 4 and 5.

²⁸⁰ The members from Douglas and Johnson counties controlled both branches of the legislature. Their heavy vote caused suspicion. Oxford, Johnson County, excited especial suspicion and Walker and Stanton concluded to go behind the returns. With a dozen soldiers and an ambulance wagon, those two officers went to Oxford where they found 42 voters. Sixteen hundred twenty-eight had been polled. Kickapoo had polled 920 votes and McGee 1202.

Oxford was found to be composed of six houses and no tavern. On election day—the 4th—twenty minutes before the polls closed, 88 votes had been cast. When the polls closed, the number had reached 91. Over 1,500 had been cast on the second day. As the vote was made, *viva voce* and for 21 candidates, the fraud was more than apparent. The discovery was made at a subsequent date that the fraudulent votes were added at Westport from a Cincinnati directory. (Martin.)

clause, which recognized and established the institution of slavery in the territory, and accordingly, this clause was decreed to be submitted in such a form that every man who voted for or against the clause, was compelled to vote for the whole constitution at the same time,²⁸¹ and in the event the vote was challenged, to take an oath to support that constitution.²⁸² In the constitution itself elsewhere, there were provisions expressly recognizing and establishing slavery,²⁸³ so that it would become a slave state whether the pro-slavery clause was adopted or rejected.

Congress met in December, 1857. Excitement in the North, provoked by the decision of the convention people, ran high. The Democratic press of Illinois denounced the action with unanimity.

When Douglas reached Washington, three days before Congress met, he went direct to the President and implored him as a friend not to recommend the Lecompton Constitution to Congress. "It is a violation of every pledge we made to the people!" protested Douglas. "A violation of a fundamental principle of the Democratic party,—and of all parties in all republican governments, because it attempts to force a constitution upon an unwilling people."

The President begged Douglas to say nothing on the subject until they should hear from the vote on the slavery clause, to be taken December 21st, three or four weeks thereafter. Douglas promised to withhold his speech if the President would withhold his recommendation until the vote was taken. But, Buchanan replied that he must recommend it in his message. At once Douglas rejoined, "Then I shall de-

²⁸¹ Cutts, 114. The form of ballot permitted was:

For the constitution with slavery.

For the constitution with no slavery.

²⁸² Cutts: A Brief Treatise, 115.

²⁸³ "Article 7, Section 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever."

Another provision in the schedule was to the effect that the constitution may be amended only after 1864 by a two-thirds vote of each house, after which it must receive the consent of a majority of the people at the polls. And then if all possible obstacles are surmounted, after that period, the following provision was encountered: "But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves."

nounce it the moment your message is read’’²⁸⁴ The President, quite contrary to his accustomed disposition, became excited and a very dramatic incident followed. The President had been a United States Senator, an Ambassador to the Court of St. James, a Secretary of State. He was something over six feet in height, every inch of which had been cultivated to the perfection of dignity. Probably no man impressed the beholder with half so much dignity. When, therefore, Douglas threatened him, a Senator, an Ambassador, a Secretary of State and a President, he drew up those six feet and odd inches to their highest point and said, “Senator, I desire you to remember that no Democrat ever yet differed with an administration of his own choice without being crushed. Beware the fate of Talmadge and Rives!”

With a readiness equaled by no one, Douglas drew up his five feet four inches of dignity to their fullest height and replied: “Mr. President, I desire you to remember that Andrew Jackson is dead.”

Among the subjects recommended in the President’s message to the consideration of Congress was the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, without submitting it to the people for ratification or rejection.²⁸⁵

Deep mortification and disappointment were expressed by the President, in that the constitution was not to be submitted to the people of Kansas. But with all his deep mortification and regret and expressions of praise for the Minnesota case in which the constitution had been referred to the people for ratification or rejection, he at once proceeded to quibble over technicalities, in effect holding that while according to his understanding of the organic act, there was an obligation to submit the slavery question to the people of Kansas, there was no obligation to submit the remainder of the document. That remainder must be regarded as self-acting whether the people liked it or not.

²⁸⁴ This incident was related by Douglas in a speech delivered in 1860, before a great mass-meeting held on the then vacant space west of Elizabeth street, between West Madison and Washington streets, in Chicago.

²⁸⁵ Cutts, 115.

In effect, Buchanan by his message adopted the old Calhoun contention and wholly ignored the national feature of the government; a contention which Douglas could not accept and never did accept. On the contrary, he denied the right of a citizen of one state to take into a territory, property which was obnoxious to the laws of the latter.

The necessity at that time for reference to the subject in the message of the President is not perceived at this moment unless publicly to avow a change of heart and to assure the slavery extensionists of future fidelity in their behalf.

In effect the message intimated that the man who drew the Kansas-Nebraska bill had bungled. It reflected the suspicion that he could not frame a law to stand up under adverse criticism or legal analysis; or else that he had served an ulterior design and purposely left the act open to improper construction.

Douglas was not the man, tamely to submit to the belittling process of his ability. His pride was touched. The act which had cost him no end of study and patience and toil, followed by an opprobrium almost impossible to bear, appeared to be in imminent danger of nullification by reason of its alleged looseness; not boldly, but by quibbling and pettifogging and that too in his presence and before the Nation. Knowing Douglas as we do, why should it be necessary to charge his opposition to Buchanan's policy, to trimming and an effort to square himself in Illinois? Buchanan sought publicly to stultify Douglas, because since the Dred Scott decision, the South had changed front and because Douglas would not follow, the South repudiated him and his measure. He might have endured the President's quibbles when made over the phraseology of another's law and when party plans demanded quibbling, but it was requiring rather more of christian submissiveness than the average man possesses, silently to witness the butchery of one's pet measure without remonstrance, least of all from Douglas.

Absent from the counsels of Buchanan, Douglas, to put it mildly, was startled at the words of the President's mes-

sage. When the last line had been read,²⁸⁶ he arose and expressed dissent from so much of the message as related to the recommendation to admit Kansas under the Lecompton constitution:

“Before I yield the floor, I desire simply to state that I have listened to the message with great pleasure and concur cordially with much the greater part of it and in most of the views expressed; but in regard to one topic—that of Kansas—I totally dissent from all that portion of the message which may fairly be construed as approving of the proceedings of the Lecompton convention. At an early period, I shall avail myself of an opportunity to state my reasons for this dissent, and also to vindicate the right of the people of the territory of Kansas to be left perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way according to the organic act.”

Mr. Bigler gave notice that he should support the administration. Green of Missouri, the colleague of Douglas on the committee, reinforced Bigler. Jefferson Davis, too, at the proper moment, in rising to sustain the construction put upon the organic act, by Buchanan, icily put it to the Senate that a body of delegates was presumed to know its business. Had that body framed an anti-slavery constitution would Mr. Davis make the same claim? And in conclusion, Mr. Davis very frigidly offered to accord to the voters of Kansas the distinction of being frozen out by a body of (admittedly) tricky and infamously corrupt delegates. The action of Mr. Davis was but another of his manifestations of magnanimity when resignedly viewing the effort to distort or to force a compromise. Mr. Davis was magnanimous. He has told us he was. He extended to Douglas, habitually, the same frozen packages of magnanimity; a cordiality and warmth which an iceberg, mistaken for a ship, might be expected to extend to the shivering wretch clinging to a spar. Bigler in working to the same end, was more incautious than Mr. Davis would

²⁸⁶ Dec. 8, 1857.

have been in suggesting more compromises. Said Bigler: "I look on this question as it is before us, in a spirit of concession and compromise."

What concession? Douglas offered to accept the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment subsequently passed by the House. He offered to accept another bill like the Toombs bill passed by the Senate and as will be seen a little later, a substantial agreement actually was reached between Mr. Douglas and Mr. Toombs and others, only to be indignantly declined by the representative of those who expected something much more substantial in the nature of a compromise. But compromises of that character were no longer to be thought of.

For so small a question as the present one "to print the President's message," it was perceived that the debate was running into an almost endless chain of remarks without settled purpose or form, Douglas accordingly was asked to name the day when his objections might assume a definite character. He complied by fixing the following day, the 9th, for the purpose. Douglas had opposed Administration measures in other days, notably the Oregon boundary, without adverse party effect. But at this time some nervousness was manifested, as though a crisis were promised.

Buchanan could not comprehend the serious difficulties which the future had in store for the party by insisting upon support for the Lecompton constitution. Never did President exhibit the appalling stupidity that Buchanan exhibited upon questions which affected sentiment in his own state and throughout the North. He could see only the votes of the slave-holding sentiment in the Senate which had been indubitable for so long a period that their overthrow did not occur to him as among any of the possibilities of politics. Northern party men, however, had awakened to the situation and so had some of the party men from the South, and for the purpose of considering the advisability as well as the ways and means for settling the party right before another election came around or before the party became split irrecon-

cilably, meeting was called at the house of Senator Douglas. Hon. George L. Miller,²⁸⁷ who received the story from the lips of Douglas, and who is the best authority upon the point next to the actors themselves, has very kindly put it in writing for use in this narrative:

“I met him (Douglas) but once, and that privilege came to me by the courtesy of William A. Richardson, who was then governor of the territory of Nebraska, my neighbor and friend during his official residence in Omaha. It was by merest accident that I met Governor Richardson in Washington on one Sunday morning. He asked me if I had any engagement for that day. Being answered in the negative, the Governor said: ‘I’m going over to call on Douglas this evening, how would you like to go along?’ I did not need any urging, and the result was that I was presented to a very high company at about 2 o’clock P. M., in the library of the home of Senator Douglas. This company consisted of the ‘Little Giant,’ William A. Richardson, John A. Logan and John A. Davis, of Indiana. Mr. Douglas was wearing a long dressing gown which came to his slippers, which emphasized his short stature. He was in high spirits, and talked with great freedom upon men and current affairs. During these conversations, Mr. Douglas, in the vigor of his discussions, would spring out of his chair and walk around the room, pausing to direct his remarks, now to one and then to another. Subjects talked about covered a wide range. The most animated part of it turned upon President Buchanan. At one point in the conversation, Governor Richardson arose from his chair, and stepping forward toward Mr. Douglas, to whom he directed his remarks, said that ‘Mr. Buchanan was a d——d old imbecile.’ He said this in a style and with a vigor of voice and manner that was peculiarly Richardsonian. Mr. Douglas sprang from his chair, rapidly walked over toward Governor Richardson, and, putting his hand on his shoulder, said, ‘Hold on, Dick! Hold on, Dick! Mr. Buchanan is no imbecile; he is one of the ablest men in our

²⁸⁷ Of Omaha, Nebraska.

country,' whereupon Governor Richardson retreated with all the grace he could command, still shaking his head. It was in the midst of these conversations regarding Mr. Buchanan and the conflicts over the Lecompton constitution and Kansas that Mr. Douglas gave an account of a meeting in his own house only a day or two before the famous 'Lecompton Speech' was made by him in the Senate.²⁸⁸ My recollection is that he said Alexander H. Stephens inspired the meeting, which found Mr. Douglas, Mr. Toombs, Mr. Breckinridge, (Vice-President) Mr. Stephens, and one other distinguished man, whose name it is impossible to recall. They gathered around a table in the library, and the whole subject in controversy, which had caused the difference between Mr. Douglas and the South, was discussed until a late hour, all but one of the great group speaking freely and with an earnest spirit of concession and compromise. Mr. Breckinridge was that one. At last an agreement was reached and all arose as if to shake hands across the table as a ratification of it. Mr. Douglas would make no Lecompton speech, the Democratic party would be united and victorious, and the danger of sectional conflict would be averted. At this moment, Mr. Breckinridge raised and waved his hand in objection, and said, 'another man must be consulted.' 'This,' said Senator Douglas, 'meant Buchanan.' And that was the last of the compromise. The Lecompton speech was delivered, and all the world knows what followed.

If I may add one word to this narrative of the meeting of that group of statesmen who had tried to prevent the wreck of a great national party and the possible destruction of the Nation, itself, it would be to point to the act of John C. Breckinridge, prompted by personal ambition, in support of the saying of Gibbon that republics are destroyed by men who seek to attain the chief executive power."

Douglas made his speech, in the opening remarks of which he tried very hard to bring the words of the President's recommendation into harmony with his own views. But try

²⁸⁸ March 22, 1857.

how he did, there appeared the ever recurring impression between the lines, that Buchanan was trying to take advantage of quibbles which could reflect only upon Douglas. Warming up to his subject and desiring to impress Mr. Buchanan that that distinguished gentleman could make a mistake, Douglas in the course of his remarks, said:

“Sir, I have spent too much strength and breath and health too, to establish this great principle in the popular heart, now to see it frittered away by bringing it down to an exception that applies to the negro and does not extend to the benefit of the white man. . . .

. . . The Nebraska Bill said that the people should be left ‘perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way,’—not the slavery question, not the Maine liquor question, not the banking question, not the school question, not the railroad question, but ‘their domestic institutions,’ meaning each and all the questions which are local, not national—state, not federal. . . .

. . . Sir, my honor is pledged; and before it shall be tarnished I will take whatever consequences personal to myself may come; but never ask me to do an act which the President, in his message, has said is a forfeiture of faith, a violation of honor, and that merely for the expediency of saving the party. I will go as far as any of you to save the party. I have as much heart in the great cause that binds us together as any man living. I will sacrifice anything short of principle and honor for the peace of the party; but if the party will not stand by its principles, its faith, its pledges, I will stand there and abide whatever of consequences may result from the position.

Let me ask you, why force this constitution down the throats of the people of Kansas in opposition to their wishes and in violation of our pledges? . . . Do you propose to keep the party united by forcing a division? . . .

But I am besought to wait until I hear from the election on the 21st of December. I am told that perhaps that will put it all right and will save the whole difficulty. How can

it? . . . But I deny that it is impossible to have a fair vote on the slavery clause; and I say that it is not possible to have any vote on the constitution. Why wait for the mockery of an election, when it is provided, unalterably, that the people cannot vote—when the majority are disfranchised?

But I am told on all sides, ‘Oh, just wait! the pro-slavery clause will be voted down. . . . If Kansas wants a slave-state constitution, she has a right to it; if she wants a free-state constitution, she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted down or up. . . .’

Tremendous applause greeted the conclusion of Douglas’ speech, so much that Mr. Bigler who followed, became very nervous as others did later on. Douglas responded to Bigler, and Mason addressed himself to a single point. To him Douglas responded and when the galleries again applauded, the very much excited Mr. Mason demanded that the galleries be cleared.

As Douglas pressed his argument and his plea for good faith, Mr. Bigler interrupted to offer an explanation, more grotesque than his “compromise” interpolation. Said Mr. Bigler: “Yesterday, I asked Colonel Henderson, of Kansas, who was an active member of the convention what it meant. ‘Why,’ said he, ‘it means this: that there are two entire constitutions, and the people vote separately for the constitution with slavery—the constitution the convention has framed—or the constitution without slavery.’” A practice very similar to the favored one adopted in Chicago Justice shops in their halcyon days, this double header expedient!

The speech of Douglas was published extensively throughout the country. It aroused intense enthusiasm. At Chicago, an immense mass-meeting was held some ten days later at which resolutions expressed the most unqualified approbation of the Senator’s course. Another mass-meeting, held at Janesville, Wisconsin, on December 30th, voiced the same sentiment. The action of Douglas sent thrills of patriotic

pleasure through the veins of every Free-state man and in the West and Northwest, the party friends of Douglas loved him more than ever.

On December 10th, Douglas gave notice that upon a day in the future, he should introduce a bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union as a state, and on the 19th, he introduced it. The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories of which he had been re-elected chairman, on the 16th of the same month, with Jones of Iowa, Sebastian of Arkansas, Fitzpatrick of Alabama, Green of Missouri, Collamer of Vermont and Wade of Ohio.

On the motion to refer the President's message, the debate upon it continued throughout the month, Green replying to Douglas on the 16th, Bigler, on the 21st, Fitch on the 22d, to each of which Douglas rejoined.

In commenting upon the feature of submission or non-submission of the Lecompton constitution, it should be borne in mind that Governor Geary in February, 1857, had vetoed the bill providing for the constitutional convention because the act did not provide for submission to the people, but his veto was overridden and very soon, we notice the resignation of Geary. This and other acts must not be overlooked when reading the messages of Buchanan. Douglas did not overlook any of them.

In the absence of Walker, Stanton as acting Governor, on December 1, 1857, issued a call for an extra session of the new free-state legislature, elected October 4th and 5th, for the purpose of providing a law for a proper submission of the Lecompton constitution to the voters. For this act, Buchanan removed him some ten days later. Another circumstance not to be overlooked!

Pursuant thereto, the legislature met at Lecompton December 7th, 1857, and passed the act for submission of the entire constitution, at an election to be held January 4, 1858. The same legislation provided for the election of a

complete list of state officers. After a ten days' session, the legislature adjourned to meet in regular session in January, 1858, at Lawrence.

At the pro-slavery election²⁸⁹ of December 21st, the free-state voters generally declined to vote and the pro-slavery people carried the constitution with slavery by the following vote:

For the constitution with slavery.....6,226

For the constitution with no slavery..... 569

James Buchanan voted for the constitution with slavery as the 270th voter at the Kickapoo polling place. Naturally, we must infer that he had great pride in his vote! William H. Seward was the 176th voter. Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, was the 323d voter. John C. Fremont was the 859th voter. Thomas H. Benton, the 916th, Horace Greeley, the 980th, Edwin Forrest, the 1056th. Salmon P. Chase voted for the constitution at the City of Oxford already noticed, and Henry Ward Beecher voted for the pro-slavery plank at another precinct. Two thousand seven hundred twenty of such votes were cast at Oxford, Kickapoo, Shawnee and Delaware City.

On January 4, 1858, the election under the free-soil enactment, followed, at which 10,226 votes were cast against the Lecompton constitution, 138 for the constitution with slavery and 23 for the constitution with no slavery. This result was communicated to Buchanan at once. Did he congratulate the people upon the exercise of their right to regulate their domestic institutions as they pleased?

On February 2nd, Buchanan transmitted to Congress a special message, accompanied by a copy of the Lecompton constitution:

"The Kansas convention, thus lawfully constituted, proceeded to frame a constitution; and having completed their work, finally adjourned on the 7th day of November last.

²⁸⁹ Space forbids a notice of all the acts leading up to and including this election; the confusion attempted by the delegates to the Lecompton convention, the hidden returns, their recovery, the candle box discovered in Calhoun's wood-pile, perjury, the flight of McLean. Buchanan knew them all.

They did not think proper to submit the whole of this constitution to a popular vote; but they did submit the question whether Kansas should be a free or a slave state to the people. No person thought of any other question. For my own part, when I instructed Governor Walker in general terms in favor of submitting the constitution to the people, I had no object in view except the all-absorbing question of slavery.²⁹⁰

I then believed, and still believe, that under the organic act, the Kansas convention were bound to submit this all-important question of slavery to the people. It was never, however my opinion, that, independently of this act, they would have been bound to submit any portion of the constitution to a popular vote in order to give it validity.

It has been solemnly adjudged, by the highest judicial tribunal known to our laws,²⁹¹ that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States. Kansas is therefore, at this moment, as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina. Without this, the equality of the sovereign states composing the Union would be violated, and the use and enjoyment of a territory acquired by the common treasure of the states,²⁹² would be closed against the people and the property of nearly half the members of the Confederacy. Slavery can, therefore, never be prohibited in Kansas, except by means of a constitutional provision, and in no other manner can this be obtained so promptly, if a majority of the people desire it, as by admitting it into the Union under its present constitution.

On the other hand, should Congress reject the constitution, under the idea of affording the disaffected in Kansas a third opportunity of prohibiting slavery in the state, which they might have done twice before if in the majority, no man can foretell the consequences.

²⁹⁰ This is what he wrote Walker on July 12th: "On the question of submitting the constitution to the bona fide resident settlers of Kansas, I am willing to stand or fall. In sustaining such a position we cannot fail. It is the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the principle of popular sovereignty, and the principle at the foundation of all popular government. The more it is discussed, the stronger it will become. Should the convention of Kansas adopt this principle, all will be settled harmoniously."

²⁹¹ Dred Scott decision.

²⁹² Almost the identical words used by Toombs in a former speech.

If Congress, for the sake of these men who refused to vote for delegates to the convention, when they might have excluded slavery from the constitution, and who afterward refused to vote on the 21st December last, when they might, as they claim, have stricken slavery from the constitution, should now reject the state because slavery remains in the constitution, it is manifest that the agitation upon this dangerous subject will be renewed in a more alarming form than it has ever yet assumed."

In effect Buchanan calls the Free-state people of Kansas rebels, and proceeds to state: "So intense was the disloyal feeling, etc."; "Here again (Dec. 21st) a fair opportunity was presented to the adherents of the Topeka constitution, if they were in the majority, to decide this exciting question in their own way, but they refused."

Very naturally they refused when that constitution recognized slavery and not only forbade amendments until 1864, but for the time succeeding 1864, surrounded the power to do it with such restrictions that nothing short of a political revolution could change it.

But here follows one of the most magnificent flights of grandiloquence that one might wish to consider: "For my own part, I am decidedly in favor of its admission. . . . This will carry out the great principle of non-interference recognized and sanctioned. . . ."

On a motion to refer the constitution and the message to the Committee on Territories, a debate followed day by day until the 8th, when the motion was agreed to.

Political problems and possibilities had reached a point at this date when it became necessary to certain ambitions to crush Stephen A. Douglas, regardless of consequences. Time was when Minnesota would have been denied admission; but during the present session of Congress, Minnesota was made a state while the same privilege was denied Kansas unless she came in as a slave state, to offset Minnesota, let us say.

On February 18th, Mr. Green, for the majority of the Committee on Territories, reported a bill for the admission

of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. Douglas presented a minority report containing the views of Collamer, Wade and himself.

On March 1st, the bill was taken up and discussed by Mr. Green who was followed day after day until the 15th, when an attempt was made to force a vote. A crisis was promised. For several days preceding March 22d, Douglas had been confined to his bed from illness, but when it was understood that the vote would be taken on Monday or Tuesday, he determined to go over to the Senate and oppose the bill with what remaining strength he could summon.

On Monday, March 22d, the Senate met at 10 o'clock. The galleries became filled at an early hour. Mr. Stuart spoke to the bill, Mr. Bayard too and Mr. Broderick. At 4 o'clock as the Senate was about to adjourn, Mr. Green announced that Mr. Douglas would speak at night, and that no vote would be taken until the next day. The Senate then adjourned till 7 o'clock.

During the recess, the crowds held the galleries; not a person moved from his seat. Standing room was not to be had. When Douglas entered, a burst of applause greeted him. Mr. Gwin at once moved that ladies be admitted to the floor of the Senate, and, no objection being made, such numbers entered as quickly filled every inch of space not already occupied by members of the House who had entered in large numbers. It was just such a moment as Douglas enjoyed and placed him at his best. Without formality, he addressed the Senate, and made what by many, is held to be his greatest speech.

On March 23d, Mr. Crittenden submitted an amendment, providing in effect that Kansas should be admitted as a state into the Union with the Lecompton constitution, conditioned upon its approval or disapproval by the people. If approved, the President was to admit the new state by proclamation. If rejected, the amendment authorized the people to elect delegates to another convention. The amendment was rejected,

24 to 34. Then the Lecompton bill with some minor changes, was passed and sent to the House. Yeas 33, Nays 25, Douglas voting with the Republicans.

On April 1st, the bill was taken up in the House, which refused to reject the bill, Yeas 95, Nays 137. Thereupon, Mr. Montgomery of Pennsylvania, moved to strike out all after the enacting clause, and to insert the same amendment proposed by Mr. Crittenden in the Senate, which gave it the name, Crittenden-Montgomery Amendment. It was agreed to, Yeas 120, Nays 112, and as amended, the bill was passed by the same vote.

The next day, the Senate refused to concur in the amendment made in the House. On the 8th, the House voted to adhere to its amendment. On the 13th, the Senate, insisted on its disagreement and asked for a committee of conference. On the 14th, Mr. Montgomery moved that the House adhere, and Mr. English of Indiana, moved that the House appoint a committee of conference. The vote upon the motion of Mr. English resulted in a tie, 108 to 108. The Speaker voting in the affirmative, it was agreed to. From the Senate, Messrs. Green, Seward and Hunter, and from the House, Messrs. English, Stephens and Howard, were appointed. This committee reported on the 23d, what is known as the English bill, and on the 4th, of May, the House voted to concur in the report of the committee of conference, and the Senate did the same.

This English bill, proposed in effect, that if the Lecompton constitution should be adopted, a certain land grant of great value, should pass to the state of Kansas. If defeated, the land grant was to be considered as defeated, and Kansas should be compelled to remain a territory until it contained a population of 93,420.

Douglas opposed the bill for the reason that it acted as nothing more nor less than a bribe to the voters of Kansas to accept the measure in order to secure the land grant. The constitution was rejected by an overwhelming vote;²⁹³ some-

²⁹³ August 2, 1858.

thing like a majority of 10,000 votes²⁹⁴ and the Lecompton constitution died. Had the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment carried, Kansas might have been admitted with a population of 35,000.

The defeat of the Lecompton measure was a humiliating defeat for Buchanan, and Douglas straightway was read out of the party. An editorial in the Administration organ, the *Washington Union*, performed the ceremony, adding among other things, the statement that no man of such diminutive stature could be a true Democrat at heart anyway; and that he and R. J. Walker were so constructed physically that it was not possible for either to be a Democrat.

Quite the contrary, Horace Greeley, the man in closest touch with northern sentiment, thought so well of Douglas for his courage that he recommended him to the nascent party for a leader, and, taking his advice to some extent, some of the responsible Republicans of Illinois actually sought him upon his return to the state with such an object in view. But Douglas preferred to make his fight within the lines of his own party.

By a majority of 3,881, the people of Kansas subsequently voted to call still another constitutional convention, to meet at Wyandot, on the first Tuesday of March, 1859.

The attempt to make a slave state of Kansas had failed, just as Douglas had predicted in and out of Congress, and northern members of the Democratic party sought before the meeting of the Wyandot convention, to repair some of the injury done the party by Buchanan's foolishness by trying to make Kansas a Democratic Free state, through honest means. But the effort failed. The Kansas people declined to trust Buchanan and the members of the pro-slavery party. Of the delegates selected, 52 in number, 37 were Republicans, 17 Democrats. A free-state constitution was framed, in which the western boundary of the state was fixed at the 23d parallel of longitude west from Washington. This constitution was adopted at an election held on the first Tuesday in October, at which the majority for ratification was about 4,000.

²⁹⁴ Against the English Bill, which was denominated "Lecompton Junior," the vote was 11,300; for the bill, 1,788. Majority against, 9,512.

This constitution was laid before the House, February 10th, 1860. On the 15th, Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, introduced a bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union, which was passed. But the Senate, still strongly Democratic and many of its members smarting under the new state's insistence for free-soil, refused to admit it, although qualified for statehood in every way. The refusal was based ostensibly upon the known fact that it would become a free state, but by many, the adverse vote was interpreted to mean a fling at Douglas. Congress adjourned, leaving Kansas a territory still. At the next session, with Davis and others then a part of the new Confederacy, Kansas became a state.

Douglas had broken with the south. This fight it was which bereft him of the friendship and support of that section. The cause of that loss did not proceed from his answer to Lincoln's second question propounded at Freeport.

The Dred Scott decision which had been withheld until after the election of 1856 was handed down a few days after the inauguration of Buchanan. At once the south claimed it annihilated the Popular Sovereignty theory of Douglas at a blow and believing that no further compromise measures were needed; that every community opened its doors thereby to receive slavery when not locally prevented; that northern opposition could be ignored, it is interesting to notice the mad rush of southern sentiment to get from under what a few months before had been held in veneration as the only measure suitable to adjust the question of slavery! Notice the statements of Toombs upon that subject, uttered September 8, 1859, though at the time he professed continued friendship for the Douglas leadership:

"We decided²⁹⁵ to refer the question to the Supreme Court. It has gone there and been decided in our favor. The Southern friends of the measure repudiate the principle of Squatter Sovereignty. I stand its steady and uncompromising adversary. The doctrine of Douglas has not a leg to

²⁹⁵ Lincoln charged this understanding in the 1858 debates, but Douglas denied the charge indignantly. Outside of Toombs' statement no such understanding can be traced reliably.

stand upon. Yet I do not belong to those who denounce him. The organization of the Democratic party leaves this an open question and Mr. Douglas is at full liberty to take either side he may choose, and if he maintains his ground of neither making nor accepting new tests of political soundness, I shall consider him a political friend and will accept him as the representative of the party, whatever it may tender him. I do not hesitate to tell you that, with his errors, I prefer him and would support him tomorrow against any opposition leader in America.²⁹⁶

Davis stated airily that he never had cared for the scheme anyway, and notwithstanding his acceptance of three candidates upon that platform and notwithstanding his speeches at Portsmouth and other New England points in which he declared his allegiance to the same, he repudiated the plan and the author in unsparing terms. They had failed to add another slave state to the Union and Popular Sovereignty so lately in high favor, was discarded by the south. The fight had been bitter. In the face of fraud and even military opposition the Free State men were winning in a manner the Dred Scott decision could never nullify by favorable local legislation and the contest of 1861 had to come. Calhounism or nothing was to be slogan. Douglas had gone as far as he could go to compose sectional differences. He could go no further. If it had not been the Dred Scott decision which was an advance for the south over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Popular Sovereignty it would have been something else and opposing the new measure, the anti-slavery laboring man of the north, the churches, the oppressed from Europe, pushing forward for freedom would have won. It took the 1861 method to settle it.

Douglas was loyal to the west. That loyalty cost him the friendship of the south. The south had political friendship for no man it could not use.

²⁹⁶ "Robert Toombs," by Pleasant A. Stovall, 166.

PART XXIV.

The Dred Scott decision, declaring in effect, the unconstitutionality of the Missouri restriction, left Kansas as a territory, open to settlement by slave owners with their slaves, and the technical operation of Popular Sovereignty, by statute, a nullity.²⁹⁷

When promulgated at last, the fury which swept over the north was not misunderstood.

Douglas repaired to Springfield after the adjournment of Congress to soften the irritation of affected Democrats, and on June 12, 1857, at the invitation of members of the United States grand jury and other visitors at the State capital, he delivered a speech in the State House upon the subject of Kansas and Utah affairs and upon the Dred Scott decision. The speech had a wide circulation and by reason of the sedative which he prescribed for those dissatisfied with the decision, it easily seduced his old time party friends back into party harmony. It was a bold speech, though not a new or novel one. Therein, he defended Buchanan's administration so far as it had gone and predicted for the President a successful and brilliant future. There can be no doubt that cordial relations existed between the President and Douglas at that moment. In his speech he proceeded to vindicate, too, the fairness and wisdom of the law under which the people of Kansas were about to choose delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention. Therein, he declared with emphasis, that if the Free-state party declined to vote for delegates, after the assurances given by Governor Walker, theirs was the fault and theirs the disadvantage, should the election proceed adversely to their contentions against slavery. In default of such participation, he indicated clearly enough that he should countenance no opposition to the constitution and that he should hold the Republicans responsible if the result failed to please them. So far as the Dred Scott decision was concerned, he contended as he had contended always,

²⁹⁷ Southern Statesmen made that claim.

that a law unsupported by local moral sympathy, was without vitality, and that if a majority of the people of Kansas opposed slavery, no action by the pro-slavery people in the Lecompton elections or in the convention could be enforced. His was but the advocacy of the same unfriendly legislation which he suggested in his answer to Lincoln's second question at Freeport, for which so-called heresy, he was condemned. The theory was not a new one with him, nor a novel one in legal circles. Hon. James L. Orr of South Carolina in 1856 had declared: "I say, although I deny that squatter sovereignty exists in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska by virtue of this bill, it is a matter practically of little consequence whether it does or not; and I think I shall be able to satisfy the gentleman of that. The gentleman knows that, in every slave-holding community of this Union, we have local police regulations appertaining to that institution, without which the institution would not only be valueless but a curse to the community. Without them, the slave-holder could not enforce his rights when invaded by others. And if you had no local legislation for the purpose of giving protection, the institution would be of no value. I can appeal to every gentleman upon this floor, who represents a slave-holding constituency, to attest the truth of what I have stated upon that point."

In referring to that position he said in his speech:

"That the act of the 6th of March, 1820, commonly called the Missouri Compromise Act, was unconstitutional and void before it was repealed by the Nebraska Act, and consequently did not and could not have the legal effect of extinguishing a master's right to a slave in that territory.

"While the right continues in full force under the guarantee of the constitution, and cannot be divested or alienated by an act of Congress, it necessarily remains a barren and worthless right unless sustained, protected and enforced by appropriate police regulations and local legislation presenting adequate remedies for its violation. These regulations

and remedies must necessarily depend entirely upon the will and wishes of the people of the territory, as they can only be prescribed by the local legislature.

“Hence the great principle of popular sovereignty and self government is sustained and firmly established by the authority of this decision.”

And right here another statement of the same tenor might as well be quoted. Douglas made it in his speech at Bloomington,²⁹⁸ prior to the meeting of Douglas and Lincoln at Freeport:

“I tell you, my friends, it is impossible under our institutions, to force slavery on an unwilling people. If this principle of popular sovereignty, inserted in the Nebraska bill, be fairly carried out, by letting the people decide the question for themselves by a fair vote, at a fair election, and with honest returns, slavery will never exist one day or one hour in any territory against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people. I care not how the Dred Scott decision may have settled the abstract question so far as the practical result is concerned; for, to use the language of an eminent southern senator on this very question: ‘I do not care a fig which way the decision shall be, for it is of no particular consequence; slavery cannot exist a day or an hour in any territory or state unless it has affirmative laws sustaining and supporting it, furnishing police regulations and remedies, and an omission to furnish them would be as fatal as a constitutional prohibition. Without affirmative legislation in its favor, slavery could not exist any longer than a new-born infant could survive under the heat of the sun on a barren rock without protection. It would wilt and die for the want of support.’ Hence, if the people of a territory want slavery, they will encourage it by passing affirmatory laws, and the necessary police regulations, patrol laws, and slave code; if they do not want it, they will withhold that legislation, and by withholding it, slavery will be as dead as if it was prohibited by a constitutional prohibition especially if, in addi-

²⁹⁸ July 16, 1858.

tion, their legislation is unfriendly, as it would be if they were opposed to it. They could pass such local laws and police regulations as would drive slavery out in one day, or one hour, if they were opposed to it, and therefore, so far as the question of slavery in the territories is concerned, so far as the principle of popular sovereignty is concerned, in its practical operation, it matters not how the Dred Scott case may be decided with reference to the territories. My own opinion on that point is well known. It is shown by my votes and speeches in Congress. But, be it as it may, the question was an abstract question, inviting no practical results, and whether slavery shall exist or shall not exist in any state or territory will depend upon whether the people are for or against it, and whichever way they shall decide it in any territory or in any state will be entirely satisfactory to me."

On July 18, 1858, in a speech at Springfield,²⁹⁹ still before the Freeport debate, Douglas said the same thing and repeated the words which Buchanan used in his letter of acceptance to the same effect: "This legislation (Kansas-Nebraska Act) is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself, and in accordance with them has simply declared that the people of a territory like those of a state, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits."

Rarely indeed had it been the fortune of Douglas to speak at or near Springfield without provoking a reply from his constant and vigilant rival and antagonist, Lincoln. That June 12th speech was answered by Lincoln just as soon as the Douglas speech had appeared in print. In that answer, he advised all Republicans of Kansas not to vote for delegates to the Lecompton constitution, because all Republicans had not been registered. It might seem as though this advice was bad advice and that the advice of Douglas was good advice when he exhorted them to vote if they controlled the

²⁹⁹ Lincoln spoke in Springfield on the following evening, presumably to answer this speech of Douglas as well as the Bloomington speech, yet we find no notice taken of a new Douglas heresy.

votes claimed for a free state cause. It will be remembered that at the meeting of settlers at Grasshopper Falls in August, it was resolved to vote in the same ballot boxes with the pro-slavery men for delegate to Congress and a legislature and that they carried the legislature and elected the delegate through the good offices of Governor Walker, who threw out a large bogus pro-slavery vote. In view of these circumstances, it cannot be perceived why the same conclusion was not reached in time to vote for delegates to the constitutional convention. We know at this time that he³⁰⁰ would have enforced an honest election and guarded the interests of the Free-state party with scrupulous fairness.

The position of Douglas on measures affecting Kansas, had been the position of Buchanan and the party up and until a certain date after the adjournment of the Lecompton convention, when the President's organ, the *Washington Union*, appeared³⁰¹ with an editorial reiterating the old Calhounism that the owner of slaves had the right to remove to any territory with his slaves and hold them there in defiance of the laws of that territory. The paper furthermore declared³⁰² against the necessity of submitting the Lecompton constitution to a vote. Notwithstanding the statement of a Republican Senator that the administration was "getting weak-kneed," the utterances of the *Union* were not believed to be those of Buchanan until the latter's message of December was sent to Congress and read, and Douglas rose to give notice of his hostility to it.

Although Greeley sought immediately to bring about an understanding between Douglas and the Republicans, nothing came of his suggestions which could become the property of the historian. The northwest continued a unit in sustaining the Douglas policy of Popular Sovereignty in Kansas and supported Douglas in his opposition to the departure of Buchanan whose message sought to tear the Douglas bill to bits. From this distance, no alternative can be

³⁰⁰ Gov. Walker.

³⁰¹ November 17.

³⁰² November 18.

seen which would permit Douglas to pursue any but the course he did pursue. To accept the logic of Buchanan that the Nebraska bill was defective structurally, would be to confess his inability to draft a bill correctly; it would seriously wound his pride to say the least. Reasoning from that premise, Douglas became in duty bound to defend his bill against the animadversions of no less a person than the President of the United States. In the next place, to have followed the Buchanan tangent, would have politically damned Douglas in Illinois and in the great northwest, his political stronghold. But principally because the administration attacked the measure of Douglas and sought to force the latter into a line of policy repugnant to his sense of justice and polity as well as those of his constituents, Douglas took his stand and broke with the administration. Under ordinary circumstances, this disagreement would have made no more stir than the disagreement of Douglas with Polk over the Oregon boundary, which Buchanan's influence reduced over the protest of Douglas. The latter incident closed without friction as this would have closed had not there been behind Buchanan a rule and something of a spirit to place Douglas *hors de combat* so far as any future political conventions might be concerned.

This deflection of Buchanan precipitated the turning point of the slave power in the United States. The defeat of the Lecompton constitution under the English bill election, following, was its first distinct disaster and, instead of seeking the legitimate cause through legitimate channels of investigation, the Buchanan wing of the party settled upon the conclusion that Douglas had been the cause of the disaster and for his conduct, he was not to be forgiven even though such action split the party into irreconcilable fragments. Buchanan decreed that Douglas must be sent to the political shambles.

In December, 1857, when Douglas first took his stand against that part of the message which referred to the Lecompton constitution, a meeting of Democrats was held in

Chicago at which Senator Bigler was denounced as a dunce and Dr. Fitch, who read Douglas out of the party, as a bogus senator whose "Pomeroy" letter ought to have consigned him to political oblivion. Buchanan took notice of the meeting and as a preliminary step toward humiliating Douglas, he at once proceeded to remove from office friends of the latter and to fill the vacancies with men who pledged themselves to undertake the political death of that redoubtable senator.

Out of the number of persons who constituted the committee on resolutions at that December meeting, Buchanan took Isaac Cook and made him postmaster of Chicago, and director general over the prospective Douglas execution. The venerable Jacob Fry was removed from the post of collector of the port of Chicago later. Similar removals followed all over the State. Fearful that Cook might not be able to kill off the Douglas men fast enough, Slidell from Louisiana, was sent into Illinois later to make judicious trades with anybody and everything that might help elect an anti-Douglas Democrat or a Republican to the Illinois legislature. Cook sent out letters to every county in the State directing government office-holders to get up contesting delegations to go to the State convention which was to be held at Springfield on April 21st, 1858. Out of the number of those new appointments recommended by Cook, Slidell, Fitch and others, it has been said that "two or three of them have since been sent to the penitentiary, a few others are fugitives from justice, others have been removed by order of the department, and others have sought safety and peace by voluntary resignation."³⁰³

The Democratic convention met, but with all the advance effort, not a single contesting delegate appeared upon the floor of the convention. Desiring, however, to be more than fair in its treatment of those who were known to be present in the city but not in the convention Mr. Holmes, a delegate, arose and invited them "to make known their

³⁰³ Sheahan.

claims without delay, or hold their peace forever.”³⁰⁴ The invitation was declined and the convention proceeded about its business, a part of which was to endorse the course in Congress of Douglas, Isaac N. Morris, Thomas L. Harris, Aaron Shaw, Robert Smith and Samuel S. Marshall.

Of the 39 contesting delegates, who did not contest—23 of the number were from Chicago. Upon reaching Springfield it was considered best, upon reflection to hold a separate convention under the name of the “National Democratic State Convention,” and with the avowed purpose of obstructing as much as possible, the re-election of Douglas. It was resolved to make a fight upon the Douglas members of Congress and candidates for the legislature. They met in the Senate Chamber, passed their resolutions and adjourned till June to await instructions from Washington and “to give the Democracy time to turn out.”

On the 9th of June, this convention reassembled under the nick-name “Danite,” and nominated in opposition to Fordney and French, the Democratic nominees, John Dougherty for State Treasurer and John Reynolds for Superintendent of Schools.

Governor John Reynolds had survived his usefulness in the Democratic party. While still in his hey-day and considered one of the pillars of the party, he had never liked Douglas. He, Breese and Governor Ford,³⁰⁵ never neglected an opportunity to belittle Douglas or oppose him whenever presented the opportunity. Always a pronounced pro-slavery man, the neutral and sometimes antagonistic position of Douglas upon the question, had always been offensive to Reynolds. Reynolds had tried unsuccessfully to reach the Senate. When therefore the entrance of Douglas was accomplished without any party opposition, Reynolds was made unconsolable. A very good story is told of him and his opinion of Douglas by Judge Joseph Gillespie who, in the course of a

³⁰⁴ At the suggestion of John A. McClernand a resolution was passed which would have permitted the contestants every opportunity to present their grievances.

³⁰⁵ Reynolds. Breese and Ford, each a judge of the Supreme Court and each the author of a work of great value on Illinois history.

conversation with Reynolds, was upholding the position of Douglas on the anti-slavery question. In the course of remarks, Judge Gillespie asked Reynolds if upon a certain occasion, Reynolds did not regard Douglas as a strong man. Reynolds replied that he regarded Douglas in the same light the boy did the oxen. He said, "a boy was once trying to sell a yoke of small steers, and was bragging desperately upon them and telling what big loads they hauled. A man said to him: 'Now, my son, do you pretend to say that those little fellows are strong?' 'Yes,' said the boy, 'I pretend to say they are *devilish strong—in light work.*'"

In administration circles Calhounism ran rampant. The principle of Popular Sovereignty was abandoned with a unanimity and a suddenness that might create suspicion under ordinary circumstances. Popular glee for the measure, everywhere so cordial in the year 1854, took the wings of that very bright March morning in the year 1857 and flew away, leaving its author and champion a prey to the machinations of Buchanan without the senate and attacks from men like Sumner, Chase and others within it.

On July 9th, 1858, Douglas arrived in Chicago from Washington.³⁰⁶ His return was the third after taking an active part in an exciting session and what a change of sentiment and the expression of it, awaited him!

A committee made up of citizens from every quarter of Illinois was formed to proceed to Michigan City, Indiana, and escort him to his home in Chicago, a distance of sixty miles, perhaps. The programme mapped out for that function was to proceed quietly thence, and, without ostentation, to extend him the welcome of old time friends. The day was hot, but when the special train engaged to carry the committee to Indiana, was ready to leave, other political friends from Egypt, Central Illinois and Northern Illinois, demanded the privilege of going to pay Douglas the same tribute of

³⁰⁶ His itinerary, which was proclaimed through the press from every point, was through Philadelphia, New York City, thence up to Clifton Springs where he stopped to visit his mother and, on July 4th, to make a speech and thence homeward through Cleveland, Toledo and other cities.

respect which the committee had contemplated. Bands of music had been brought and permission was not denied them. At 1:00 o'clock, 400 devoted followers were stowed away and subjected to all manner of discomforts, for the privilege of meeting Douglas upon his home coming. At LaPorte, another very large delegation joined the Illinois party and proceeded to Michigan City.

The procession which was made up at the end of the journey, marched to the Tremont House where Douglas was met. He made a feeling speech and the party returned to Chicago. There a battery of 150 guns³⁰⁷ fired a salute from Dearborn Park. The city was agog with excitement. It was a demonstration calculated to set his mind at rest upon his position of opposition to the Lecompton constitution and Buchanan's servile position in opposing his. The contrast should have satisfied him that his course, though not an avowal of abolition doctrine, pleased his friends and disconcerted his enemies. It was just such a manifestation as Douglas loved. The demonstration made him amiable just as the opposite course had made him angry. Man is said to crave attentions just like this. It was especially true with Douglas. He had his little weaknesses of vanity, the same as his fellow mortals; perhaps he loved such demonstrations and flattery somewhat more than many another.

His old rival, Lincoln, had been nominated by the Republican convention held at Springfield,³⁰⁸ as the party candidate for United States Senator to oppose Douglas, and in accepting the nomination, he had made his great speech, "The house divided against itself," which caused such diverse opinion among his friends, but which proved the author's intuition of the destiny of his country and his party.

It was to be expected that Douglas in response to his greeting would pay his respects to Lincoln and the latter's speech. And that is what Douglas proceeded to do from the balcony of the Tremont House.³⁰⁹ Lincoln sat on the balcony

³⁰⁷ Capt. Smith's artillery.

³⁰⁸ June 16, 1858.

³⁰⁹ July 9th.

close to the speaker. That he in turn would answer Douglas was expected, just as he had done for a quarter of a century. In fact, hand bills to that effect were circulated over the city. Douglas was in a most amiable mood and when the crowd attempted to say disparaging things about Lincoln, he quickly set his rival right in these words, so frequently quoted:

“I take great pleasure in saying that I have known personally and intimately, for about a quarter of a century, the worthy gentleman who has been nominated for my place, and I will say that I regard him as a kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman, a good citizen and an honorable opponent; and whatever issue I may have with him will be of principle, and not involving personalities.”

It was in this speech that Douglas introduced the famous story of a celebrated Whig lawyer who desired to appeal cases from the decision of the Supreme Court to that of two justices of the peace. The reported words of the speech fail miserably to express the humor of the incident: “I am aware that once an eminent lawyer³¹⁰ of this city, now no more, said that the State of Illinois had the most perfect judicial system in the world, subject to but one exception, which could be cured by a slight amendment, and that amendment was to so change the law as to allow an appeal from the decisions of the Supreme Court of Illinois, on all constitutional questions, to two justices of the peace. (Great laughter and applause.) My friend Lincoln, who sits behind me, reminds me that that proposition was made when I was a judge of the Supreme Court.”

The remark of Lincoln created great applause which is not found in the minutes made by the Times which had the most elaborate report of the meeting.

Most men would have received the Lincoln banter and repaid it in kind but the whole course of Douglas' public career is characterized by an entire absence of humor. He

³¹⁰ Justin Butterfield.

answered only: "Be that as it may, I do not think that fact adds any greater weight or authority to the suggestion. (Renewed laughter and applause.)"

The speech was devoted to his efforts while opposing the Lecompton constitution and with replying to the advanced theory of Lincoln, which Douglas held would be taken as meaning by the South nothing short of revolutionary and intending to incite the anti-slavery people of the North to open warfare and invasion of southern states.

It was in this speech Douglas referred to respect for the decisions of a supreme tribunal, to which Lincoln made a telling answer. Said Douglas: "I respect the decisions of that august tribunal; I shall always bow in deference to them. I am a law abiding man. I will sustain the constitution of my country as our fathers have made it. I will yield obedience to the laws whether I like them or not, as I find them on the statute book. I will sustain the judicial tribunals and constituted authorities in all matters within the pale of their jurisdiction, as defined by the constitution."

When Lincoln replied to that sentiment, as he did at Ottawa, during the first debate, he referred to the incident of the revolutionary law of Illinois which placed Douglas upon the Supreme Court of that state and the cause which led up to the enactment of that law. That reference of Douglas might be said to echo another weakness of his public utterances. It was picked up by Lincoln, always alert for just such slips and made the most of, just as he had made the most of a bad quotation years before in the debates in the Hall of Representatives at Springfield.

It has been said of Douglas that he repeated until many of his best things became monotonous. That may be said of so much of this speech as referred to popular sovereignty. His old arguments were repeated until in print, at least, they became somewhat tiresome. But upon this occasion, Douglas was in his happiest mood and to those who were present, repetition made no difference; the immense crowd was not in a critical mood. And Douglas was himself again,

PART XXV.

If, at all, the time was to come when Lincoln might gratify the consuming passion of his life by overtaking Douglas, that opportunity, to all appearances, was presented in the year 1858. The headsman's axe was employed more busily than over. The Danites became more and more aggressive. Wentworth and other rival candidates who had expected to make of Lincoln, a stalking horse as Trumbull did, had been removed from the list of possibilities by the public declaration at the state convention that Lincoln was to be the first, last and only choice of the party for Senator. Lincoln's complaint that Greeley's meddling would alienate Republican votes from him to Douglas, had evaporated into a diaphanous and forgotten state. While thus strengthened, it was considered that the Douglas forces had been weakened much more than a corresponding measure by the defection of the Danites and the neglect of the Democratic convention to nominate Douglas. Such a neglect (although intentional), it was argued, left to Buchanan, the opportunity, successfully to seduce some of the mossback legislators from Egypt to the side of the administration. The Republicans boasted. The Danites boasted. Lincoln's reply from the same balcony, to the Chicago speech of Douglas was taken as a final notification of what the issues were to be and the two gladiators entered the lists for the most celebrated political battle in history. What conspired then, to defeat the tremendous odds thus marshalled against Douglas? It was his hold on the affections of the people of Illinois; not the offices he may have controlled. Nothing could shake it off. As told the writer by an old citizen of Jacksonville,³¹¹ "We would not give him up." That sentiment prevailed in 1858 and it prevailed more than ever in 1860 and 1861. "We would not give him up!" In those rather boisterous days there were men, almost without number, who would have gone to the scaffold for him. The gentleman who made the above remark was a

³¹¹ Rev. William F. Short, deceased.

Methodist minister. He abhorred slavery, yet he loved Douglas and he believed in his heart that Douglas would do as much and do it more effectively to suppress it than any other man, when the time should arrive when it became possible to do it.

On the morning of July 16th, Douglas left Chicago for Springfield, to consult with the Democratic State Central Committee with reference to his appointments for the campaign, the bitterness of which was growing apparent. The journey was made in a manner characteristic of the flamboyant times. A special train was chartered which included one flat car at the rear, upon which was mounted a brass cannon, expected to be used to awaken the natives along the route to a reciprocal expression of their duty. Such extravagant demonstrations had their political value which Douglas recognized by their constant use during this remarkable campaign. It has been said that the cannon in this instance was mounted upon the car at Joliet, by ardent admirers, but while that statement might be true, the powder for that particular cannon was purchased by Douglas and the same gun was continued in use during the remainder of the campaign. The noise and fanfare of the hoi-polloi, were as music upon the ear of Douglas. He gloried in just such demonstrations. They gave the appearance of tribute, coveted just as much today as then, though expressed perhaps in different form. In this little vanity, he was gratified all along his route to Springfield. The newspapers of the time devoted their space to the most trifling details of the actions of their respective favorites and in terms which would appall the modern newspaperman. On the other hand, they lampooned the other man mercilessly.

At Bloomington the train stopped at half past three. It was decorated with flags and banners bearing the inscription, "S. A. Douglas, the Champion of Popular Sovereignty." A salute of thirty-two guns greeted him, to which the cannon upon the flat car, responded. A brass band played "Hail Columbia," and the Bloomington Guards escorted Douglas

to the city. At 7 o'clock, the court house bell rang, which was the signal to move to the public square. The same Bloomington Guards escorted Douglas to the speaker's stand from which he addressed a great crowd, gathered from the countryside. His opponents again admitted that he made a very good speech in a very bad cause, which was a very strong admission under the circumstances. It was in that speech he enlarged upon his views of unfriendly legislation, a part of which has been quoted already.³¹²

Lincoln was present and listened to the speech which was finished at a quarter before ten o'clock and when Douglas had concluded, he was called for to make a reply. With characteristic fairness, he rose from his seat to remark that he appeared before the meeting only for the purpose of saying that he would take an opportunity soon, to give his views to the citizens of Bloomington regarding the matters mentioned in Judge Douglas' speech. "This meeting," said Lincoln, "was called by the friends of Judge Douglas, and it would be improper for me to address it." Eighty thousand copies of the Bloomington speech were printed and sent abroad by the Douglas committee. He was still in high spirits. A vote of the Democratic press of the state had been taken at which it was found that 69 were supporting Douglas and 5 were supporting the Danite ticket. With a very light heart, therefore, he proceeded the following day to his old home at Springfield. Lincoln was aboard the same train. Though raining when it left Bloomington, bands of music escorted Douglas to the station, and played as the train moved out, while further salutes were fired by the Guards and answered lustily by the cannon from the flat car in the rear. By the time the train reached Springfield, it had grown in length to twenty-five cars. When within two miles of its destination local cannon proclaimed the approach of the train by firing salutes at minute intervals. At 3 o'clock Edwards'

³¹² At a later date it was claimed by the Danites that no notice was paid to that heresy because the defeat of Douglas at that moment was considered as good as accomplished. With very great propriety the question might be asked, Wherein did the Freeport case differ, when Lincoln in handling the "resolutions," had all the best of it?

Grove was reached and a stop was made to permit the debarkation of the crowd within. From the grounds, cannon boomed. Another cannon borne upon a train from the south, responded. The assembled crowds hurrahed and the cannon from the first flat car answered. The "Capital Guards" and the capital band escorted Douglas to the stand and amidst an altogether uproarious time, he began his speech, which, it should be remarked, Lincoln was unable to hear. That evening, however, Lincoln took advantage of the crowd, to address a large meeting in the State House in which he devoted most of his time to denying the disunion charges made against him by Douglas.

Fifty thousand copies of that Douglas speech were circulated over the country. In the face of the positive declarations for unfriendly legislation and their publicity, made possible by circulating 130,000 copies of them, why should Lincoln in putting his second Freeport question, expect to trap Douglas into making just such a declaration and thereby alienate the southern vote?

It is noticeable in the Bloomington and the Springfield speeches, and, in fact, in all his other speeches, with the possible exception of the Alton speech, that no words of resentment against Buchanan were uttered. On the contrary, in the Springfield speech he took pains to state in his objections to the Lecompton constitution that he did not object to its pro-slavery tendency. He rather left an opening for a truce should the moment present itself. He repeated his charge that Lincoln's Springfield speech of acceptance meant a war of invasion, and he declared that a modification of the Dred Scott decision was not to be considered. As engagements required his departure, Douglas did not attend the meeting of Lincoln in the evening. While in Springfield, Douglas and his central committee prepared a partial list of appointments for meetings over the state running down to August 21st, and Lincoln and his friends prepared another list of meetings, some of which clashed with the appointments of Douglas, while others followed a day later. With the charac-

teristic feature of carrying a chip on his shoulder, habitual with the editor of the day, the newspapers of the state precipitated themselves into a controversy over the political ethics of their respective candidates, one claiming his candidate furnished the audiences, the other denying it. The Democrats were especially bitter in their attacks upon Lincoln for following Douglas, to nag him as it were, and secure the benefit of the advertisement which the person of Douglas gave. The charges nettled Lincoln as did a certain other feature of the campaign:—In the speeches of Douglas, much of his time had been devoted to Trumbull, a veritable thorn in the side of Douglas. So much of the Douglas attention and newspaper comment became centered upon Trumbull that Lincoln considered himself ignored and without delay, he sought to counteract that influence by securing a series of joint debates with Douglas. Accordingly on July 24th, 1858, he penned a note to Douglas which proved to be one of the most important documents in results personal to himself, at least, that he ever composed. It was as follows:

“Chicago, Ill., July 24, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

My Dear Sir: Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such agreement.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.”

On that date, Douglas was in Chicago preparing for his first appointment at Clinton, on the 27th.

During all their years of acquaintance and friendship and political association and rivalry, Douglas had rather courted just such meetings with Lincoln. No two men had confronted more public audiences jointly, than Douglas and Lincoln. But at this moment, Douglas occupied a larger share of public attention than any other American and it can be perceived

very well what advantage might accrue to Lincoln from such a privilege. Douglas realized the fact. Lincoln realized it and history pretty generally acknowledges that the acceptance of that challenge by Douglas made it possible for us to know the Lincoln we know today, and it should not seem surprising to learn that he hesitated momentarily and said to certain friends:

“Between you and me, I do not feel that I want to go into this debate. The whole country knows me and has me measured. Lincoln, as regards myself, is comparatively unknown, and if he gets the best of this debate—and I want to say he is the ablest man the Republicans have got—I shall lose everything. Should I win, I shall gain but little. I do not want to go into a debate with Lincoln.”

But Douglas did not decline. His acceptance was forwarded promptly, as will be observed by its date.

“Chicago, July 24, 1858.

Hon. A. Lincoln.

Dear Sir: Your note of this date, in which you inquire if it would be agreeable to me to make an arrangement to divide the time and address the same audiences during the present canvass, was handed to me by Mr. Judd. Recent events have interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.

I went to Springfield last week for the purpose of conferring with the Democratic State Central Committee upon the mode of conducting the canvass, and with them, and under their advice, made a list of appointments covering the entire period until late in October. The people of the several localities have been notified of the times and places of the meetings. Those appointments have all been made for Democratic meetings, and arrangements have been made by which the Democratic candidates for Congress, for the legislature, and other offices, will be present and address the people. It is evident, therefore, that these various candidates, in connection with myself, will occupy the whole time of the day and evening, and leave no opportunity for other speeches.

Besides, there is another consideration which should be kept in mind. It has been suggested recently that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the state in opposition to me with no other purpose than to insure my defeat, by dividing the Democratic party for your benefit. If I should make this arrangement with you, it is more than probable that this other candidate, who has a common object with you, would desire to become a party to it, and claim the right to speak from the same stand; so that he and you in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case.

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, if it was your original intention to invite such an arrangement, that you should have waited until after I had made my appointments, inasmuch as we were both here in Chicago together for several days after my arrival, and again at Bloomington, Atlanta, Lincoln and Springfield, where it was well known I went for the purpose of consulting with the State Central Committee, and agreeing upon the plan of campaign.

While I do not feel at liberty to make any arrangements which would deprive the Democratic candidates for Congress, State officers and the legislature, from participating in the discussion at the various meetings designated by the Democratic State Central Committee, I will, in order to accommodate you as far as it is in my power to do so, take the responsibility of making an arrangement with you for a discussion between us at one prominent point in each Congressional District in the State, except the Second and Sixth districts, where we have both spoken, and in both of which cases you had the concluding speech. If agreeable to you, I will indicate the following places as those most suitable in the several Congressional Districts at which we should speak, to-wit: Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro and Charleston. I will confer with you at the earliest opportunity in regard to the mode of conducting the debate, the times of meeting at the several places, subject to the condition

that where appointments have already been made by the Democratic State Central Committee at any of those places, I must insist upon you meeting me at the times specified.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,
S. A. Douglas."

When this correspondence had been handed to the press an enormous amount of comment as well as variety, exploded, The Chicago Daily Journal stated: "We do not think it argues very well for the courage of the Senator, that he evades the challenge as he does. . . . The challenge should properly have proceeded from Senator Douglas, but it having become apparent that he did not intend to meet Mr. Lincoln, it was thought proper by Mr. Lincoln's friends that the challenge should come from our side."

"Mr. Lincoln evidently has been consulting his own fears and the result likely to follow a separate canvass. He dreaded personally the consequences of a joint discussion, yet he knew that his only chance to obtain respectable audiences was to make an arrangement to speak at some of the same meetings with Douglas. . . ." *Illinois State Register*.

"The fact is, Mr. Lincoln can't draw large crowds. . . ." *The same*.

"Abe Lincoln, the candidate of all the Republicans wants an audience."—*Chicago Times*.

"The Chicago Times launches out into a personal attack upon Mr. Lincoln for presuming to be present when Mr. Douglas speaks. One would think from this that Mr. Douglas has a patent right to audiences in Illinois."—*Illinois State Journal*.

"The excuse will hardly relieve Mr. Douglas from the suspicion that he fears to meet so powerful an opponent as Mr. Lincoln in argument before the people.—*Peoria Transcript*.

At Clinton, on the 27th Douglas and Lincoln met again by appointment of the Central Committees. Douglas spoke in the afternoon and Lincoln in the evening, the latter having first listened to the speech of Douglas. The usual explosion from both sides followed:

“Lincoln was present during the delivery of the speech, sitting immediately in front of Senator Douglas, but rendered invisible from the stand by a gentleman in green goggles, whom he used as a shield and cover. After Senator Douglas had concluded, and the cheers which greeted him ceased, green goggles rose and proposed three cheers for Lincoln, which were given by about ten men who stood immediately round him. Mr. Lincoln then gradually lengthened out his long, lank proportions until he stood upon his feet, and with a desperate attempt at looking pleasant, said that he would not take advantage of Judge Douglas’ crowd, but would address ‘sich’ as liked to hear him in the evening at the court house. Having made this announcement in a tone and with an air of a perfect ‘Uriah Heap,’ pleading his humility, and asking for forgiveness of Heaven for his enemies, he stood washing his hands with invisible soap in imperceptible water, until his friends, seeing that his mind was wandering, took him in charge, and bundled him off the ground.”—*Chicago Times*.

The same paper continued in the same strain:

“At Clinton, he rose up at the Democratic meeting, and announced his intention to speak at night, but only 250 persons could be induced to attend his meeting.”

In another place, the same paper refers to Lincoln’s constant presence in the following uncomplimentary terms: “* * *; but yet the cringing, crawling creature is hanging at the outskirts of Douglas’ meetings, begging the people to come and hear him.”

When in due time he received the reply of Douglas, Lincoln framed a rejoinder, and he was upon the point of forwarding the same to Douglas when by accident the men met at a point about two miles out of Monticello on July 29th. Douglas had spoken at that point and while being escorted to Belmont, Lincoln was met going to Monticello to speak. In passing, Douglas invited him to stop, stating he wanted to see him. Lincoln jumped from his carriage and approaching the carriage of Douglas, shook the latter’s hand cordially.

"Come, Lincoln, return to Bement. You see we have only a mile or two of people here. I will promise you a much larger meeting there than you will have at Monticello," urged Douglas.

"No, Judge," replied Lincoln, "I can't. The fact is, I did not come over here to make a speech. I don't intend to follow you any more; I don't call this following you. I have come down here from Springfield to see you and give you my reply to your letter. I have it in my pocket, but I have not compared it with the copy yet. We can compare the two now, can't we?"³¹³

Douglas answered that Lincoln "had better compare them at Monticello, and, when the answer was ready, to send it to him at Bement," where he intended to remain over until the one o'clock train for the east." This, Lincoln promised to do, and, after again assuring the Senator that he must not consider the Monticello visit as following him, the men separated after shaking hands, Lincoln proceeding to speak at the place just vacated by Douglas, Douglas pursuing his way to Bement.

The comparison was made and Lincoln's letter was forwarded at once as promised. On the same day a correspondent writing to the State Register, stated that he returned to listen to Lincoln who, instead of replying to Douglas as anticipated, promised during his remarks to return with Trumbull, who would make the reply. The same correspondent stated that contrary to the expectation that Lincoln would remain at Monticello in order to follow Douglas to Paris, he left suddenly on the midnight train for Springfield, leaving the statement behind that he did not intend to follow Douglas any more, but was going immediately to Chicago, to consult with Cook, Bross and other friends and make out a list of his appointments.

The following is Lincoln's reply to the suggestion of Douglas:

³¹³ Correspondence to the Chicago Times, dated Monticello, July 29.

“Springfield,³¹⁴ July 29, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 24th in relation to an arrangement to divide time, and address the same audiences, is received, and, in apology for not sooner replying, allow me to say, that when I sat by you at dinner yesterday, I was not aware that you had answered my note, nor, certainly, that my own note had been presented to you. An hour after, I saw a copy of your answer in the Chicago Times, and reaching home, I found the original awaiting me. Protesting that your insinuations of attempted unfairness on my part are unjust, and with the hope that you did not very considerably make them, I proceed to reply. To your statement that it has been suggested, recently, that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me, etc., I can only say, that suggestion must have been made by yourself, for certainly none such has been made by or to me, or otherwise, to my knowledge. Surely you did not *deliberately* conclude as you insinuate, that I was expecting to draw you into an argument of terms, to be agreed on by yourself, by which a third candidate and myself, in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case.

As to your surprise that I did not sooner make the proposal to divide time with you, I can say, I made it as soon as I resolved to make it. I did not know that such proposal would come from you; I waited respectfully, to see. It may have been well known to you that you went to Springfield for the purpose of agreeing on the plan of campaign; but it was not known to me. When your appointments were announced in the papers, extending only to the 21st of August, I, for the first time considered it certain that you would make no proposal to me, and then resolved that if my friends concurred, I would make one to you. As soon thereafter as

³¹⁴ While the letter is dated Springfield, it was mailed from Monticello, as agreed by the writer.

I could see and consult with friends satisfactorily, I did make the proposal. It did not occur to me that the proposal arrangement could derange your plans after the latest of your appointments already made. After that, there was before the election, largely over two months of clear time.

For you to say that we have already spoken at Chicago and Springfield, and that on both occasions I had the concluding speech, is hardly a fair statement. The truth rather is this: At Chicago, July 9th, you made a carefully prepared conclusion on my speech of June 16th. Twenty-four hours later, I made a hasty conclusion on yours of the 9th. You had six days to prepare, and concluded on me again at Bloomington on the 16th. Twenty-four hours after, I concluded again on you at Springfield. In the meantime, you had made another conclusion on me at Springfield, which I did not hear, and of the contents of which I knew nothing when I spoke; so that your speech made in daylight, and mine at night, on the 17th, at Springfield, were both made in perfect independence of each other. The dates of making all these speeches will show, I think, that in the matter of time for preparation, the advantage has all been on your side, and that none of the external circumstances have stood to my advantage.

I agree to an arrangement for us to speak at the seven places you have named, and at your own times, provided you name the times at once, so that I as well as you, can have to myself the time not covered by the arrangement. As to other details, I wish perfect reciprocity and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln."

P. S.—As matters now stand. I shall be at no more of your exclusive meetings; and for about a week from today, a letter from you will reach me at Springfield.

A. L."

At the present moment when brevity is presumed to dominate correspondence, it would occur to the average reader that there was a waste of words altogether painful, in striving to get the better position which offered no advantage when secured; but, if Douglas, upon the floor of the Senate resented attacks which he considered as being aimed at his honor, Lincoln was even more tenacious; he would tolerate no such liberty. Such a liberty was the one aggravation which made him angry; fighting mad, as has been said, and he took the time to speak his mind.

Douglas replied at once, and wisely without surplusage:

“Bement, Piatt Co., Ill., July 30, 1858.

Dear Sir: Your letter dated yesterday, accepting my proposition for a joint discussion at one prominent point in each Congressional District, as stated in my previous letter, was received this morning.

The times and places designated are as follows:

Ottawa, LaSalle County.....	August 21, 1858
Freeport, Stephenson County.....	August 27, 1858
Jonesboro, Union County.....	September 15, 1858
Charleston, Coles County.....	September 18, 1858
Galesburg, Knox County.....	October 7, 1858
Quincy, Adams County.....	October 13, 1858
Alton, Madison County.....	October 15, 1858

I agree to your suggestion that we shall alternately open and close the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you can reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will then follow for half an hour. At Freeport, you shall open the discussion and speak; I will follow for an hour and a half, and you can reply for half an hour. We will alternate in like manner in each successive place.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. Douglas.

Hon. A. Lincoln, Springfield, Ill.”

The next day Lincoln forwarded his acceptance of the arrangement:

“Springfield, July 31, 1858.

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

Dear Sir: Yours of yesterday, naming places, times and terms, for joint discussions between us, was received this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closes, to my *three*, I accede, and thus close the arrangement. I direct this to you at Hillsboro, and shall try to have both your letter and this appear in the Journal and Register of Monday morning.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.”

Once more the newspaper fusilade broke out!

“* * * We hope, however, that we have seen the ‘*conclusion*’ of the correspondence, and do not question that by the time Mr. Lincoln has ‘*concluded*’ on Senator Douglas once or twice, and premitted Senator Douglas to ‘*conclude*’ on him an equal number of times, he will ‘*conclude*’ that he better haul off and lay by for repairs.”—*Chicago Times*.

* * * It is clear that Mr. Douglas is not fond of Mr. Lincoln’s rough handling and is anxious to get out of an ugly scrape on any terms. In this matter Douglas goes on the principle that discretion is the better part of valor.

We knew from the first that Douglas would not dare to make a general canvass of the State with Lincoln. He had to run away from that gentleman in 1854 and dared not stand his broadsides now. If he dared not meet Lincoln in the first dawns of this conspiracy to Africanize the whole American continent, of course he would object still more to such a canvass in 1858. * * *”—*State Journal*.

“The *Times* finds fault with Mr. Lincoln’s letter to Mr. Douglas because it is ‘bunglingly expressed.’

Our neighbor should recollect that he has not the advantage of having the Douglas candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction *to correct it for him!*”—*Chicago Daily Journal*.

On the morning of August 21st, a special train of 14 cars³¹⁵ left the Chicago and Rock Island depot at 8 A. M. for

³¹⁵ Some accounts gave it as 17.

Ottawa, with a great Chicago crowd. At Morris, it took on Lincoln and Ottawa was reached at 11:45. On the same morning, a very long procession drove over the Peru road to Buffalo Rock, where Douglas, approaching in an open barouche drawn by four horses, was met and escorted to the Geiger House at Ottawa, in whose Lafayette Square a platform had been erected for the first of the memorable debates.

Notwithstanding the heat, at least 12,000 people had come to Ottawa to listen. They had begun pouring into the place before daylight, in wagons, in buggies, horseback, a-foot, and in a train of eleven cars from the west. Whole families had come along, including the babies and the grandparents. Two brass bands paraded the streets. Militia companies followed. Flags, streamers, mottoes and every manner of device which would float to the breeze, hung from windows and over the streets. Salutes were fired from two brass 12-pounders and the great red-letter day was enjoyed without manifestation of discomfort.

At half after two Douglas opened the debate. His voice was superb, its ringing deep bass tones going to the furthest corner of the grounds with ease, like the fierce bark of a bull dog, as one of the reporters wrote at the time, and when at a point when impressiveness was required, his old habit of shaking his great shock of long black hair was repeated to the inexpressible delight of his many followers. His confidence was supreme and it was with difficulty the noise made by his worshippers could be suppressed. But that same confidence led him into mistakes which did not reflect credit upon his Ottawa performance.

He paid his respects to the charge of conspiracy which he had laid to Lincoln and Trumbull upon former occasions. He selected for his heaviest artillery a very strong Abolition platform and read it, charging Lincoln with having subscribed to it at the "Republican" convention of 1854 and with opposing the Mexican War when in Congress. That charge of subscribing to the 1854 convention, was but an-

other of his unfortunate delinquencies of jumping to a conclusion of history without investigating the subject personally or carefully.

The tone of the whole speech was that of a patronizing air toward Lincoln. He defiantly demanded answers to seven questions which he propounded without apparent consideration: "I desire to know," cried Douglas, "whether Mr. Lincoln today stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged today, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make. I want to know whether he stands today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different states. I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line. I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, unless slavery is prohibited therein."

After thus acquitting himself of a responsibility intended to consummate the political death of Mr. Lincoln when he had them answered, Douglas proceeded: "I want his answer to these questions. Your affirmative cheers in favor of this Abolition platform are not satisfactory. I ask Abraham Lincoln to answer these questions, in order that, when I trot him down to lower Egypt, I may put the same questions to him." With something of a grand swell Douglas magnificently proclaimed: "My principles are the same everywhere. I can proclaim them alike in the North, the South, the East and the West. My principles will apply wherever the Constitution prevails, and the American flag waves." And very much as though Mr. Lincoln expected on the spot to decline, or was afraid, Douglas continued: "I put these questions to

him today distinctly, and ask an answer. I have a right to an answer, for I quote from the platform of the Republican party, made by himself and others at the time that party was formed, . . .”

The outburst was followed immediately by a personal consideration of his adversary which did Douglas no credit and which very properly was treated by Lincoln with something of contempt: Already quoted it will be repeated:

“In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery keeper in the town of Salem. (Applause and laughter.) He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world’s goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school teacher as I could, and when a cabinet maker I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with anything else; (cheers) but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together; (uproarious laughter) and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race or fist fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. (Renewed laughter) I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I.

Mr. Lincoln served with me in the legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the Abolitionist tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican War, taking the side of the common enemy against his own country; and when he returned home he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged, or obliged to retire into private life, forgotten by his former friends. He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this Abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase, and Fred Douglass, for the Republican party to stand upon. (Laughter. 'Hit him again.')"

It will be remembered that, confident of the determination of Lovejoy to force Lincoln into the ranks of the Abolition party at the time of the meeting of the Anti-Nebraska convention in 1854, Herndon hustled Lincoln over to Tazewell County with "Bob," ostensibly to attend court. The very complication into which Douglas now sought to enmesh Lincoln, Herndon had defeated. Lincoln went. He had refused to act even as a delegate to the Anti-Nebraska convention. As a fact, Paul Selby, who lived until March, 1913, remembered very well that Lincoln was importuned to join the new Anti-Nebraska party, but that he still hoped to accomplish through the Whig party all that the new party hoped to accomplish. Lovejoy was present in Springfield at the same time, but when his Abolitionist meeting had met, Lincoln had left for Tazewell County. Lincoln had not at that moment severed his allegiance to the Whig party, dead though it was.

When interrogated by Douglas in that rapid fire manner without time to consider the circumstances of the various

Springfield meetings, which we all remember included the first State fair, Lincoln was unable more than to deny his participation in any convention which had passed such a set of resolutions or placed such planks into a platform. He did deny such participation with fervor, and Douglas in closing permitted himself to show a great deal of feeling at the denial, insisting that he was right and Lincoln wrong, thereby giving Lincoln the lie. Very naturally Lincoln showed anger. Untruthfulness was the one charge he would permit no person to make against him with impunity.

Lincoln defended his "House divided against itself," speech ably. But all the same it cannot be perceived what advantage his solution of the slavery question had over the popular sovereignty doctrine of Douglas. The position taken by Lincoln against slavery at Ottawa was the same as that repeated in 1854 at Springfield and Peoria in reply to Douglas' speeches: ". . .; and when the Judge reminds me that I have often said to him that the institution of slavery has existed for 80 years in some states, and yet it does not exist in some others, I agree to the fact, and I account for it by looking at the position in which our fathers originally placed it,—restricting it from new territories where it had not gone, and legislating to cut off its source by the abrogation of the slave-trade, thus putting the seal of legislation *against its spread*.

The public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. But, lately, I think—and in those acting with him, have placed that institution on a new basis which looks to the perpetuity and nationalization of slavery. And while it is placed upon this new basis, I say, and I have said that I believe we shall not have peace upon the question until the opponents of slavery arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or, on the other hand, that its advocates will push it forward until it shall become lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Douglas claimed for his measure that the extension of slavery in all the new territories was impossible and no better illustration that the South did not desire to contest the principle with votes, can be found than in their unanimous abandonment of the Douglas popular sovereignty plan, the very minute the Dred Scott decision appeared. Slavery was beaten in Kansas. It would be beaten in Nebraska, Oregon, Minnesota, and with the possible exception of New Mexico, which subsequently enacted a slave code, not one new state was at all likely to legalize the institution of slavery.

Douglas could not argue for the years following 1858, of course. All he was able to do was to claim a trial of his scheme; patience, and as the advocates of slavery found themselves beaten in each of the new states, the only alternative left them would be to cease their exertions to extend it or to do just what they did,—secede.

Lincoln noticed but one of the many items of personalities scheduled by Douglas, the charge of being a grocery keeper.³¹⁶ “The Judge,” said Lincoln, “is woefully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a ‘grocery-keeper.’ I don’t know as it would be a great sin, if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house, up at the head of a hollow.”

He did not consume the hour and a half to which he was entitled, by several minutes and for not so doing, the Democratic press croaked itself hoarse with charges of weak knees, fear, and no end of other foolish things.

In the reply of Douglas, considerable indignation was affected because Lincoln had declined to notice no more than one of the seven questions propounded in the opening. In a measure regarding that silence as an evidence of cowardice, Douglas may have made up his mind on the spot, to put the finishing touches to the ambition of his early friend Lincoln to succeed him in the United States Senate. Douglas also manifested a show of anger in his conclusion, which he

³¹⁶ The “grocery” of early Illinois was denominated a saloon in 1858.

avoided in his opening, especially at the denial of Lincoln of his participation in the convention proceedings at Springfield, and for the assertions of Douglas in the premises, Lincoln, in turn permitted himself to get very angry.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the friends of Lincoln as a token of their satisfaction for his management of their cause, caught him up in their arms and carried him from the platform. The newspapers handled this debate in the same partisan and declamatory manner with the additional charge against each that the other side had garbled the speeches in the press reports. One Douglas paper charged the Press and Tribune with 180 wilful alterations in the speech of Douglas. But the Republican press had much the better of their adversaries in that particular contest. Alert for the weakness of an adversary, it was discovered almost immediately that the "Anti-Nebraska" party at Springfield had passed an altogether different set of resolutions at its convention of 1854; that Lincoln actually went to Tazewell County and that those resolutions read by Douglas were a set passed at a convention held in Kane County. It will not be necessary to reproduce any of the Republican comments, made after the discovery. From extracts already made the mind may safely be left to do the rest. Douglas fortified himself with every item of defense it was possible for so resourceful a man to get, aided by a small army of assistants and he succeeded in accumulating a formidable array of facts which did everything but substantiate his Ottawa statements. It seemed to be a fault with Douglas that he either was so proud or so opinionated that never would he admit a mistake. The utmost length he would go, when a former statement of a contrary opinion was found, was to declare that a man had a right to change his opinion.

In such an extravagant manner the war of words proceeded. Slidell continued to bargain, plot and threaten. Alexander H. Stephens, the friend of Douglas, ostensibly for the purpose of sitting to Healy for his portrait, had come to Illinois to pacify the warring factions and concentrate the solid

Democrat forces against Lincoln and the noisy Republicans whose claims for success were taking on a disagreeable show of substance. But Buchanan was obstinate and the fight was permitted to proceed. With growing rage, he ordered the smallest offices to be contested, the followers of Douglas meeting the President's fire with fire. Richardson, who had been appointed Governor of Nebraska, staked his political life by resigning³¹⁷ to help Douglas in this fight for his future. The man who declined to declare himself was consigned to the bottomless pit which that campaign prepared for cowards. The New York Evening Post considered it the most momentous campaign, from all standpoints, since the defeat of Silas Wright for Governor.

PART XXVI.

The Democratic party from its birth, had contended stoutly for the principle of non-intervention by Congress, yet after the rendition of the Dred Scott decision, the southern branch turned a complete somersault and demanded neither more nor less than intervention of the most offensive sort. Douglas had sought all along to remove the distressing subject from the halls of Congress altogether by referring it to the states and territories for settlement as the people saw fit.

Neither Judge Douglas nor Abraham Lincoln represented the extreme view of certain members of his party. Owen Lovejoy made no effort to conceal his distrust of Lincoln, while Davis of the southern wing of the party distrusted Douglas, yet each tried to place the other upon a platform of extreme views. Douglas experimented at Ottawa with disastrous results and Lincoln's effort to prove a conspiracy between Douglas, the Supreme Court and others, was equally ineffectual.

At the Freeport debate Lincoln answered guardedly, the seven questions propounded at Ottawa by Douglas. The

³¹⁷ To Richardson was given the task of taking care of the Danites.

amplifications which followed were not less guarded. Douglas less guardedly but conservatively answered the four questions propounded on the spot by Lincoln. His answer to the second question was but another form of his views expressed on the floor of the Senate many times when he declared that slaves as property when removed by their owner to a territory, should be regulated like other property by the laws of that territory. He never did and never would stand upon the Calhoun pretension that the South might take its slaves into a territory and hold them there exempt from legislative control, nor would he consent to the pretension that the South might *introduce* slave property into a territory and deny the inhabitants the right to drive it out by legislative enactment. The so-called partnership for which Calhoun contended, he considered a humbug. It was altogether a one-sided arrangement, which even Jefferson Davis repudiated if we may believe his words uttered at Portland, Maine:

“If the inhabitants of any territory should refuse to enact such laws and police regulations as would give security to their property or to his, it would be rendered more or less valueless, in proportion to the difficulties of holding it without such protection. In the cause of property in the labor of man, or what is usually called slave property, the insecurity would be so great that the owner could not ordinarily retain it. Therefore, though the right would remain, the remedy being withheld, it would follow that the owner would be practically debarred, by the circumstances of the case, from taking slave property into a territory where the sense of the inhabitants was opposed to its introduction. So much for the oft-repeated fallacy of forcing slavery upon any community.”

In common fairness, let it be asked, how, after uttering those words, could Davis accuse Douglas of heresy in his answer to Lincoln's second question?

Lincoln opened the meeting at Freeport with his speech of an hour. His answers to the seven questions propounded at Ottawa by Douglas, are models of conciseness. They almost smack of the formality of the court room in their mode

of denial. More than any other part of his speech, those answers presented the thoughtful and conservative man unwilling to take one single step in the dark. Notice the man's simplicity! Douglas thought there was too much simplicity for the man who sought to represent Illinois in the Senate, against extreme and excitable Senators who stood for slavery.

"Question 1.—"I desire to know whether Lincoln today stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?"

Answer.—"I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law."

Q. 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged today, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave states into the Union, even if the people want them?"

A. "I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave states into the Union."

Q. 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make?"

A. "I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new state into the Union, with such a constitution as the people of that state may see fit to make."

Q. 4. "I want to know whether he stands today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

A. "I do not stand today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

Q. 5. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different states."

A. "I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different states."

Q. 6. "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

A. "I am impliedly, if not exactly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States territories."

Q. 7. "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

A. "I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves."

Amplifying his answers somewhat, Lincoln stated that he would be exceedingly sorry to be put in a position of having to pass upon the question of admission of any more slave states. He should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave state admitted, but if slavery be kept out of a territory and then the people, having a fair chance and a clear field, should adopt a slave constitution, he saw no alternative but to admit the state.

Regarding the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he was constrained to state that as a member of Congress, he should not be in favor of endeavoring to abolish slavery unless the abolition should be gradual, that it should be on a vote of a majority of the qualified voters and upon compensation made to unwilling owners. As a final explanation of the 5th interrogatory, he stated that he was pledged to nothing about the slave trade between the states; that he had given the subject no such consideration as would permit him to express an opinion, but if upon investigation he considered that Congress had the power to abolish it, still he would not favor the exercise of it unless upon some conservative principle akin to his views concerning abolition in the District of Columbia. How much more favorable to the scheme of emancipation was Lincoln's than Douglas' plan of popular sovereignty? What more favorable in Lincoln's contention than Douglas' even admitting that "Douglas was stone blind to the moral effect of slavery"? It is easy to assert that Douglas was moved but little by sympathy and that Lincoln was moved much by sympathy against slavery;

but it should be noticed that it was not expedient for Lincoln the politician to back up Lincoln the sympathetic philanthropist.³¹⁸ He persistently declined to do any such thing.

It is said that Lincoln framed his second question against the protest of friends and for the purpose of trapping Douglas; that he was after bigger game two years hence. If true, the country paid a heavy price for the experiment. Pull down Douglas! Such had been Lincoln's ambition for many years. That was the design of Republican politicians more than the laudable design of trying to make Kansas a free state, and while upon the point it may be well to state that Owen Lovejoy, the high priest of abolitionism in Illinois did not share those conspiracies to trip Douglas, to trap him for the sole purpose of beating him thereafter; Lovejoy believed that Buchanan, not Douglas, was responsible for the Kansas disorders.

Concerning that second question, Clark E. Carr has well said, if, knowing how Douglas would reply, Lincoln sought advice, and against that advice, asserted that he proposed to ask it for the purpose of forcing Douglas into a corner, he imposed upon the friends whose advice he sought.

Lincoln propounded the question, together with three others, at the same time reserving the right to ask another later:

Question 1. "If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a state constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, before they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?"

Question 2. Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?

Question 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decree that states cannot exclude slavery from their

³¹⁸ Watkins' Douglas, Lincoln and the Nebraska Bill, 18.

limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Question 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may effect the nation on the slavery question?"

If the substitution of pitfalls for the discussion of issues were a recognized feature of the debates, it had been simpler for Lincoln to take the one ready to his hand, than to resort to the labored effort of constructing one for use two uncertain years thereafter. In the face of Lincoln's persistence in putting the question against the protest of long headed political friends, it would seem almost as plausible to assume that the Danites, anxious to shift the administration's anger from the Lecompton controversy to a cause less liable to drive the northern Democrats into open revolt, had intimated privately to Lincoln that the doctrine of "unfriendly legislation" would do it.

Douglas had prepared his own pitfall at Ottawa by flaunting aloft the so-called Springfield resolutions and basing thereupon the seven questions which Lincoln answered. The jaunty, cock-sure air of Douglas, assumed during those moments of triumph to himself and uncertainty and discomfort to his rival, beyond all doubt stood clean-cut like a picture before Lincoln when at Freeport he proceeded to notice the incident. Mortal man never relished a discomfiture as Lincoln must have relished the uncomfortable situation into which Douglas found himself placed by that awkward blunder. That keen relish was made vocal in the eyes of Lincoln. Every gesture and smile bespoke the pleasure of the gladiator who had his adversary on the hip. Between each line and word, one reads the air of honest—not vindictive—glee as he proceeds to notice the mistake. Though but a child when the writer listened to this debate, he remembers very well the emphasis later put by his father upon that feature:

"It turns out, I believe, that those resolutions never were passed in any convention held in Springfield. It turns out that they were never passed at any convention or any

public meeting that I had any part in. I believe it turns out, in addition to all this, that there was not, in the fall of 1854, any convention holding a session in Springfield, calling itself a Republican convention; yet it is true there was a convention, or assemblage of men calling themselves a convention, at Springfield, that did pass *some* resolutions. But so little did I really know of the proceedings of that convention, or what set of resolutions they had passed, though having a general knowledge that there had been such an assemblage of men there, that when Judge Douglas read the resolutions, I really did not know but they had been the resolutions passed then and there. I did not question that they were the resolutions adopted. For I could not bring myself to suppose that Judge Douglas could say what he did upon this subject without *knowing* that it was true. * * * I allude to this extraordinary matter in this canvass for some further purpose than anything yet advanced. Judge Douglas did not make his statement upon that occasion as matters he *believed* to be true, but he stated them roundly as *being true*, in such form as to pledge his veracity for their truth. When the whole matter turns out as it does, and when we consider who Judge Douglas is, that he is a distinguished Senator of the United States; that he has served nearly twelve years as such; that his character is not all limited as an ordinary Senator of the United States, but that his name has become of world-wide renown, it is *most extraordinary* that he should so far forget all the suggestions of justice to an adversary, or of prudence to himself, as to venture upon the assertion of that which the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false."

Not content with this excoriation, Lincoln then proceeded to make the cuts and welts smart as much as possible by adding this parting shot:

"And I may add that another extraordinary feature of the Judge's conduct in this canvass—made more extraordinary by this incident—is, that he is in the habit, in almost all speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adver-

saries, myself and others. I now ask whether he is able to find anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, in this instance, for that sort of vulgarity."

The Freeport explanation by Douglas of the Ottawa error was rather beside the question and did not improve matters much. But, later, he squared the account fully by admitting the error and explaining fully the manner of its conception. That closed the incident with credit to himself.

His answers to the four questions of Lincoln came quickly and straight from the shoulder. The answer to the second one did not smack of court room formalities. It presented an apt remedy.

"The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, 'Can the people of a territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?' I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. (Enthusiastic applause.) Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the state in 1854, in 1855 and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effect-

ually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave state or a free territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."

It will be noticed that Douglas, here, does not admit that the Dred Scott case decided that slavery could go into a territory against the expressed wish of the inhabitants of that territory; in other words, he would seem to hold as many of the best Republican lawyers held, that so much of the decision as touched that point, was but *obiter dictum* and not decisive of the point at all.³¹⁹ But, operating as it did, to permit the owner of slaves to take them into the territory, what, demanded Douglas, was the owner to do with them if he found himself confronted with unfriendly laws or unfriendly inhabitants? Calhoun insisted that the United States authorities must go to the rescue. In the case of Kansas they went to the rescue to no purpose. The decision did not forbid unfriendly laws, Douglas urged. Kansas had upset the plans of the administration and his extreme advisers at last. Planning for slavery extension might be said to have reached its destination and for that quietus Douglas was selected by the extremists south for slaughter.

His honest Americanism rings clearly in that Freeport debate, where he is said to have committed heresy; as clearly as ever Henry Clay expressed himself in the palmiest days of his life. Swinging almost automatically into the subject, notice this injection of passionate love for his country, into one of his answers:

"It is idle to tell me," he said, "or you, that we have territory enough. * * * We have enough for the present; but this is a young and growing nation. It swarms as

³¹⁹ At the beginning of the 36th Congress when Green, Iverson, Clay, Davis and Gwin taunted him with refusing to accept the decision of the Supreme Court, after agreeing to do so, Douglas said: " . . . ; but I deny that the point now under consideration has been decided in the Dred Scott case."

often as a hive of bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make honey. * * *

“You cannot limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying, ‘Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.’

* * * With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism³²⁰ in the old world to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the north and in the south, or in the islands of the ocean, I am for it; and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.”

“Mr. Lincoln,” continued Douglas at another point, “says that he believes that this Union cannot continue to endure with slave states in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more slave states, but says he would not like to be put to the test. I do not think he will be put to the test. I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty. I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United States, when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests. I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self government here among you when northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, and I have defended that same great principle when southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any tests they put to me. I knew I was right; I knew my principles were sound; I knew that the people would see in the end that I

³²⁰ The fact made anti-slavery votes.

had done right, and I knew that the God of Heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty."

At Jonesboro, the crowd was smallest, numbering but 1,200 or 1,500 or less. There Douglas expressed himself upon the status of the negro as strongly as words could perform the office. "I hold," said Douglas, "that a negro is not and never ought to be a citizen of the United States. I hold that this Government was made on the white basis, by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men and none others. I do not believe that the Almighty made the negro capable of self-government. . . ."

Taking statements which are made almost daily with reference to the Filipino and the Sandwich Islander, can it be said with honesty, for his day and age, that Douglas was far out of the way in his views of negro capacity for government and citizenship?

What did Lincoln say upon the point at Charleston almost with his opening sentence?

"I will say then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality." And having said that, he concluded with the assertion so frequently caught by writers to exploit an instance when Lincoln "shut up Douglas," "I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife."

Without any doubt Lincoln "shut up Douglas." Why? Because he had answered unequivocally a question which Douglas had sought to have answered in just that manner.

Douglas said himself that nothing was left upon that point for debate: "I am glad that I have at last succeeded in getting an answer out of him upon this question of negro citizenship and eligibility to office, for I have been trying to bring him to the point on it ever since this canvass commenced."

It was at Jonesboro too that the Ottawa incident of carrying Lincoln from the platform was threshed out. At a speech at Joliet, Douglas made statements which angered Lincoln: "The very notice that I was going to take him down to Egypt made him tremble in the knees so that he had to be carried from the platform."

Lincoln suggested that Douglas must have been crazy to make such a statement. Douglas interrupted by asking the question, "Didn't they carry you off?"

Lincoln:—"There! that question illustrates the character of this man, Douglas exactly. He smiles now, and says, 'Didn't they carry you off?' But he said then 'he had to be carried off; and he said it to convince the country that he had so completely broken me down by his speech that I had to be carried away. Now he seeks to dodge it, and asks, 'Didn't they carry you off?' Yes, they did. But Judge Douglas, why didn't you tell the truth?"

In reply, Douglas let his anger get the better of him by retorting,

"I wish to say to you that whenever I degrade my friends and myself by allowing them to carry me on their backs along through the public streets, when I am able to walk, I am willing to be deemed crazy."

In a moment of great dignity, Douglas had overlooked an incident back in the early days at Jacksonville when the same kind of a demonstration gave to him the title "Little Giant," and in that incident, he generally professed great pride.

And here at Jonesboro Lincoln propounded the fifth and last question to Douglas which the latter quickly answered negatively: "If the slave-holding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation

for the protection of their slave property in such territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?"

Was this question framed like the second one at Freeport to anger a listening South? If it was, Douglas showed his courage by opposing a bill which sought to compel the Territory of Kansas to support slavery if its Legislature should decline to pass laws carrying into effect the contention of the South under the Dred Scott decision. So too he had declared himself to be irreconcilably opposed to the revival of the African slave trade. In his Alton speech perhaps more than in any other, he stated his views upon the standing of the negro:

"But it does not follow, by any means, that merely because the negro is not a citizen, and merely because he is not our equal, that, therefore, he should be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow that we ought to extend to the negro race, and to all other dependent races, all the rights, all the privileges, and all the immunities which they can exercise consistently with the safety of society. Humanity requires that we should give them all these privileges; Christianity commands that we should extend those privileges to them. The question then arises, What are those rights and privileges, and what is the nature and extent of them? My answer is, that that is a question which each state must answer for itself. We in Illinois have decided for ourselves. We tried slavery, kept it up for twelve years, and finding that it was not profitable, we abolished it for that reason, and became a Free State. We adopted in its stead the policy that a negro in this state shall not be a slave and shall not be a citizen. We have a right to adopt that policy. For my part, I think it is a wise and sound policy for us."

It will be observed of course that here as elsewhere Douglas declined to state his convictions. His avoidance seemed studied. He placed the opposition of Illinois, not as a moral force but upon the ground of inadaptability which was not altogether the case. Lincoln on the contrary declared

steadily during the debates, "He (Douglas) contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have if it is not a wrong. But if it is a wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong."

Douglas in effect declared that he cared more for peace than he cared for the fate of the negro. Lincoln, casuist and prophet, on the contrary seemed to care more for the negro than for peace, at least he could not be made to see the dangers of war.³²¹ "But when the legitimate result of philanthropic solicitude actually broke upon the country in the shape of disunion and war, Lincoln was obliged to recant his philanthropy and embrace the mere statesmanship of Douglas:"³²² "My paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."³²³

When all too late, the policy of Douglas was attempted. In the great question with its sharply defined sides of right and wrong, but two courses were open to correct the wrong, force and moral suasion. Of course a constitutional amendment was possible, but could a constitutional amendment be made effective without force or moral suasion? In approaching the difficult question then we are confronted with a statesman in office, responsible for his actions, and the casuist and prophet with no responsibility and with no remedial suggestions. Lincoln the casuist who declared against the moral wrong whose constitutional warrant was ever ignored, declined to interfere. One might say that half hearted and evasive, he preferred to inoculate public sentiment with the virus of discontent and then to permit the whole hearted Garrison, Sumner, Greeley and Phillips to do what he declined

³²¹ Douglas declared abolition meant the greatest of all wars. At Alton Lincoln declared: "There never was a party in the history of this country and there probably never will be, of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country. * * * Whenever the issue can be distinctly made and all extraneous matters thrown out so that men can fairly see the difference between the parties, this controversy will soon be settled and it will be done peacefully too. There will be no war, no violence."

³²² Albert Watkins' "Douglas, Lincoln and the Nebraska Bill," 29.

³²³ Reply to Greeley, August 22, 1862.

doing, and if disastrous, to take the consequences. Without reflecting on his transcendent wisdom when disunion came, it would seem he sought to remain out of harm's way during the debates, yet to stand receptive if success and rewards should come his way. Success and rewards did come his way and by leading to a victorious termination the most stupendous war in history, Lincoln reached a degree of fame so lofty that his neutrality during the debates never can receive consideration with anything like fairness to his great rival, Douglas.

At Charleston, Lincoln sprung a *coup* which attested his resourcefulness as well as boldness to great advantage. Charleston was the home of Orlando B. Ficklin, the right hand man of Douglas in and out of Congress. As usual, Douglas charged Lincoln with assisting the enemy as much as he could during the Mexican War. It had been to no purpose that Lincoln had denied and supported his denial by the record. Repetition angered him again and he played a trick which carried weight for all future time in the county of Coles. He waited patiently until his turn to reply came when with the deliberation which only Lincoln could assume, he walked across the platform to Ficklin and, taking him by the coat collar, led him to the front of the platform. " 'Now, Mr. Ficklin,' " said Lincoln, " 'you sat by my side the whole time I was in Congress and know well every speech and every vote given by me. Now, sir, I want you to tell this audience the whole truth of the matter.' " Mr. Ficklin was an unwilling witness indeed, but was in a tight place and could do no better than go forward and do as he was bidden. He said he was a friend to both contending gentlemen and esteemed them both. He further said that Mr. Lincoln gave no material vote different from his own on the war question, except to declare it unconstitutional. The effect of this performance, as will readily be seen by the reader, was electrical upon the audience. Douglas made the charge, and instead of getting out of temper and giving the lie, Lincoln seized Douglas' right hand man, made him a witness, and at once nailed the libelous

charge to the counter. The effect was most powerful; cheer after cheer rent the air, testifying the complete triumph of Lincoln."³²⁴

The little Douglas said of Buchanan was reserved for the last meeting at Alton when commenting on the subject of popular sovereignty and its political influence:

"It is the principle on which James Buchanan was made President. Without that principle, he never would have been made President of the United States. I will never violate or abandon that doctrine, if I have to stand alone. I have resisted the blandishments and threats of power on the one side, and seduction on the other, and have stood immovably for that principle, fighting for it when assailed by northern mobs, or threatened by southern hostility. I have defended it against the North and the South, and I will defend it against whoever assails it, and I will follow it wherever its logical conclusions lead me."

The seven joint debates constituted but a small part of the hard work done by the rival candidates for the Senate. Up one side of the state and down the other, they drove and rode, Douglas as a rule, in a special train gorgeously decorated with bunting, under the direct eye of George B. McClellan, then of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, while Lincoln was forced to take belated trains, freight trains and many times to find himself sidetracked to let the showy special of Douglas fly past him. County fairs then at their height, were visited whenever possible. When Douglas reached Urbana upon the last day of the Champaign County fair, and very naturally desired to meet the greatest number of persons his time would permit, he was taken in tow by the committee and escorted over the grounds to mix and get acquainted. A very good story was told by Hon. J. O. Cunningham of that Urbana visit, at which Douglas laughed just as heartily as the Republicans who participated in the fun. Changes in politics were effected so silently and so promptly

³²⁴ Taken down by Hon. J. O. Cunningham at the time and furnished by him to the writer.

that it was a wise politician who could keep himself posted from week to week and so it happened that while thus escorted through the grounds, Douglas and his escort bumped into a crowd, most of whom had joined the ranks of the Republican party. One of the number, an individual whose face was red enough to write him into the Democratic party almost against his protest, attracted the attention of Douglas, who warmed up to the stranger and laughed and joked with him almost immoderately.

The stranger laughingly permitted the performance to proceed the required number of minutes, when placing a finger upon each of his scarlet cheeks, he remarked, "You see, Jedge, I *do* carry all the signs of your party, but I'm the damndist blackist Republikin that ever you seed."

It has been said many times by the enemies of Douglas, that he was a bully in debate, brutally inconsiderate of the man who wore a white tie, and servilely respectful to the man who wore a broad pair of shoulders. Others, writers, taking unjustifiable liberties with his memory, have said of Douglas, that it was his habit in a bad case, deliberately to insult or provoke a crowd into indiscreet interruptions, and then to charge its members with ruffianism, as when rebuking the crowd at Freeport. Never were charges so unjust and untrue. Douglas wore no gum shoes in going after an enemy on the stump or in a canvass. He minced no words on the floor of the Senate when replying to what he considered a violation of parliamentary ethics like the Address of Chase, Seward and others. His somewhat vigorous remarks over an interruption at Freeport were addressed to a crowd and not to an individual unable to defend himself. He resented what to him appeared to be an indignity and who shall say that a running comment shall constitute a trait of character?

When Douglas addressed the opposition party as Black Republicans, he but repeated the common term of Democratic stump speakers and once when interrupted with the taunt that Republicans did not call themselves black, he retorted quicker than a flash that the Republican organ at Waukegan

kept just such an appellation at the head of its principal column. Republican orators applied terms exactly as disrespectful. It was a day of give and take. Though Lincoln saw fit not to follow the custom, he made no criticism of unfairness or incivility of the terms which Douglas may have seen fit to use. Douglas fought to win and if his style did not please the opposition, it pleased his own party to which he appealed for votes. With Lincoln at hand to catch him, he made no attempts to obfuscate his audience, although the miserable fire in the rear to which he was subjected, would have justified a great many harsh terms and shifty expedients of word and deed to win. The writer makes the statement boldly, that Douglas in that celebrated campaign was as much the casuist as his ambitious rival. Faults he displayed; errors he committed, but whatever they were, the friends of Lincoln expressed entire satisfaction with his method of discovering and handling them, and with the results secured. The Springfield platform incident was a case in point. Douglas promised to investigate the source of his information when next in Springfield. He went to Springfield and, forgetting or neglecting to state in public what he had found, the alert Lincoln called him to task and secured the admission that nothing had been discovered and that his informant had been mistaken. Thus ended several ineffectual efforts to explain a very palpable mistake, in a manner creditable all round and certainly in a manner not at all characteristic of the bully.

If anger must be taken as a breach of political ethics, the Sullivan incident of September 30th, was sufficient to provoke it in Douglas. It will be remembered that at Monticello, Lincoln voluntarily promised to make no more appointments which might conflict with those of Douglas. After the completion of arrangements for the joint discussions, political ethics required, more than ever, the observance of such a promise, yet when at Charleston, Lincoln notified Douglas who had just spoken there that he had arranged for a meeting at Sullivan on the same day Douglas had selected for one of

his meetings. Lincoln expressed regret at the clash in dates, agreed not to interfere with Douglas' meeting and then made a request of Douglas which in this day would be regarded as the apotheosis of impudence; Lincoln asked Douglas to announce the fact from the latter's platform. Did Douglas rave and bully? With the magnanimity common to him, Douglas announced the Lincoln meeting and would have been glad so to oblige his old friend and close the incident but for the effort to clash made by Lincoln partisans.

"Today," said Douglas, "one of his friends named George Lynn, Jr., came to my room at the hotel with this memorandum which I will read: 'Understanding that Judge Douglas would speak before dinner, I announced that I would address our friends at Freeland's Grove at 2 P. M. As he does not begin till 10 o'clock, if he will announce the fact, so that I can understand it, I will postpone to three o'clock. A. Lincoln.'

Mr. Lincoln's friends brought me then that written proposition, that he would postpone his meeting till three o'clock, if I would announce from this stand the fact that I accepted the proposition. I call upon you thousands to bear testimony that before I uttered one word of my speech, I did, in a distinct and loud tone of voice, announce that I had been requested by Mr. Lincoln to give notice that he would speak at Freeland's Grove, that his meeting had been postponed till three o'clock. Hence I complied with the contract on my part as I can prove by you thousands here assembled. I call your attention to this fact that at twenty-five minutes past two o'clock, he with his friends and a band of music drove around the stand and came right up within forty feet of where I am now speaking, driving into the midst of my friends, beating their drum so as to break up this meeting. If I do not state the facts truly anyone in the crowd can correct me. . . . Their stand is on the north side of the town, they started from the north, drove by on the south side and came down on the east in order to go to this side; going three squares out of their way to get to our meeting to break it up.

(Mr. Anthony Thornton: 'Will any gentleman who saw Mr. Lincoln, announce the fact?')

A Voice: 'He was in, but turned around and went back.' "

It was a fact that Lincoln was in the procession, but upon finding that Douglas was speaking, he directed his friends to turn, which they did. While Douglas was billed to speak at 10 o'clock, his delayed arrival did not permit him to begin until 1 o'clock. It seems also that from Sullivan, Douglas had been billed to go to Danville and Urbana, to both of which points Lincoln was billed for the days following. But beyond desiring to make a full explanation to his hearers, Douglas made no complaint and certainly displayed not the slightest desire to bully in very aggravating emergencies.

Election day followed. The Republican state ticket was elected.

Miller, Republican.....	125,430
Bateman, Republican.....	124,556
<hr/>	
Average Republican vote.....	124,993
Fonday, Democrat.....	121,609
French, Democrat.....	122,413
<hr/>	
Average Democratic vote.....	122,011
The average Danite vote, Dougherty.....	5,071
<hr/>	
Together would make.....	127,082

or more than the Republican vote if no account were taken of the Republicans who voted for Douglas and there were many who did. But by reason of the personal popularity of Douglas, he carried the legislative districts and won, the legislature standing:

	Senate	House	Totals
Republicans	14	35	46
Democrats	14	40	54
Danites	00	00	00
Democratic majority on joint ballot, 8.			

The expected seduction of the mossback voters from Egypt ended dismally in expectation; they voted for Douglas members of the legislature almost to a man. The victory of Douglas was one of the most brilliant in the field of politics. It was personal to himself. It is not true that he won by reason of the gerrymander of the legislative districts or to hold-over Senators; Trumbull with the same apportionment had won two years before. Never did administration stoop to the discreditable tactics that were resorted to by Buchanan in his mad determination to punish Douglas for defeating the plan to abandon Kansas to slavery. The campaign was the fiercest ever waged in the state. During its progress Douglas made 130 speeches. It has been said to have cost him \$50,000. Lincoln's expense account presents a contrast almost laughable. When speaking to a friend upon the enormous cost in wear and tear and money, he admitted that his campaign had cost him almost \$500.

The wear and tear physically, of this strenuous campaign did not affect Lincoln as Douglas was affected. The former, who had spent his youth in the open air and followed rugged pursuits and sports, found himself enabled to go through it without the slightest perceptible effect upon his voice or constitution; but by the time Quincy had been reached the voice of Douglas was worn to tatters. At Alton it was gone altogether except to those who were near the platform. At the two latter points the season had so far advanced as to make a decided impression upon Douglas whose later years had been devoted to the softer ways of life at the capital and when he had finished his remarks, he slipped into his overcoat and smoked a cigar.

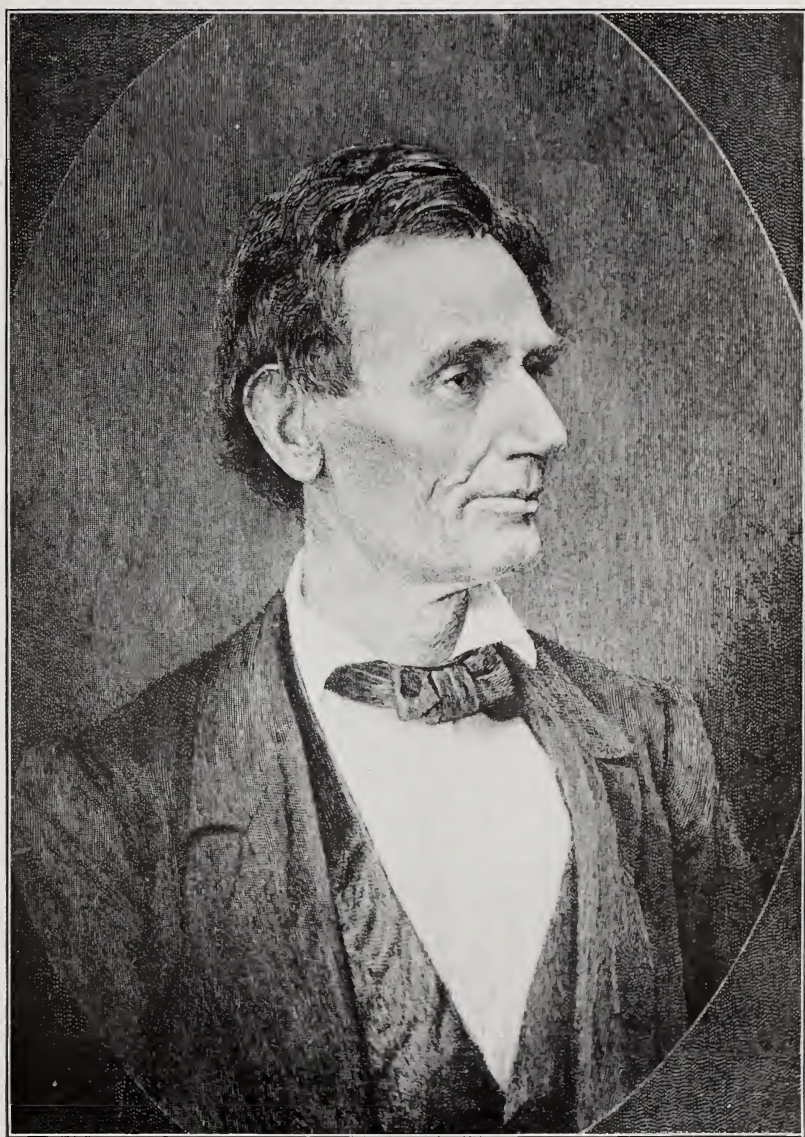
Asked to state the appearance and demeanor of the two men during that campaign, the Hon. Horace White, who accompanied Lincoln to every point at which he spoke, very courteously put his comments into the following lines:

"I have been asked what was the demeanor of the two men toward each other during these debates. Their demeanor on the platform was that of rather cool politeness.

There was nothing like comradeship between them. Douglas began the campaign by assuming an air of superiority and patronage and toleration toward Lincoln, which he did not really feel. It was a part of his political game to make the most of his own greater prestige. If he had met Lincoln everywhere on terms of his usual geniality and good fellowship the Democrats would have been obliged to confess that the two champions were on equal footing, whereas they had always believed and insisted that Douglas was much the greater man of the two. Of course Lincoln would not tolerate any claims of superiority. His demeanor on the platform was framed to repel and rebuke such airs. Off the platform they did not meet at all during the campaign. Once they were on the grounds of the State Fair at Centralia at the same time, but they did not come together, although each was aware of the other's presence. I was there and I noted this fact, and I drew the conclusion that the avoidance was intentional on both sides. This did not signify personal animosity but it was the result of Douglas' policy to keep Lincoln out of the limelight of his own greater effulgence."

Lincoln was human. The sweetness of his human foibles must stand as a constant reminder of what a human being in a human way can do for lasting blessings to fellow men and glory to himself. To carry him skyward is to lose him altogether. Though at times he displayed a high degree of nervousness and anger, his gentleness came invariably to the rescue and nobody appreciated his human virtues more than his great rival, Douglas, a man of many virtues which have been hidden by the overpowering shadows of that other who for so long a time watched and envied the great distance which separated them. What a sommersault fickle fortune turned with respect to those great rivals!

During this fierce and noisy campaign, Mrs. Douglas was the constant companion of her husband. She mingled with the ladies of the little villages and participated in all their primitive functions with a heartiness which captivated everyone, and by that unconscious heartiness she made a doubtful



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

vote a Douglas vote. If overcome by the fatigues of uncertain hours and long journeys, she did not permit the fact to be noticed, and not until her husband left the field a victor, did she leave it to consider her personal comfort.

PART XXVII,

While the enemy was divided in opinion as to the best plan of opposing Douglas,³²⁵ the Illinois Democratic State Committee were united, and strengthened their lines to the last detail.

Two years before, when it was feared that the success of the National party hung in the balance,³²⁶ the services of Douglas were demanded in every quarter; in no place more than in the State of Pennsylvania. And how did he treat those demands? With characteristic generosity and readiness and supreme contempt for the heavy tax the service promised to impose upon his health and purse, he responded and filled every appointment which had been made for him. When, therefore, in 1858, the committee considered it imperative that some of the beneficiaries return the favors, in part at least, invitations were sent to prominent Democrats from other states to speak in Illinois. But, in probable fear of administration frowns, some expressed regret for sickness, others expressed regret for previous engagements and others expressed regret for pressure of business; some engagement or another detained them all, though all expressed sincere hope for the election of Douglas, with but one exception. Breckinridge's hope was so thoroughly circumscribed with criticism that little hope remained.

“Versailles, K’y., Oct. 4, 1858.

Dear Sir—I received this morning, your letters of the 28th and 29th ult., written as chairman of the Democratic

³²⁵ Isaac Cook and other Buchanan office holders favored direct support of the Republican ticket at the polls, while others like R. B. Carpenter favored support of the Danite ticket. The latter rushed into print about it in November, 1858. (In the *Chicago Democrat*.)

³²⁶ Douglas told Cutts that it was feared for a time the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would defeat Buchanan.

Central Committee of Illinois, also one of Mr. V. Hickox, who informs me that he is a member of the same committee. My absence from home will account for the delay of this answer.

In these letters it is said that I am reported to have expressed a desire that Mr. Douglas shall defeat Mr. Lincoln in their contest for a seat in the Senate of the United States, and a willingness to visit Illinois and make public speeches in aid of such result; and if these reports are true, I am invited to deliver addresses at certain points in the State.

The rumor of my readiness to visit Illinois and address the people in the present canvass is without foundation. I do not propose to leave Kentucky for the purpose of mingling in the political discussions in other states. The two or three speeches which I delivered recently in this state rested on peculiar grounds which I need not now discuss.

The rumor to which you refer is true. I have often, in conversation expressed the wish that Mr. Douglas may succeed over his Republican competitor. But it is due to candor to say, that this preference is not founded on his course at the late session of Congress, and would not exist if I supposed it would be construed as an endorsement of the attitude which he then chose to assume toward his party, or of all the positions he has taken in the present canvass. It is not necessary to enlarge on these things. I will only add, that my preference rests mainly on these considerations: That the Kansas question is practically ended—that Mr. Douglas, in recent speeches, has explicitly declared his adherence to the regular Democratic party organization—that he seems to be the candidate of the Illinois Democracy, and the most formidable opponent in that state of the Republican party, and that on more than one occasion during his public life he has defended the Union of the states and the rights of the states with fidelity, courage and great ability.

I have not desired to say anything upon this or any other subject about which a difference may be supposed to exist in our political family, but I did not feel at liberty to decline an answer to the courteous letter of your committee.

With cordial wishes for the harmony of the Illinois Democracy, and the hope that your great and growing state, which has never yet given a sectional vote, may continue true to our constitutional Union,

I am, very respectfully your obedient servant,

John C. Breckinridge.

Hon. John Moore, Chairman of the Committee."

This lecture upon the political orthodoxy of Douglas was written by the man who, in response to the congratulations of neighbors, upon his nomination for the Vice Presidency, said at Lexington, on the 9th of June, 1856: "The whole power of the Democratic organization is pledged to the following proposition: That Congress shall not interpose upon this subject (slavery) in the states, in the territories, or in the District of Columbia; that the people of each territory shall determine the question for themselves, and be admitted into the Union upon a footing of perfect equality with the original states, without discrimination on account of the allowance or prohibition of slavery."

It will be remembered of this gentleman that it was he who expressed surprise that no one had thought of the Dixon amendment sooner. It was the same gentleman who, arm in arm with the same Douglas, paced the hall of Representatives superintending the death agonies of the little Spartan band fighting the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which was whipped through by the Pierce administration. It was the same gentleman too, who would agree to no settlement of the Lecompton controversy until "another" had been consulted, which meant death to party harmony and the end of the Democratic party. It came from the gentleman who was playing to the Presidential chair with his every resource; with Douglas when Douglas was given absolute authority to push through the Kansas-Nebraska bill and against him when it was thought Buchanan had killed him off. Douglas therefore, was compelled to fight alone, the tremendous odds placed against him.

It should be noticed, too, at this point, that Breckinridge states the cause for the abandonment of Douglas, to have been the latter's position on the Lecompton question.

Against those odds, he won, after which he retired to his home in Chicago, to remain a few days before departing upon a journey southward.

That return was made the signal to his neighbors and friends without regard to party affiliation, for a demonstration of their joy, and with a spontaneity rivalling an Arabian Night's scene, a monster gathering formed in procession and marched to the Tremont House to express their heartiest congratulations in true American fashion. Three times three cheers were given him, to which he responded from the same balcony which had served for his rostrum when opening the campaign four months before.

Said Douglas: “* * * it is the triumph of the principle of self-government over Congressional interference and executive dictation. * * * With the result of this election let all the asperities, the excitements and angry passions which have been aroused during the contest be buried forever. It is neither just nor magnanimous to rejoice over a vanquished foe. Let us teach our political opponents that although we have triumphed, the victory is for their good as well as ours. Illinois is now greeted all over the Union—north, south, east and west—as the only northern state that was not overwhelmed in the recent elections. To what cause do the Democracy of Illinois owe this triumph? It is due to fidelity to principle. In Illinois the true principle of popular sovereignty has been sustained; in Illinois the Cincinnati platform has been strictly adhered to; in Illinois there have been no new tests interpolated into the Democratic platform; in Illinois a liberal, tolerant, just and generous policy has prevailed, and in Illinois a glorious triumph has rewarded that policy.”

In that month of November, partly on business for the estate of his children and partly to recuperate, Douglas, with his family, left for a trip to New Orleans. At St. Louis, news

of his presence quickly spread through the city and at night he was honored with a serenade and to it, Douglas replied happily with a speech. The news spread to Memphis from which place a large committee at once proceeded up the river to meet Douglas' boat and virtually kidnapping him into its charge, they tendered him an ovation. On the following day he made his Memphis speech wherein he reviewed carefully the Illinois campaign and very naturally called particular attention to the issue which won it, pronouncing as he dwelt upon the subject, his oft repeated declaration that no political creed was sound which could not be proclaimed equally as well in one state as another. The manifestations of approval which were accorded him at every point must have been reassuring. Approaching New Orleans at 9 o'clock at night, Douglas was received by the city authorities and the citizens amidst the ringing of cannon and in the glare of an illumination. He was escorted to the St. Charles Hotel, where he was lodged as the guest of the city and addressed by the Hon. Pierre Soule who congratulated him on his brilliant victory. On December 6th, he spoke to the people of New Orleans in Odd Fellows Hall where again he declared that he stood for principles which could be proclaimed as well in Louisiana as in Illinois, and from the sentiments of approval which prevailed, it would seem beyond question that New Orleans sustained him.

“* * * I have, therefore, yielded to your solicitations, to make a few remarks on the political topics which now agitate the public mind throughout the length and breadth of our glorious Republic, and I have done so the more readily as I desire to know whether the principles which are admitted to be sound and orthodox in the free states can pass current in the slave states.

“For the last twenty-five years,” he continued, “I have been in public life; fifteen years have been spent in the Congress of the United States, and the whole of my life has been devoted to the discovery and elucidation of some common ground on which northern and southern men might stand on terms of equality and justice.”

The life efforts of Douglas were declared in those words!

As a further proof that with the people at least, Douglas might speak his mind with impunity upon the subject of slavery, he proceeded to speak of the Dred Scott decision and therein he referred to the feature of so-called unfriendly legislation with the utmost freedom.

“The Democracy,” said Douglas, “in the first place, accepts the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Dred Scott, as an authoritative interpretation of the constitution. In accordance with that decision, we hold that slaves are property and hence on an equality with all other kinds of property, and that the owner of a slave has the same right to move into a territory and carry his slave property with him, as the owner of any other property has to go there and carry his property. All citizens of the United States, no matter whether they come from the north or the south, from a free state or a slave state, can enter a territory with their property on an equal footing. And I apprehend, when you arrive there with your property, of whatever description, it is subject to the local laws of the territory. How can your slave property be protected without local law, any more than any other kind of property? The constitution gives you the right to go into a territory and carry your slaves with you, the same as any other species of property; but it does not punish any man for stealing your slaves any more than stealing any other kind of property. Hence, whatever jurisdiction the legislature possesses over other property, it has over slave property—no more, no less. Let me ask you, as southern men, whether you can hold slaves anywhere unless protected by local law? Would not the inaction of the local legislature, its refusal to provide a slave code, or to punish offences against that species of property, exclude slavery just as effectually as a constitutional prohibition? Then, let me ask you, if the people of a territory refuse to pass a slave code, how are you going to make them do it?

If the local legislature imposes a tax on horses, or any other kind of property, you may think it a hardship, but how are you going to help it? Just so it is with regard to traffic in liquors. If you are dealing in liquors you have the same right to take your liquors into the territory that anybody else has to take any other species of property. You may pass through and take your liquors *in transitu*, and you will be protected in your right of property under the constitution of the United States; but if you open the packages they become subject to the local law; and should the Maine law happen to prevail in the territory, you had better travel with your liquors. Hence, if the local legislature has the same power over slave property as over every other species of property, what right have you to complain of that equality? But if you do complain, where is your remedy? And let me say to you that if you oppose this just doctrine, if you attempt to exempt slaves from the same rules that apply to every other kind of property, you will abandon your strongest ground of defense against the assaults of the Black Republicans and Abolitionists."

He then proceeded to elaborate on the influence of climate which Webster used in his Seventh of March speech on slavery north and south and very aptly brought himself face to face with the temperate zones or central regions, at which point he illustrated his consistency and fairness in a manner to captivate every fair minded man.

"But in the great central regions, where there may be some doubt as to the effect of natural causes, who ought to decide the question except the people residing there, who have all their interest there; who have gone there to live with their wives and children? Any party which attempts, by a system of coercion, to force any institutions into regions not adapted to them, violates the great principles on which our government is founded."

At this point, when concluding his remarks, a voice cried, "Cuba! Cuba!"

It has been said that Douglas mentioned the subject of his own initiative for the purpose of indicating to the south a place, or at least a manner by which the increasing influence in the Senate of the northern states might be offset by the annexation and admission of Cuba. He did not initiate the subject at all and what is more, he stamped upon the subject all previously expressed views of popular sovereignty.

"I am in favor," said he, "of expansion as fast as consistent with our interests and the increase and development of our population and resources. But I am not in favor of that policy unless the great principle of non-intervention and the right of the people to decide the question of slavery, and all other domestic questions, for themselves shall be maintained. If that principle prevail, we have a future before us more glorious than that of any other people that ever existed."

The better to extend his period of relaxation, Douglas determined, at New Orleans to take steamer to New York, touching Cuba on his way. There, during his few days of stay, he was treated with every mark of courtesy by the authorities and people, who had heard so much about him.

In due course he reached New York, where he found that elaborate preparations had been made to receive him. Through resolutions, passed by the Common Council, unanimously, the freedom of the city had been extended to him with an invitation to become its guest. He was met at the wharf by a committee from the Council and escorted to the Everett House and while sojourning there for a few days, he was treated with every demonstration of regard. Few public men have been accorded more attention than Douglas during those few days.

At Philadelphia, the same desire to do him honor was manifested. A committee of leading men went to New York to tender him a public reception in Independence Hall, pursuant to the resolutions of the Council of Philadelphia. William E. Lehman, on behalf of the citizens' committee introduced him to the mayor and council and in turn, Mayor

Henry addressed a few introductory words to the Senator, who responded in a happy and especially patriotic vein; a spirit which expressed his patriotism as much as any utterances he ever made.

At Havre De Grace, a committee persuaded him to stop over in Baltimore, which he did and addressed a very large assemblage of citizens on Monument Square. Upon entering the car to finish his journey to Washington, he was handed a telegram stating that he had just been re-elected to the Senate.³²⁷

A royal welcome had been extended him everywhere. Enthusiasm greeted him upon every side, north and south and over into Cuba. Without exception, he was treated with every consideration of distinction and warm demonstrations of affection. Not until he reached the city wherein he had achieved the fame that had brought him such distinguished consideration and enthusiasm, did he meet with anything but welcome. It remained for Washington to do the first ungenerous deed. A political frost greeted him; a killing frost. His party had attempted to degrade him by relieving him during his absence of his chairmanship of the Committee on Territories, the position which he had held for 13 years, 2 in the House and 11 in the Senate. During that period, he had reported and successfully carried through Congress, bills for the admission of the states of Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Oregon and Minnesota, and during the same period, he had reported and carried through successfully, bills for the organization of the territories of Oregon, Minnesota, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Kansas and Nebraska. With this vast work accomplished, he found little time to consider other questions of state. In view of such experience and his singular fitness to continue the work, one is justified in asking what apology can be offered for the small politics which prompted

³²⁷ Up until the last moment, Buchanan hoped for a defection in the legislature. Breese entertained the thought that he would be taken up unexpectedly, and when the Belleville Democrat made the announcement that "Judge Breese is not now, nor will be a candidate for the United States Senate in opposition to Mr. Douglas," the Judge indignantly demanded of Mr. Boyakin, the editor: "I demand as a right to know who requested you to say, as you have in an editorial of your paper of the 4th, that Judge Breese, etc."

James Buchanan, so-called President of a great Republic to demand the action of the Democratic caucus which removed him. If another instance so mean can be recalled, the average memory will be put to great inconvenience to locate it.

It remained for the loquacious Dr. Gwin, publicly to state the reasons which prompted the political execution²²⁸ of Douglas, in a speech delivered in July, 1859, at Grass Valley, Calif., which could not reach the eastern states for a very long time. Said this very small man, of the Senator who had made it possible to enjoy his tenure of office, "The doctrines he had avowed in his Freeport speech had been condemned in the Senate by his removal from the chairmanship of the Territorial Committee of that body."

When that speech reached the East, Douglas replied to it by letter addressed to the editor of the San Francisco National, from which a brief extract may be taken to prove that he entertained no new view when he made his reply to Lincoln's second question. "If you cannot conveniently procure the 'Congressional Globe,' I refer you to an editorial article in the Washington Union of October 5, 1858, which it was reported, received the sanction of the President of the United States previously to its publication, a few weeks after my 'Freeport speech' had been delivered."

From the tenor of that editorial, it was made to appear that Douglas had been laying the foundation for his Freeport doctrine for ten years, and yet in 1858, Lincoln is credited with surprising Douglas into making such an answer. Said the Union: "Thus we have shown that precisely the position assumed by Judge Douglas at Freeport had been maintained by him in 1850, in the debates and votes on the Utah and New Mexican bills, and in 1854 on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and have shown that it was owing to his opposition that clauses depriving territorial legislatures of the power of

²²⁸ In speaking of the incident, Senator Pugh very aptly quoted the following:
"We oft have heard of Linford law,
Where in the morn they hang and draw,
But sit in judgment after."

excluding slavery from their jurisdictions were not expressly inserted in those measures.”

But it mattered not that Buchanan in his letter of acceptance; that Toucey, Cobb, Breckinridge, Benjamin, Badger, Butler and others by the score in speeches had recognized the same doctrine, the Dred Scott decision had presented a much more serviceable doctrine, a sort of strangle hold on the adversary which Douglas was breaking and for his offence his political death warrant was signed by the leaders of extreme views, South. Brown of Mississippi while³²⁹ in debate on the Legislative Appropriation bill made his famous effort to overcome the Douglas objections by insisting in a speech on a code of laws for the purpose of protecting slavery in the territories.³³⁰ Taking as he said, the position of Douglas for granted, Brown declared that he wished to hear from other Democratic Senators from the free states, and to know whether they would vote to protect the rights of slaveholders in the territories. Nobody arising for some minutes after Brown resumed his seat, Douglas arose and observed that if no other northern Democratic Senator desired to be heard, he craved the attention of the Senate for a while. He thanked Mr. Brown for taking his position for granted. Evidently, a feeling of unrest prevailed among the Southern Senators, who, through Mr. Brown desired to test all the northern free-state Senators. To such as have maintained that he played to the South for its support in his 1860 presidential aspirations, let them listen to some of Senator Douglas' declarations made upon the floor of the Senate in answer to Senator Brown:

“But,” said Douglas, “the Senator says that there is something peculiar in slave property, requiring further protection than other species of property. If so, it is the misfortune of those who own that species of property. He tells us that, if the territorial legislature fails to pass a slave code for the territories, fails to pass police regulations to protect

³²⁹ February 23.

³³⁰ On January 18, 1860, Brown introduced a resolution to this effect.

slave property, the absence of such legislation practically excludes slave property as effectually as a constitutional prohibition would exclude it. I agree to that proposition. He says furthermore, that it is competent for the territorial legislature, by the exercise of the taxing power, and other functions within the limits of the Constitution, to adopt unfriendly legislation which practically drives slavery out of the territory. I agree to that proposition. That is just what I said, and all I said, and just what I meant by my Freeport speech in Illinois, upon which there has been so much comment throughout the country."

Brown seems to have been forced to adopt the very same views of unfriendly legislation as Douglas. In truth, it will be seen how the fact came to be acknowledged pretty generally in the South, that in the face of adverse territorial legislation, or a lack of legislative protection, slavery could not thrive in a United States territory; wherefore Brown's resolutions³³¹ demanding of Congress the enactment of laws for the especial protection of slavery, and wherefore the pertinent question of Brown, addressed to the senators from the free states. The position of Douglas could not be controverted and in the spirit of the boy who stumps his toe, the administration followers proceeded to belabor Douglas as the offending impediment to the further progress of slavery. The Davis resolutions were introduced in the Senate for the purpose of building a party platform for the Charleston convention upon which Douglas in the face of his Dorr letter, could not stand, and when Davis hurled his furious philippic against popular sovereignty, it was but notice that the administration senators proposed as they had done time out of mind, to manipulate the policies of the party without interference from middle course men, and to select the party candidates at Charleston without interference from opinionated northern men. Calhoun had demanded as the *sine qua non* for peace that the southern section must be conciliated and that too by complying with its demands. In so many words

³³¹ February 2, 1860, and debated for three months.

Davis expressed himself and in so many words Davis perceiving the time at hand when northern compliance with such a demand could not be expected, it was decreed that the time had come to cut loose from the irritating opinions of the North.

Floyd, the Secretary of War, at once began the process of selecting officers of well known opinions, and establishing them over the South and of sending to remote regions, others of decided Union views. The arsenals and military posts of the South were strengthened and munitions were placed within them at the expense of northern points of defense. Toucey, though a northern man, through influences toward the same plan, found it convenient to place the southern seaboard fortifications into a state of repair and to send war vessels as far from the country as possible. Cobb of the Treasury contributed his measure of assistance and thus silently but thoroughly, the slave interests in the Senate and elsewhere proceeded, how successfully, is too well known to history.

Douglas and his co-called schism stopped the spread of slavery. With its defeat in Kansas, the adoption by New Mexico of a slave code became more or less a formality. Of course Douglas did not participate in the local disturbances which overcame the presence of the slave interests sent there to make of Kansas a slave state, but in a vastly larger way, his influence and his personality did what no end of personal valor might have accomplished upon the prairies of Kansas. From this hour the figure of Douglas became heroic. His fight for a principle and his personal sacrifices blazed the way for Republican success. A word from Douglas, might have delayed that success many years. At this period every man who loved fair play, saw in Douglas' efforts just what he had fought for at all times. The circumstances were a little different, perhaps, nothing more, nothing less. His contentions had led to their logical conclusions and results; the great west and northwest had become an irresistible force as Douglas had reckoned. The ultimate end of slavery exten-

sion had been reached. And if he might have been permitted to continue, who shall say that his exertions would not have been directed to the extinction of slavery by degrees within the slave states themselves? In any event, the fact had been demonstrated that he was not the subservient tool of the slave interests and he never had been. His former southern friends now believed and many of them charged him with being an open enemy of the peculiar institution. His tenacity of purpose, his fearlessness of political or other consequences had done more than the world has been inclined to lay to his credit. With due respect to the memory of Lincoln, it is not to be said that he would have braved party censure with any bolder declarations than those uttered by Douglas. The utterances of Douglas in 1859 and 1860 were bolder than the utterances of Lincoln during the campaign of 1858. Verily, the oft repeated statement of Douglas' son, Stephen, made to the writer, that his father was no politician, is true literally. He was no politician, he was a patriot.

The utterances of Douglas immediately became much more interesting to the people of the north than formerly and yet he continued to maintain the same principles.

PART XXVIII.

In June, 1859, J. B. Dorr, of Dubuque, Iowa, addressed a letter to Douglas asking the latter whether his friends might consider themselves at liberty to present his name to the Charleston convention as a candidate for the presidency. To that letter, Douglas made this reply:

“Washington, Wednesday, June 22, 1859.

My Dear Sir: I have received your letter inquiring whether my friends are at liberty to present my name in the Charleston convention for the Presidential nomination.

Before the question can be finally determined, it will be necessary to understand distinctly upon what issue the canvass is to be conducted. If, as I have full faith they will, the

Democratic party shall determine, in the Presidential election of 1860, to adhere to the principles embodied in the compromise measures of 1850, and ratified by the people in the Presidential election of 1852, and re-affirmed in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and incorporated into the Cincinnati platform in 1856, as expounded by Mr. Buchanan in his letter accepting the nomination, and approved by the people—in that event my friends will be at liberty to present my name to the convention, if they see proper to do so. If, on the contrary, it shall become the policy of the Democratic party—which I cannot anticipate—to repudiate these, their time-honored principles, on which we have achieved so many patriotic triumphs, and if, in lieu of them, the convention shall interpolate into the creed of the party such new issues as the revival of the African slave-trade, or a Congressional slave code for the Territories, or the doctrine that the Constitution of the United States either establishes or prohibits slavery in the Territories, beyond the power of the people legally to control it as other property, it is due to candor to say that, in such event, I could not accept the nomination if tendered me. Trusting that this answer will be deemed sufficiently explicit,

I am, very respectfully, your friend,

S. A. Douglas.

To J. B. Dorr, Esq., Dubuque, Iowa.”

The young northwest, for so many years the compliant follower of its older sister, the south, had broken away from its leading strings and over all that section, the letter of Douglas produced great enthusiasm.

Illinois led off with her State convention on January 4th, at which the delegates elected were instructed to vote for Douglas at the Charleston convention. The Cincinnati platform was reaffirmed unanimously. The African slave trade was condemned. A desire was expressed to take to the United States Supreme Court a case involving the right of a Territorial legislature to legislate upon the question of slavery and it pledged the party to stand by the decision.

Indiana followed on the 11th of January, the convention instructing for Douglas with 26 delegates. Ohio followed with 46 delegates. Minnesota and Iowa followed and Wisconsin and Michigan, giving a total vote in the Charleston convention of 132, representing 600,000 Democratic votes, a number equal to all the Democratic votes in the 15 southern states, one third the Democratic vote in the Union and 66 votes in the Electoral College.

To the Dred Scott decision may be charged the sudden and pronounced revulsion of southern sentiment with respect to Popular sovereignty. Prior to the appearance of that decision it was regarded with great favor. Under failure in Kansas to enlarge the boundaries of slavery, the decision came as a Godsend and thereafter, under southern interpretation, Popular Sovereignty became a useless and abandoned "makeshift." Southern leaders switched and with the re-appearance of Douglas as a formidable presidential possibility, complaints arose that it would be necessary to modify the Cincinnati platform to meet altered conditions of thought in their section—which meant a challenge to Douglas that his ultimatum issued in the Dorr letter must be nullified in the Charleston platform. Such a course had but one interpretation; Douglas who would not yield, must be crowded off, failing in which, the game of secession—a sort of practice game—must be tried upon him.

Douglas was charged with being the first man who presumed to dictate party doctrine. In the unsettled tendency following he appealed to the public through the columns of Harper's Monthly Magazine.³³² He made therein his position unassailable, but he ignored or failed to comprehend the settled determination of the southern wing of his party to cling tenaciously to the alleged privileges which the Dred Scott ruling seemed to permit. Like Spanish grandees, southern leaders so long accustomed to rule without dictation, refused to unbend by any compromise measure to the adverse sentiment which they as plainly as anyone could decipher

³³² September, 1859.

had grown powerful enough at last to control the policies of the country. The parting of the ways was close at hand. Those southern leaders might condescend to become charitable to a rival; they might concede when the concession was requested, not demanded, and so, rather than re-affirm adherence to party doctrine as declared in the Cincinnati platform, especially at the demand of Douglas, party suicide was declared to be preferable.

The Ohio Democrats with a hot campaign on their hands had requested Douglas to visit the state and speak to their people. Very different from those who had business or sickness or other engagements to prevent when the Illinois committee desired some outside help in its heroic fight, Douglas accepted the invitation and at his own expense stumped the state, stepping over into Pittsburg by request, to make an extra speech. At the latter place he requested all good Democrats to stand by the nominee of the party, no matter what might be their preference in the first instance.

In the face of that request, Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney General to Buchanan, in an anonymous answer³³³ to the Harper's Magazine article attacked the party fidelity of Douglas. If, as had been said aforetime, that Douglas, when his cause was just, was the strongest man in debate that ever sat in the Senate, Judge Black must have had occasion to feel something of that sentiment when the stinging oral reply from Douglas appeared very soon thereafter, from Ohio.

Lincoln, recovered from the soreness of defeat, could not resist the temptation to follow up his rival in Ohio, which he did, speaking at Columbus and Cincinnati.

And here at the point of considering the reply to Black, is presented the best of places to consider the charge of ambition which has been laid against Douglas as the basest of his delinquencies. Therein he said:

"Suppose it were true, that I am a Presidential aspirant; does that fact justify a combination by a host of other Presi-

³³³ Published in the Washington Constitution. Douglas in a speech at Wooster replied a few days afterwards. Black published an appendix and on Nov. 17th the rejoinder of Douglas was published.

dential aspirants, each of whom may imagine that his success depends upon my destruction, and the preaching a crusade against me for boldly avowing now the same principles to which they and I were pledged at the last Presidential election? Is this a sufficient excuse for devising a new test of political orthodoxy; and under pretext of fidelity to it, getting up a set of bolting delegates to the Charleston Convention in those states where they are unable to control the regular organization? . . .

What authority has the Attorney General, aside from his fears and hopes, for saying that I am 'a working, struggling candidate for the Presidency?' My best friends know that I have positively and peremptorily refused to have anything to do with the delegates of the conventions in the several states by which the delegates to the Charleston Convention are to be appointed. They know that, personally I do not desire the Presidency at this time³³⁴—that I prefer a seat in the Senate for the next six years, with the chance of a re-election, to being President for four years, at my period of life. They know that I will take no steps to obtain the Charleston nomination, that I will make no sacrifice of principle, no concealment of opinions, no concession to power for the purpose of getting it. . . . In other words, I prefer the position of Senator, or even that of private citizen, where I would be at liberty to defend and maintain the well-defined principles of the Democratic party, to accepting a Presidential nomination upon a platform incompatible with the principles of self government in the territories, or the reserved rights of states, or the perpetuity of the Union under the Constitution."

On November 16th,³³⁵ while suffering from an unusually severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism, he concluded his formal rejoinder to Black's reply in these words: "I am too feeble, however, to add more. Here let the controversy close for the present, and perhaps forever." Between the original appearance of the Harpers' article, Black's reply

³³⁴ Beyond a doubt, Douglas preferred his advanced position in the Senate to the presidency.

³³⁵ Published Nov. 17.

and the rejoinder of Douglas, little else in political circles was talked about, and the latter's reputation as a pamphleteer rose almost to his reputation as a ready debater.

Thus Black for the administration; his lighter shade of Brown for the extremists and Green for both, conspired to make a platform of the Davis resolution introduced for the purpose, upon which Douglas could not stand, and having driven him from the platform, little trouble was anticipated in driving him from the party.

When the speech of Gwin first floated over the Rocky Mountains, little more of it was noticed than his allusion to the cause of the removal of Douglas from the chairmanship of his committee, but when on December 19, 1859, Senator Pugh called the attention of the Senate to another part of the same speech, another and a very peculiar specification was found added to the list of charges preferred against Douglas, one which did not sit comfortably upon the minds of some of the extremists, whose arguments were sure to become a nullity if Gwin's contention secured any credence. In that Grass Valley speech, and as Pugh discovered in another delivered during the last days of the 35th Congress, Gwin stated that neither he nor the other Democratic Senators understood, when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was before the Senate, that the people of Kansas could legislate on the subject of slavery during the territorial condition; that had they understood the bill in the light of the Freeport interpretation put upon it by Douglas, it would have been defeated. Mr. Gwin in his Grass Valley speech furthermore charged that if Douglas entertained the Freeport view at the time of the passage of the bill, he acted in bad faith with the Senate and the country in not saying so "before the bill became a law."

The Washington Union had gone very deeply into the history of Senator Douglas' official career to prove that he had entertained openly the Freeport view for ten years. Are we to understand from Gwin that the administration cohorts entertained opinions whose elasticity might fit any emer-

gency? With views so contradictory as to slap each other in the face; with views shifting with every want and every demand made upon the free states, how, let it be asked, were the less mercurial natures of the North to remain long in touch with their southern brethren in politics? Douglas more especially. No doubt the explanation of Davis' support of Cass upon his Nicholson letter, to-wit: mental reservation, applied to all measures which affected the institution of slavery.

In the course of debate, Gwin had heard Chase, Pratt, Shields, Badger and others and yet in the face of instructions from his state to vote for the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he had the audacity to make his Grass Valley charge.

Quoth Badger, in the presence of Gwin: "The position as it stands, is an unrestricted and unreserved reference to the territorial authorities, or the people themselves, to determine upon the question of slavery. . . . If the people of these territories choose to exclude slavery, so far from considering it a wrong done to me or to my constituents, I shall not complain of it. It is their own business."

It scarcely seems possible for mental reservation to flourish in the face of such a debate; but at the same time it should have been observed by this time that the mental and other gymnastics of the devotees of slavery had become elastic and elusive to the point of the grotesque. And while actively employed in dissecting their own platforms and demanding new interpretations, it might be pertinent to inquire if the slave code passed by the territorial legislature of New Mexico during this year 1859 received the approval of those who were fighting the right of a territorial legislature to pass laws affecting slavery. Very likely the slave code of New Mexico was approved, because it favored slavery extension. In common fairness then, if the legislature of one territory might pass a slave code why should not another territorial legislature pass an anti-slave code? When Douglas asked such a question he was branded a deserter. When the bogus legislature of Kansas passed a slave code, the action

of the legislature was acceptable. When however the Free Soilers obtained control of the territory, their actions immediately became null and void. When a person makes up his mind that he will not be pleased unless he has his own way, it has been the common practice to make him accept the rule of the majority and behave himself with common decency. The extreme members of the slave party had decreed that if they were not given what they demanded, they would take it anyway and get away from a hateful majority.

On January 16th, 1860, Douglas introduced a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to report a bill providing for the protection of the states against invasion by the authorities or inhabitants of any other state or territory. The occasion thereof proceeded from a communication from the Governor of Virginia to the effect that he believed a conspiracy existed for the object of invading Virginia and attempting the rescue of John Brown. The measure became one of the most important of the session and it was his last fight for his party. On the 23d, he spoke to his resolutions with all his old time vigor and to his old time admirers who thronged the galleries. From that hour his differences with his party widened and his party proceeded brutally to throw him without the party pale. The present moment was one very well timed for Davis to proclaim some sentiments which he put into practical operation not long afterwards. Quoting the words of the President's message, "I am at a loss to discover any provision in the Constitution or laws of the United States which would authorize me to take steps for this purpose." (That is, preservation of the peace between the states,) Davis proceeded at once to use the remarks of Douglas to widen the breach between the Senator and the President as well to exploit the identical doctrine. To that speech, Douglas replied with a spirit which must have been convincing and more or less disconcerting.

The slave party seemed anxious to offend the anti-slavery Senators and Members of the Lower House in general and to offend Douglas in particular upon every possible occasion.

Pending the election of a Speaker, John B. Clark of Missouri amidst a shower of objections, proposed a preamble and resolution to the effect that no candidate for Speaker should be deemed fit to be Speaker who had indorsed or recommended a certain book entitled "The Impending Crisis of the South—How to meet it."

Clark made speeches discussing the merits of the book, and otherwise interrupting the election of a Speaker until February 1, when Governor Pennington was elected Speaker. Over in the Senate Davis, in effect to force a platform upon the Charleston Convention objectionable to Douglas, introduced³³⁶ his set of slave holding resolutions, a thoroughly discreditable and illegitimate performance on the part of the man who had stood against attempts to "give judicial exposition of the Constitution, and to usurp judicial power," in Congress.

The first resolution relates to the sovereignty of the states and the importance of the inhabitants of each minding their own business. The second affirms the legality of slavery from the beginning of the Government and declares that no change of feeling can justify its attack. The third insists upon the absolute equality of the states. The fourth and most important, was first couched in language which seemed "after a conference with friends," as undesirable and was modified. In its first form, the resolution was made to read as follows:

"4. Resolved, That neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly nature, possesses the power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common territories; but it is the duty of the Federal Government there to afford for that, as for other species of property, the needful protection; and, if experience should at any time prove that the Judiciary does not possess power to insure adequate protection, it will then become the duty of Congress to supply such deficiency."

³³⁶ February 2, 1860. Debated continuously until May 24, 1860, when a vote on the first resolution was reached.

The modified form and the one in which it was passed at the end of three months of debate, is as follows:

"4. Resolved, That neither Congress nor a territorial legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possesses power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains."

Resolution 5 demands that if experience should teach that the Judicial and Executive authority should not possess means to insure adequate protection, and if the territorial government should refuse to provide necessary remedies, it will be the duty of Congress to supply them.

Resolution 6 affirms that until a territory is ready for statehood and not until then, may it have anything to say about the institution of slavery.

Resolution 7 demands an honest observance of the Fugitive Slave law. Douglas could not be present to participate in all the long debates which followed the introduction of those resolutions. Senator Pugh of Ohio, his ardent friend and admirer, opposed them, however, with all his ability. Davis and Benjamin might, as has been said, "dragoon them through the Senate with aid from Buchanan's administration; but Douglas commanded the votes of the Northern Democracy, and to the edict of a pro-slavery caucus he defiantly opposed the solid millions who followed his lead in the free states."³³⁷ The debate upon the resolutions was continued purposely until long after the adjournment of the Charleston convention in order that the suggestions made in the Senate might be followed by delegates to the convention. Nor was that all the opposition sought to do. They sought to humiliate Douglas in his own state by attempting to secure the delegation by a contest. John Dougherty, the Danite candidate for treasurer, who had received less than 5,000 votes, audaciously issued a manifesto in the *Cairo Gazette* wherein

³³⁷ Blaine, Vol. I, 151.

he read out of the party, the entire Illinois democracy and insisted that the Douglas delegates should not be seated in the Charleston convention. In the State of New York, Fernando Wood, then mayor of New York City, headed a contesting delegation, but in each case, when reached on the third day of the session, the contestants were thrown out.

Francis B. Flournoy, of Arkansas, was chosen temporary chairman and on the second day, Caleb Cushing, was made permanent chairman of the convention.

The free states, 18 in number, very naturally could control the committees formed by the selection of one delegate from each state; but through the apostacy of the delegates from California and Oregon, the fifteen slave states were permitted to control the committees.

On the fourth day, no progress had been made. On the fifth, Mr. Avery, of North Carolina, from a majority of the Committee on Platform reported the series of resolutions then pending before the Senate, as the platform for the convention.

Mr. Henry B. Payne, of Ohio, on behalf of the minority or free state members reported a platform, which as finally modified, was presented by Mr. Samuels of Iowa as follows:

"1. Resolved, That we the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject-matters, and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the territories;

2. Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law.

3. Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is communication between the Atlantic and Pacific states; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast, at the earliest practical period.

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. Resolved, That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution and revolutionary in effect."

Mr. Avery's report from the majority was ultimately modified by him to read as follows:

"Resolved, That that platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati, be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

First, That the government of a territory organized by an act of Congress, is provisional and temporary; and during its existence, all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the territory without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by congressional or territorial legislation.

Second, That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the territories, and whenever else its constitutional authority extends.

Third, That when the settlers in a territory having an adequate population form a state constitution, the right of sovereignty commences and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other states; and the state thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

Fourth, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

Fifth, That the enactments of state legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Sixth, That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

Whereas, one of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad, from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable period.

(The report concludes with resolves 5 and 6 of the Douglas platform.)

Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, disagreeing with both reports, proposed simply to reaffirm the Cincinnati platform and stop.

Mr. Avery in support of his resolutions made a very candid statement from the standpoint of the slave holders, declaring among other things that the Cincinnati platform was ambiguous³³⁸ and was construed by the South to mean exactly what he had expressed in his resolutions and that the North construed it to mean nothing of the sort.

Mr. Payne on the other side quoted at length from the Cincinnati platform, from Buchanan's acceptance and from speeches of Howell Cobb, John C. Breckinridge, James L.

³³⁸ The reader is invited to refer to that platform, heretofore quoted to find, if he can, the ambiguity.

Orr, Alexander H. Stephens, Judah P. Benjamin, James A. Bayard, James M. Mason, Robert Toombs and others, to show that each speaker openly endorsed popular sovereignty in language which could not be misconstrued and which was not and could not be denied.

The debate continued amid excitement and disorder, until Monday, April 30th, when the question was taken on Butler's proposal. Defeated, Yeas, 105; Nays, 198.

The question next taken was on the regular minority report as presented by Samuels. That was adopted by the convention, Yeas, 165; Nays, 138.

At this period, Mr. L. P. Wilder, of Alabama, presented the written protest of the delegates from that state, 28 in number, showing that they were expressly instructed by the State Convention not to acquiesce in or submit to any Squatter Sovereignty platform, but to withdraw from the convention should such an one be adopted. The Alabama delegation which included Yancey, thereupon withdrew from the convention.

Mr. Barry, of Mississippi, next announced the withdrawal of his delegation. Mr. Mouton, of Louisiana, followed with the announcement that his delegation withdrew, with the exception of two members, and as to the remaining delegates, he protested against their right to act. South Carolina, Florida, Texas, followed in order. Three delegates from Arkansas followed. Mr. J. P. Johnson, on behalf of the remaining Arkansas delegates rose to state that they had concluded not to leave the convention until after time had been afforded for consultation, "because he conceived that the stability of the Union itself was involved in the action taken here by the southern representatives." The Georgia delegation then asked leave to retire for consultation, which was granted. Bayard and Whiteley from Delaware joined the ranks of the seceders, Saulsbury from the same state, declining.

Next morning, May 1st, Mr. Henry L. Benning notified the convention that 26 of the 34 delegates from Georgia had

decided to withdraw. Mr. Johnson from Arkansas withdrew the remainder of his delegation, although Mr. Flournoy announced that he did not concur in the action. The two remaining Louisiana delegates under something of a protest, followed, and by that time the balloting for President began, after, one might say foolishly voting to continue the old two thirds rule of a full convention to nominate. On the first vote Douglas received $145\frac{1}{2}$ votes, Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, 42 votes; James Guthrie, of Kentucky, 35 votes; Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, 12 votes; Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, 7; Joseph Lane, of Oregon, 6; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Jefferson Davis, $1\frac{1}{2}$; Franklin Pierce, 1. On the next ballot, Douglas received 147 and he continued to gain slowly to the 32d, when he received $152\frac{1}{2}$ votes. On the 36th, he fell off one vote, which vote, $151\frac{1}{2}$, he continued to receive up to the 57th ballot, on which Guthrie received $65\frac{1}{2}$, Hunter, 16, Lane, 14, Dickinson, 4, Jefferson Davis, 1. Thereupon, on May 3d, on motion of Mr. Russell, of Virginia, by a vote of 195 to 55, the convention adjourned, to reassemble at Baltimore on Monday, the 18th of June, at the same time recommending to the Democratic party of the several states whose delegates had withdrawn, that their places be filled prior to that date.

The seceding delegates met at St. Andrew's hall, Senator Bayard in the chair and adopted the platform reported to the convention by Mr. Avery, and, after four days of deliberation, adjourned to meet at Richmond, Va., on the second Monday in June. The Wood delegates from New York attended this meeting, but were not admitted as members.

Pursuant to adjournment, the regular convention met at the Front Street Theatre in Baltimore.

After the adjournment at Charleston, the friends of Douglas proceeded to elect delegates to take the places of the delegates who had withdrawn and when selected, those delegates appeared at Baltimore and demanded their seats. Their demand was referred to the Committee on Credentials, now 16 to 9 for Douglas instead of 17 to 16 against him as before.

After a hearing, a majority of the committee reported among other things, in favor of admission of all the new delegates from Alabama and Louisiana to the exclusion of the old delegates who had withdrawn. The majority also reported favorably to divide the Georgia delegation equally between the contesting parties which appeared.

On the floor of the convention a motion was made, "that the President of this convention direct the sergeant at arms to issue tickets of admission to the delegates of the convention as originally constituted and organized at Charleston."

The motion was lost.

On June 24th, after considerable jockeying, the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials was adopted and the new delegates from Georgia withdrew.

Mr. Cessna of Pennsylvania thereupon moved to proceed to nominate a candidate for President and Vice President.

Mr. Russel of Virginia rose and withdrew a large majority of the Virginia delegation. The North Carolina delegation under Lander, with the exception of Judge Denny,³³⁹ withdrew next; then followed delegates from Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, California, Oregon, Delaware and Arkansas, when an adjournment was taken. Upon reassembling, Gov. Tod, one of the vice presidents was elected to succeed Cushing, who had withdrawn. B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts, withdrew with a majority of the delegates from his state in a speech, during the course of which he is reported to have said:

"We have not discussed, Mr. President, whether the action of the convention, in excluding certain delegates, could be any reason for withdrawing. We now put our withdrawal before you, upon the simple ground, among others, that there has been a withdrawal in part of a majority of the states, and further (and that, perhaps, more personal to myself), upon

³³⁹ Hon. Robert M. Douglas, oldest son of Senator Douglas, married Miss Denny, daughter of Judge Denny.

the ground that I will not sit in a convention where the African slave-trade—which is piracy by the laws of my country—is approvedly advocated.” (Great sensation.)

The convention then proceeded to vote for President. On the first ballot, Douglas received $173\frac{1}{2}$ votes; Guthrie, 9; Breckinridge, $6\frac{1}{2}$, and 3 scattering. Upon the next ballot, Douglas received $181\frac{1}{2}$ votes; Breckinridge, $7\frac{1}{2}$ votes; Guthrie, $5\frac{1}{2}$; whereupon, on motion of Mr. Sanford E. Church, of New York, the following resolution was adopted:

“Resolved, unanimously, That Stephen A. Douglas, of the state of Illinois, having now received two-thirds of all the votes given in this convention, is hereby declared, in accordance with the rules governing this body, and in accordance with the uniform customs and rules of former Democratic National Conventions, the regular nominee of the Democratic party of the United States.”

Hon. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, was nominated for Vice President, receiving $198\frac{1}{2}$ votes to 1 scattering. Mr. Fitzpatrick declining, the Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, was substituted by the National Committee.

At the conclusion of the nominations, Gov. Wickliffe, of Louisiana, offered the following resolution, to be added to the platform adopted at Charleston.

“Resolved, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial legislatures over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.”

Payne of Ohio, moved the previous question, and the resolution was adopted with but two dissenting votes.

The seceding body of delegates, which met first at Richmond on the 11th of June, adjourned to meet at Baltimore,

and met at the Maryland Institute, on June 28, 1860, in the partial hope that a peace might be patched up and the party saved. Cushing was made president of the convention. On motion of Avery, of North Carolina, his Charleston platform was submitted and adopted unanimously. It was resolved next, that the next Democratic National Convention should meet at Philadelphia. The prospect of peace, having vanished, John C. Breckinridge was nominated unanimously for President by the 105 votes, and Joseph Lane of Oregon, was nominated for Vice President, 21 states being represented in whole or in part.

The Constitutional Union Party (lately American) held a convention at Baltimore, May 19th and on the 2d ballot nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett for Vice President.

At the Republican convention held in Chicago, Abraham Lincoln, whose contest with Douglas had so thoroughly and successfully advertised his great abilities, was nominated for President.

Douglas had piloted his old rival into a nomination for the Presidency and by his long and bitter fight at Charleston and Baltimore he next prepared the way for Lincoln to enjoy the prize of an election to the Presidency.

Perceiving the possibilities of disaster to the party which this fight was likely to precipitate, Douglas had written a letter and during the sessions of the convention he had sent telegrams, declining to become a candidate before the convention if thereby it was thought his action would save the party; but, he had made just such a sacrifice at Cincinnati to secure harmony and a nomination for Buchanan, who at once proceeded to kill him off, and Richardson to whom they were intrusted, refused to permit them to see the light of day, regarding it a mean political party which would demand sacrifices one way, all the time.

PART XXIX.

Forasmuch as party friends had suppressed his telegrams sent during the progress of the late convention, offering to make every sacrifice, and nominated him, it now remained for Douglas to stand by those friends who had decreed that the rights of a strong majority should not be surrendered to a factious few who declared for their platform or none. Accordingly, he fared forth in the first campaign which was to witness the appearance in the field, of the candidate himself. Human endurance has been put to few such tests as the exacting campaign of 1860 put upon Douglas. Body and mind suffered the most severe strains. No expense of health or treasure was spared in that long and bitter contest.

But the odds against him were too heavy. With the exception of the almost solitary support of Alexander H. Stephens, he had no assistance in the south. The secret and sometimes expressed wish of the Breckinridge party indicated that it was the hope of that party that Lincoln might succeed, the better, no doubt, to present an opening for the already well planned object of secession. On the other hand, the thorough accord of the Republicans left little hope of carrying a northern state for Douglas. In other words, between these two extremes, little was left for the man who attempted to occupy neutral ground.

Under ordinary circumstances, any one of a dozen little contingencies might have happened to defeat Lincoln, but the appointed time had arrived and none of them happened.

So intent upon a common design had the southern faction become that fusion with the Bell people was not sought and was not desired. In many of the northern states, the older order of workers who had manipulated the conventions for a generation, clung to the southern faction which had contributed so materially to former successes and in those states, Breckinridge electors were nominated who took their share of votes from Douglas without in any way contributing to the success of the Breckinridge ticket.

Douglas spoke in nearly if not every free state and in many of the slave states. In his Baltimore speech he stated boldly: "It is my opinion that there is a mature plan throughout the southern states to break up the Union. I believe the election of a Republican is to be the signal for that attempt, and that the leaders of the scheme desire the election of Lincoln so as to have an excuse for disunion. I do not believe that every Breckinridge man is a disunionist, but I do believe that every disunionist in America is a Breckinridge man."

Prophetic words they were in the light of subsequent events!

When speaking at Norfolk, Va., he left no room for doubt as to his position when he answered the person who handed to him a written question, whether, if elected, he would maintain the Union by force.

"I answer emphatically," replied Douglas, "that it is the duty of the President of the United States and all others in authority under him to enforce the laws of the United States passed by Congress, and as the courts expound them, and I, as in duty bound by my oath of fidelity to the Constitution, would do all in my power to aid the government of the United States, in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from what quarter it might. In other words, I think the President, whoever he may be, should treat all attempts to break up the Union by resistance to the laws, as Old Hickory treated the nullifiers in 1832."³⁴⁰

Asked at another point whether he would join in an effort to dissolve the Union if Lincoln were elected, he answered, "I tell them, no; never on earth!"

At Petersburg, he expressed the opinion that there was "no evil which the Constitution and laws do not furnish a remedy for; no grievance that can justify disunion."

At Raleigh, he stated that he was ready "to put the hemp around the neck, and hang any man who would raise

³⁴⁰ Orth, 434, and the speeches of Douglas.

the arm of resistance to the constituted authorities of the country." "The country," he said, "had already demonstrated its power, and now there is one thing remaining to be done, in order to prove us capable of meeting any emergency; and whenever the time comes, I trust the Government will show itself strong enough to perform that final deed—hang a traitor."

He traveled through New York and Pennsylvania and on October 8th, he reached Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where he was booked to speak. While there, he received from John W. Forney, his faithful friend, a despatch announcing the result in Pennsylvania and another announcing the result in Indiana. Said he to James B. Sheridan, his secretary: "Mr. Lincoln is elected. I will go south." At once all western engagements were cancelled and he took up the fight through Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama in each of which states he spoke.

At Mobile, he learned at the office of the *Register*, of the election of Lincoln. There, Mr. Forsyth, the editor, requested his associate to read to Douglas an article which he had written in favor of calling a state convention to deliberate on the course to be pursued by Alabama. Douglas opposed the publication of it. Forsyth appeared to agree with Douglas, but maintained that the only way to stop the secession current was to appear to go with it, elect friends to the convention and contest secession sentiment there. Forsyth insisted on publishing the article and he did it.

Over at New Orleans, Douglas made a speech from the balcony of the St. Charles Hotel, in which he pleaded for submission to the constitutional will of the majority and therein, he uttered those words with reference to Lincoln, "What can he do?"

After his nomination, Douglas really felt he would be elected and he so wrote his old friend Lanphier at Springfield. It is a rare letter and few there are who know of its existence:

(Private)

New York, July 5th, 1860.

My dear sir:—

It will be necessary for me to remain here some time to perfect our organization throughout the Union. In the meantime it is indispensable that our friends shall organize *every county* in Illinois thoroughly and open the canvass with vigor and energy. No time must be lost and no effort spared. Our friends here are in good spirits. We must make the war boldly against the *Northern Abolitionists* and the *Southern Disunionists* and give no quarter to either. We should treat the Bell and Everett men kindly and cultivate good relations with them, for they are Union men. According to present appearances Breckinridge cannot carry a single state except South Carolina and perhaps Miss. Bell will probably carry Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland & Delaware. We shall probably carry Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama & Georgia in the South, and hope to get enough more in the free States to be elected by the people. We can have no partnership with the Bolters. If the election goes to the Ho of Reps, Lincoln, Bell and myself will be the three highest. If it goes to the Senate, Hamlin & Johnson will be the two highest. So you see that Breckinridge & Lane can have no show in any event.

Richardson has just returned from New England and reports *very favorably*. He thinks we will carry *Maine*, New Hampshire, Rhode Island & Conn. In New York our friends are confident of carrying the State and also New Jersey. We hope for the best in Penn.

Now organize & rally in Ill. & the North West. The changes (?) in our favor are enormous in the East. Organize the State.

Yours truly,

S. A. Douglas.

C. H. Lanphier, Esq.

These were rosy prognostications but when the vote had been counted, it was found that Lincoln had of the popular vote, 1,857,610, Douglas, 1,291,574, Breckinridge, 850,082, and Bell, 646,124. In the Electoral College, it was found that

Lincoln had 180 electors, a clear majority, against 72 for Breckinridge, 39 for Bell and 12 for Douglas—9 from Missouri and 3 from New Jersey.

In surveying the wreckage everywhere about him, can it have been possible that the memory of Douglas harked back to his first few days in Congress when his eye surveyed for the first time that perfectly adjusted little piece of mechanism which had regulated the political affairs of the country with such precision and for so many years and now a mass of debris?

With the secession of South Carolina, he was of the first to declare against the right of secession, yet he strove to effect a reconciliation, and now that it was seen how pride, or at least consistency with the oft repeated threats of secession, required the southern states to secede, the middle ground occupied for so long a time by Douglas, was sought by the North and he was appointed a member of the Senate Committee of Thirteen, with the hope that results like those of the Compromise of 1850, might be secured. The southern members agreed to a restoration of the Missouri Compromise line and Douglas favored it, but it was lost, those opposed believing with justice that its re-enactment in face of the Dred Scott decision would bind nobody and at best the time would be short when another controversy would arise over it. He favored, stoutly, the Crittenden resolutions, but they were lost. He voted for the Seward resolutions or propositions. He favored an amendment to the Fugitive Slave Act, which would send the accused back to the state from which he was alleged to have escaped, for trial by jury. He favored a constitutional amendment which would prohibit the meddling by Congress, with the domestic institutions of any State. But very soon it became only too apparent to him that nothing but the shameful abandonment of the Douglas Democratic platform would receive the favor of the southern members of committees and some of their concessions might not be acceptable to many of those who already had left the halls of Congress. Thus it came about that neither the Senate

Committee of Thirteen nor the House Committee of Thirty-three could accomplish anything, and Douglas declared himself unalterably opposed to secession and heartily supported the whole country. The most notable expression of his decided Union views were uttered in the reply which he made to Breckinridge, now a Senator, and which annihilated that gentleman. Breckinridge had prepared with great care his speech delivered in the Senate, wherein he declared that whatever settlement he made of other questions, there must be a concession to the South of the right to emigrate into all the territories, or at least an equitable partition of the National Domain.

Douglas at once reminded the gentleman that the South, by the action of a Republican Congress, had the full right to emigrate into all the territory of the United States; and that, with the consent of the Republican Congress, every inch of the territory south of the 37th degree of latitude was at that hour open to slavery. "So far," said he, "as the doctrine of popular sovereignty and non-intervention is concerned, the Colorado Bill and the Nevada Bill and the Dakota Bill are identically the same with the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and in its precise language." That answer destroyed the force of Breckinridge's argument and as has been said with justice, "was at once a severe indictment of the Republican party."³⁴¹

Wigfall of Texas, who attempted to humble Senator Douglas by desiring to know the latter's points of policy, was annihilated by answers even more withering than those applied to Breckinridge. "I do not choose," said Douglas, "to proclaim what my policy would be, in view of the fact that the Senator does not regard himself as the guardian of the honor and the interests of my country, but is looking to the interests of another which he thinks is in hostility. It would hardly be good policy or wisdom for me to reveal what I think ought to be our policy to one who may so soon be in the councils of the enemy and in the command of his armies."

³⁴¹ Blaine, Vol. I, 289.

But Wigfall was insistent and desired of Douglas to know what he would advise President Lincoln to do in the critical condition of Fort Sumter. Douglas answered sarcastically that he "should have no hesitancy in replying to the senator from Texas if that Senator held himself bound by his oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and to protect and aid the honor of the country instead of communicating it to the enemy to be used against us." In the same debate, Mason of Virginia attempted to come to Wigfall's rescue, but he too retired as badly disfigured as the Senator from Texas. He asked Douglas to define what should be done in this crisis in regard to Fort Sumter. "If the Senator from Virginia," replied Douglas, "had voted right in the last Presidential election, I should have been, perhaps, in a position today to tell him authoritatively what ought to be done. Not occupying that position, I must refer the Senator from Virginia to those who have been intrusted by the American people, according to the Constitution, with the decision of that question."

Wigfall's speech gave great offense in the North and the castigation administered by Douglas was heartily appreciated.

It is a singular fact, as was shown by the time Douglas had finished Breckinridge, that, on the eve of the utter destruction of slavery, its legal status was stronger than ever before in the history of the government and the area over which it might lawfully spread was larger than at any previous period.³⁴²

While Congress was struggling to secure a status acceptable for the return of the seceded states, mass-meetings were being held throughout the North, quibbling, fault finding, criticising, doing by the influence thereof, everything bad that could possibly happen. The very reasonable conclusion reached by the South, after the odious December message of Buchanan, was that the fire in the rear that developed at the North, would be sufficient to keep the new administration busy at home. To stop the development of that sentiment and to

³⁴² Blaine.

Mr. Douglass called on the President this morning and had an interesting ~~and~~ conversation on the present condition of the country. The

~~subject~~ ^{one} of the conversations was that while Mr. D. was generally opposed to the admission of slaves on all the political grounds, he was prepared to sustain ^{the President} ~~him~~ in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, and maintain the government, and defend the Federal Capital. A firm policy and prompt action was necessary. ~~He was of the present opinion,~~ ^{that the} ~~rest of the~~ ^{the} Capital of our country was in danger, and

must be defended at all hazards, and at any expense of men & money.

The safety of the present & future, without reference to the past.

secure material assistance from the border states, or at least to prevent them absorbing the spirit of disunion, became the business of Douglas and the importance of his services in those particulars was transcendent. That great leader, without delay, called upon his old friend and rival, Lincoln, and in expressions of warmth tendered to him his support and co-operation in the approaching struggle.

The patriotic course of Douglas was prompted by his love for the Union primarily, but it was augmented materially by his friendship for his illustrious and more successful rival, Lincoln. Douglas had a larger personal following than any other party leader of his day. Nearly a million and a half of men were his personal followers and "they would not give him up." They trusted him to the extent of life and death, and later, when he appealed to them, they responded almost to the last man. And Lincoln knew and appreciated the circumstance. At the close of his interview with Lincoln, the telegram which he sent to the Nation rung clear and true and inspired in every breast a patriotic and more than hopeful sentiment that the Union might be saved.

"April 18, 1861, Senator Douglas called on the President, and had an interesting conversation, on the present condition of the country. The substance of it was, on the part of Mr. Douglas, that while he was unalterably opposed to the administration in all its political issues, he was prepared to fully sustain the President, in the exercise of all his Constitutional functions, to preserve the Union, maintain the Government, and defend the Federal capital. A firm policy and prompt action was necessary. The capital was in danger, and must be defended at all hazards and at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future, without any reference to the past."

When Sumter was fired upon, he returned to his state to awaken her faithful sons to the responsibilities of the hour. At the time of his arrival in Springfield, the legislature, a Republican body, was in session. He was welcomed with every demonstration which would have greeted Mr. Lincoln,

had he too turned homeward for the same purpose, and at once, he was invited to address the legislature. That speech³⁴³ on that memorable occasion was worthy of the loftiest patriot, and was of supreme value to the cause of the Union. It can be said without fear of contradiction that no message carried "confidence to more hearts or gave greater strength to the National cause."³⁴⁴ If Southern Illinois, peopled by sons of the South had hesitated, they hesitated no longer. There was just one object they adored more than the firesides of their ancestors and that was Douglas. Like wildfire his speech spread down through Egypt and over into the border states, and without a draft, Egypt furnished more than its quota of men to the Union armies.

On May 1st at the earnest request of the citizens of Chicago, he made a speech at the old Wigwam, re-christened National Hall, which proved his last.

On his trip from Springfield, a very large special committee met him at Joliet and an immense gathering met him when he reached the city. As a further testimonial of the value his home-coming had for the people of Chicago, a salute of thirty-four guns was fired as he was escorted to the old Wigwam.

From the Wigwam, at the close of his speech, he went over to the Tremont House for rest, of which he stood in great need. Very soon, his old enemy, rheumatism, attacked him and he took to his bed. Then on the 10th day of May, he dictated what in all human probability was his last letter:

"Chicago, May 10th, 1861.

"My dear sir: Being deprived of the use of my arms for the present by a severe attack of rheumatism, I am compelled to avail myself of the services of an amenuensis in reply to your two letters.

It seems that some of my friends are unable to comprehend the difference between arguments used in favor of an equitable compromise, with the hope of averting the horrors

³⁴³ April 26, 1861, in the Hall of Representatives.

³⁴⁴ Blaine.

of war, and those urged in support of the government and flag of our country, when war is being waged against the United States for the avowed purpose of producing a permanent disruption of the Union and the total destruction of its government.

All hope of compromise with the Cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they never would consent to a reconstruction in any contingency—not even if we would furnish them with a blank sheet of paper and permit them to inscribe their own terms.

Still the hope was cherished that reasonable and satisfactory terms of adjustment could be agreed upon with Tennessee, North Carolina, and the border states, and that whatever terms would prove satisfactory to these loyal states would create a Union party in the Cotton States which would be powerful enough at the ballot box to destroy the revolutionary government, and bring those states back into the Union by the voice of their own people. This hope was cherished by the Union men North and South, and was never abandoned until actual war was levied at Charleston, and the authoritative announcement made by the revolutionary government at Montgomery, that the secession flag should be planted upon the walls of the capitol at Washington, and a proclamation issued inviting the pirates of the world to prey upon the commerce of the United States.

These startling facts taken in connection with the boastful announcement that the ravages of war and carnage should be quickly transferred from the cotton fields of the South to the wheat fields and corn fields of the North furnish conclusive evidence that it was the fixed purpose of the Secessionists utterly to destroy the government of our fathers and obliterate the United States from the map of the world.

In view of this state of facts, there was but one path of duty left to patriotic men. It was not a party question, nor a question involving partisan policy; it was a question of government or no government; country or no country; and

hence it became the imperative duty of every Union man, every friend of constitutional liberty to rally to the support of our common country, its government and flag, as the only means of checking the progress of revolution and preserving the union of the states.

I am unable to answer your question in respect to the policy of Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet. I am not in their confidence, as you and the whole country ought to be aware. I am neither the supporter of the partisan policy nor the apologist for the error of the Administration. My previous relations to them remain unchanged; but I trust the time will never come when I shall not be willing to make any needful sacrifice of personal feeling and party policy for the honor and integrity of my country.

I know of no mode by which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the flag, the constitution, and the Union, under all circumstances, and under every administration, (regardless of party politics,) against all assailants, at home and abroad. The course of Clay and Webster towards the administration of Gen. Jackson, and the days of nullification, presents a noble and worthy example for all true patriots. At the very moment when that fearful crisis was precipitated upon the country, partisan strife between Whigs and Democrats was quite as bitter and relentless as now between Republicans and Democrats. The gulf which separated party leaders in those days was quite as broad and deep as that which now separates the democracy from the Republicans. But the moment an enemy rose in our midst, plotting the dismemberment of the Union and the destruction of government, the voice of partisan strife was hushed in patriotic silence. One of the brightest chapters in the history of our country will record the fact that during this eventful period, the great leaders of the opposition, sinking the partisan in the patriot, rushed to the support of the government, and became its ablest and bravest defenders against all assailants until the conspiracy was crushed and abandoned, when they resumed their former positions as party leaders upon political issues.



Virgil Hinckley

These acts of patriotic devotion have never been deemed evidences of infidelity or political treachery, on the part of Clay and Webster, to the principles and organization of the old Whig party. Nor have I any apprehension that the firm and unanimous support which the Democratic leaders and masses are now giving to the constitution and the Union, will ever be deemed evidences of infidelity to Democratic principles, or a want of loyalty to the organization and creed of the Democratic party. If we hope to regain and perpetuate the ascendancy of our party, we should never forget that a man cannot be a true Democrat unless he is a loyal patriot.

With the sincere hope that these, my conscientious convictions, may concur with those of my friends, I am,

truly yours,

Stephen A. Douglas."

To Virgil Hickox, Esq.,
Chairman State Democratic Committee."³⁴⁵

Very shortly afterward his malady assumed a typhoid type. Blood poisoning followed and in the weakened condition of his system not yet recovered from the enormous strain of the late campaign, he could not rally. At ten minutes after nine o'clock, on the morning of June 3d, he died.³⁴⁶ His suffering had been great, although during the latter part of his sickness, he had remained unconscious and delirious. At one moment just before the end, on the reappearance of an unclouded moment, his wife, bending over him, asked if he had any message to be sent his absent sons. Almost in the spirit of the old Douglas defending the country he loved so well, and with a momentary old time flash of the eye, he answered, "Tell my children to obey the laws and uphold the Constitution."

On the following day, his body was removed to Bryan Hall where it lay in state, in care of a Masonic guard of honor, until the day of the funeral. It has been stated with

³⁴⁵ From the collection of Judge Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis.

³⁴⁶ There were present at the bedside, Mrs. Douglas, Dr. Miller, Mrs. Cutts, J. Madison Cutts, Jr., Daniel P. Rhodes of Cleveland, Dr. McVickar, Spencer C. Benham and Dr. Hay of Chicago.

authority that 50,000 people viewed the remains during the days that intervened. On the evening preceding the funeral, the funeral rites of the Masonic fraternity were performed.

It had been the intention of Mrs. Douglas to bury the remains of her husband in the Congressional cemetery at Washington, and for the purpose of defraying the expense thence, the city council had voted an appropriation of \$2,000. But in deference to the earnest solicitation of committees of citizens of Chicago and of the state generally, she consented to change her plan and he was buried upon his estate of Oakenwald, almost upon the spot which he had selected for the erection of his house.

Business was suspended for the day. At 10 o'clock on the morning of June 7, the body was taken from Bryan Hall and upon a special funeral car, it was carried a distance of nearly four miles to the place of interment. Bells tolled and from Dearborn Park, cannon boomed. The procession of ten divisions was composed of civic and military societies, United States troops, United States Senators, Representatives, Governors, Judges, Councilmen, members of the bar and citizens. Around the grave was placed a guard of honor composed of students of the Chicago University, of which Douglas was the founder. No religious services were held at the grave, but a eulogy was pronounced by the Rt. Rev. James Duggan, Catholic Bishop of Chicago, one of the dead senator's warmest friends.

PART XXX.

All pen measurements taken of Stephen A. Douglas, impress one so deeply with their resemblance to each other as to suggest a common origin, appropriated bodily without giving to the original the credit which honestly is due:

“Without the emotional nature of Clay, the eloquent feeling of Webster, the metaphysical power of Calhoun, the prodigious learning of Benton, the ripe and bountiful culture

of Berrien, the decorous and stately logic of Cass, the elaborate rhetoric of Sumner, the scholarly accomplishments of Everett, the ready, subtle acumen of Seward, the intense passion and robust, fiery magnetism of Toombs, Douglas was a more formidable debater than any of them."³⁴⁷

Without the resources which liberal educational advantages supply, without aid from wealth, influential friends, a great family name or connections incident to such fortunate circumstances, he yet reached the front rank of public attention by such leaps and bounds as to take the breath of those who, interested in his future, watched him, and what is especially remarkable for one who rose so rapidly and over the heads of so many older members of the party, by the generous warmth and personal magnetism of the man, he left almost no jealousies behind.

In the light of present day tendencies which cheerfully accord to the south the privilege of regulating the franchise and other questions affecting the negro, we see what Douglas advocated by the hour, by the day and by the year. Douglas was far in the lead of his generation. All the elements of statesmanship matured "earlier than in any other save Alexander Hamilton, his political antipode."

The wonderful sagacity of the man cannot be repeated too many times. He found himself enabled to penetrate a business deal or a great political or state problem intuitively, one might say. He saw through them clearly and reached a judgment instantaneously and with rare exceptions, his judgment was justified, as was the effort he put forth to create intermediate Federal Courts, practically as they exist today. He had great faith in Chicago. Immediately upon moving thence, in 1847, he bought large tracts of real estate at prices to make one laugh now, but which very soon made him a wealthy man. Upon one transaction alone in what was then considered "the western part of the city," but now Grand Boulevard, he made \$100,000 upon a single transac-

³⁴⁷ "A Southerner's Estimate of the Life and Character of Stephen A. Douglas." Anonymous—*Nat. Quarterly Review*, Vol. XL, Year 1880.

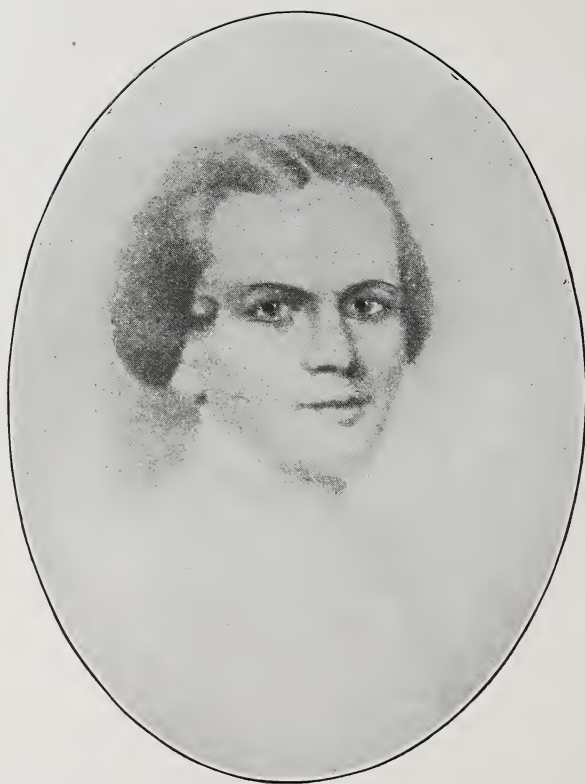
tion. He bought 6,000 acres in the Calumet region for a trifle, every acre of which today is covered with manufacturing plants.

His estate of Oakenwald, a tract of some 80 acres bounded on the north by 31st street, on the west by South Park avenue, on the east by Lake Michigan, and on the south approximately by 35th street is now in the heart of a beautiful and immensely valuable residence district.³⁴⁸ He was progressive almost to impatience. He advocated progress; he practiced it. His ambition politically was but an instance of this progressive spirit; the desire to reach no day's end without recording something done. He was ambitious to associate with statesmen and to take an equal rank with those into whose presence he found himself placed at Washington and in common with every man who glories in his Americanism and his love of country, he aspired to sit one day at the head of the council table.

Douglas was not selfish in his ambitions; he desired others to progress, to get wealth, to achieve fame and he never missed an opportunity to assist a friend with advice or money or influence to reach the same. John W. Forney relates a story which illustrates that constant interest which Douglas took always in the affairs of his friends. It illustrates at the same time his extraordinary prescience.

"How would you like to buy a share in Superior City, * * * the head of Lake Superior?" asked Douglas in 1853, of Forney, who before Forney could answer, had seated himself and stated that from or near that point would start the greatest railroad in the world, except the one on the 32d parallel, just surveyed by George B. McClellan, John Pope and others which was to open the south. "But," said Forney, "old fellow, I have no money, and to buy a share in the proposed location will require much." "No," he replied, "I can secure for you one for \$2,500, and you can divide it with—" naming one of the best of the future Confederates, "and he will be greatly obliged." Forney borrowed the

³⁴⁸ Groveland and Woodland Parks, were laid out by Douglas.



MARTHA DENNY MARTIN DOUGLAS,
FIRST WIFE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

\$2,500, bought the share, divided it with — who paid his \$1,250, and otherwise dividing it into five parts, sold and gave three fifths to other parties, “and with my two fifths I bought the Waverly House in Washington.” The proceeds of Forney’s one-half share realized him \$21,000.

On the 7th day of April, 1847, Douglas was married to Martha Denny Martin, at the old homestead on the river Dan, in Rockingham County, North Carolina, where she was born, October 10, 1824.

Of that marriage, three children were born, the two oldest at the old Martin homestead and the other at the city of Washington, where the mother died, January 23, 1853. Robert Martin Douglas, was born January 28, 1849, Stephen Arnold Douglas was born November 3, 1850. A daughter was born also, but died in infancy, surviving its mother but a month or two. It was buried with the mother in the old private cemetery of the Settle family in Rockingham County, near Reidsville.

Mrs. Douglas never enjoyed a robust constitution, by reason of which, when journeying homeward to Chicago, after the wedding, she found it imperative to make the trip by private conveyance, riding the entire distance in her own carriage, which permitted frequent stops for rest. Though interrupted, she thoroughly enjoyed life in Chicago. Immediately after her father’s death, which occurred something like a year after her marriage, in order to be near her widowed mother, she spent a considerable period at the old plantation homestead. Then, too, the recesses of Congress were comparatively short and when not at her husband’s home at Washington, she returned to the homestead while her husband filled his many engagements in the western states, traveling over almost impassible roads in stage coaches, stopping at almost impossible frontier taverns and speaking in out of the way places. A delicate wife with small children could not hope to undertake any such fatiguing trips.

The married life of Douglas was ideal. As the son Stephen has repeated many times about his mother, “she was

the love of my father's life." The love of Douglas for his wife was infatuation and if a change was ever noticeable in his devotion, it was that he was more devoted than upon the day before. No father loved a romp with the boys more than Douglas; upon hands and knees he would permit them to take his heavy locks of hair in hand and lead him about the room playing horse. He was ever a chum, a boy chum with them and no more beautiful tribute can be offered than that of the son Stephen but a few days before his death: "I knew both of the men, to honor whom you gather here today. I knew the one as a boy may know his father—his friend, his playmate and his chum, who he loved and respected, but had never learned to fear."³⁴⁹

Upon the death of Mrs. Douglas, the husband went abroad and traveled extensively in Europe for about one year. During that period, he covered every point of interest in Great Britain and on the continent. While in London, he met several Americans who were about to be presented to Queen Victoria. Douglas was desired to join them, but upon learning the requirements of court dress, he declined. An early and enthusiastic biographer of Douglas has given this incident an importance altogether out of proportion to its dignity. There is the old saying about doing as Romans do, when doing Rome. It should occur to most men to observe the rules in force at another's house when a guest at a foreign court when presented, or quietly decline. It may well be doubted if Douglas ever regarded that declination as a virtue or a political asset.

When in St. Petersburg, he spent two weeks examining its public institutions and points of interest with marked interest. When satisfied with his observations, he then left his card at the residence of Count Nesselrode and very promptly thereafter, he received a pressing invitation to the minister's palace. We very much mistake Douglas if in that very enjoyable interview, he did not pretty thoroughly im-

³⁴⁹ The same son Stephen also mentioned the fondness of the father, when dancing the son upon one knee, for saying, "They tried to make a cabinet maker of me, but I was a failure and so they made a Senator of me."



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, JR., AND ROBERT M. DOUGLAS,
SONS OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.



DOUGLAS' FIRST HOME IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

press the count with the importance of the United States of America. And we very much mistake Count Nesselrode if he did not entertain the impression when Douglas had left the country that Stephen A. Douglas was an unusual man. We are told as much by one³⁵⁰ who had means of knowing and with ability to put the fact into rare form:

“What apter than Douglas’ off-hand and crushing reply to the Swedish Ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, when the latter in the course of conversation, stoutly condemned the conduct of Capt. Ingraham in the Koszta affair, and so absolutely denied the right of any government to naturalize the subject of another. ‘Your royal master, King Oscar, himself the son of a king, cannot deny that right without beforehand abdicating his throne; for he cannot have forgotten the fact, that his own father, Bernadotte, was a Marshal of France, when, over the emphatic protest of Napoleon, he was naturalized by the Swedish government. He became King; Oscar, your master, is his son!’ And when the Russian nobleman rallied to the support of the discomfitted Swede, how readily did Douglas silence him by referring to the monument at Odessa erected to the memory of the French Duke de Richelieu. ‘Your master, the czar, must tear down that beautiful monument before he dare deny the right of naturalization. Richelieu was a French exile who the Emperor Paul naturalized and made a Russian general. Alexander made him Governor of Odessa and his subjects testified their gratitude to all by building that splendid monument.’ ”

The presentation to the Emperor was arranged easily through the good offices of Baron Stoekel. At the time the Emperor was celebrating at some distance from St. Petersburg, a national festival which included a review of the imperial army. Accompanied by Stoekel, Douglas proceeded in an imperial carriage to the neighborhood of the camp. There they left the carriage and finished the trip on horseback. At the proper distance, Douglas was met by officers

³⁵⁰ A Southerner’s Estimate.

and conducted to the presence of the Emperor who received him with marked symptoms of cordiality. Sebastopol was visited, Italy, France, Germany and Austria.

Upon leaving for Europe, Douglas established his sister Sarah D. Granger as mistress of his household. That interesting lady has left some very amusing little stories about her life in Washington. "I found eleven servants," said Mrs. Granger, "and I had never managed one. Not one of the servants would do a thing I said. If I ordered any service—oh! that belonged to some one else to do. My brother said he would call them together and discharge them all; then I might engage any of them on my own terms. So he did, and I picked out those I wanted, and hired them over again on condition that they were to do whatever I told them. I never had any more trouble." The sister, we are told, possessed "the true New England 'faculty'."

Upon her brother's departure for Europe, leaving her to dispense the hospitalities of his house during his absence, she relates:: "I told him I did not know how to entertain senators and such big men. He said, 'You never were afraid of me were you?' I'd managed him, for I was older. 'Of course not,' I said. 'Well then, they say I'm the biggest toad in the puddle, and you needn't be afraid of them.' " For three years this sister helped Mrs. Pierce (the President's wife) receive, and she tells this story of herself:

"When Mr. Buchanan became President, we were at the inauguration ball. At eleven o'clock, precisely, the music stopped, the crowd opened making a wide passage-way for people to go up and be introduced to the President. My brother took me on his arm, and we walked up. I don't know what possessed me, but I thought I'd ask him to dance with me. He looked so embarrassed—you know he was an old bachelor—and said he had never danced in his life. 'But you're not too old to learn,' I said, and he blushed and stammered more than ever. Then I turned to a gentleman near, who I knew, and he danced with me. When we were going



SARAH DOUGLAS GRANGER, SISTER OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.



THE LAST HOME OF SENATOR DOUGLAS IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

home, I had forgotten all about it, but my brother recalled it as a good joke. I said, 'I made a fool of myself.' "

The old lady, over eighty when relating the circumstance, continued, "When my brother was a candidate for the Presidency, he went back to the Granger farm house, and addressed an audience at the village, near. They said there were 10,000 people present. When the delegations drove in from the towns around, with their bands of music, they all stopped before the house and cheered him. We had fifty to dinner that day. That was the last time I ever saw my brother." When stricken with his last illness, he asked for this much loved sister. The message was received and she started at once for the railway station to catch the train. In the midst of the hurry to get away, the fastenings to the seats were overlooked and at a sudden turn of the road the seat of the wagon sprung upward, throwing her out. An arm and some ribs were broken, and weeks of suffering followed.

She was just as fond of society as was her brother and when speaking of her fondness for society, she said, "I planned this house myself, and had it large so we could have parties. I like to see young folks dance; it's much more civil than these kissing games."³⁵¹

Upon the day following the marriage of Douglas with Miss Martin, her father, Col. Martin, placed in the hands of the new son-in-law, a package of papers with the information that it was a wedding gift. Later, Douglas found the package to contain among other things, an absolute deed, conveying to him certain plantations in the state of Mississippi and the slaves thereon, of the value of something like \$100,000. Without reflecting a moment upon his course in the premises, Douglas sought Col. Martin and with protestations of profound thanks for the spirit which moved the gift, he returned the deed, stating that while he was no Abolitionist, and had no sympathy with them in their ultra views respecting slavery, yet he was a northern man by birth, education and residence and was totally ignorant of that description of prop-

³⁵¹ Miss Helen A. Hawley in *New York Evening Post*.

erty, and as ignorant of the manner of its government; wherefore, wholly incompetent as he was to care for the property, particularly at the great distance from which he lived, he preferred Col. Martin should retain the property, at least during his lifetime, and if in the meantime no disposition was made of it, he could then by will leave directions for its disposition.³⁵²

Col. Martin died on the 25th day of May, 1848, leaving in his will the following:

"In giving to my dear daughter full and complete control over my slaves in Mississippi (his slaves in North Carolina having been left to his wife in fee simple) I make to her one dying request instead of endeavoring to reach the case in this will. That is, that if she leaves no children, to make provisions before she dies to have all these negroes, together with their increase, sent to Liberia, or some other colony in Africa. By giving them the net proceeds of the last crop they may make would fit them out for the trip and probably leave a large surplus to aid them in commencing planting in that country. In this request I would remind my dear daughter that her husband does not desire to own this kind of property, and most of our collateral connection already have more of that kind of property than is of advantage to them.

I trust in Providence however, she will have children; and if so, I wish those negroes to belong to them, as nearly every head of a family among them has expressed to me a desire to belong to you and your children rather than go to Africa; and to set them free where they are, would entail on them a greater curse, far greater in my opinion as well as most of the intelligent among themselves, than to serve a humane master whose duty it would be to see that they were properly protected in such rights as yet belong to them, and have them properly provided for in sickness as well as in health."

³⁵² Robert M. Douglas.

Upon one occasion on the floor of the Senate, after the death of Mrs. Douglas, Senator Wade saw fit to call attention to the relations alleged to exist between Douglas and slaves and the income from slaves. It was an indelicate reference. Probably it would not have been made but for the intense feeling then existing between the great political parties of the country in a desperate fight. The reply of Douglas was short but to the point:

“Mr. President, the senator from Ohio (Mr. Wade) has invaded the circle of my private relations in search of materials for the impeachment of my official action. He has alluded to certain southern interests which he insinuates that I possess, and remarked, that where the treasure is, there the heart is also. So long as the statement that I was one of the largest slaveholders in America was confined to the abolition newspapers and stump orators, I treated it with silent contempt. I would gladly do so on this occasion, were it not for the fact that the reference is made in my presence by a senator for the purpose of imputing to me a mercenary motive for my official conduct. Under these circumstances, silence on my part in regard to the fact might be construed into a confession of guilt in reference to the impeachment of motive. I therefore say to the senator that his insinuation is false, if he has searched the records or has any reliable information upon the subject. I am not the owner of a slave, and never have been, nor have I ever received and appropriated to my own use one dollar earned by slave labor. It is true that I once had tendered to me, under circumstances grateful to my feelings, a plantation with a large number of slaves upon it, which I declined to accept, not because I had any sympathy with abolitionists or the abolition movement, but for the reason that being a northern man by birth, by education and residence, and intending always to remain such, it was impossible for me to know, understand, and provide for the wants, comforts and happiness of those people. I refused to accept them because I was unwilling to assume the responsibility which I was incapable of fulfilling. This fact is referred to in

the will of my father-in-law as a reason for leaving the plantation and slaves to his only daughter, (who became the mother of my infant children), as her separate and exclusive estate, with the request that if she departed this life without surviving children, the slaves should be emancipated and sent to Liberia at the expense of her estate; but in the event she should leave surviving children, the slaves should descend to them, under the belief, expressed in the will, that they would be happier and better off with the descendants of the family with whom they had been born and raised, than in a distant land where they might find no friend to care for them. This brief statement, relating to private and domestic affairs (which ought to be permitted to remain private and sacred), has been extorted and wrung from me with extreme reluctance, even in vindication of the purity of my motives in the performance of a high public trust. As the truth compelled me to negative the insinuation so offensively made by the senator from Ohio, God forbid that I should be understood by any one as willing to cast from me any responsibility that now does, or ever has attached to any member of my family. So long as life shall last—and I shall cherish with religious veneration the memory and virtues of the sainted mother of my children—so long as my heart shall be filled with parental solicitude for the happiness of those motherless infants, I implore my enemies, who so ruthlessly invade the domestic sanctuary, to do me the favor to believe that I have no wish, no aspiration, to be considered purer or better than she who was, or they who are, slaveholders.

Sir, whenever my assailants shall refuse to accept a like amount of this species of property tendered to them, under similar circumstances, and shall perform a domestic trust with equal fidelity and disinterestedness, it will be time enough for them to impute mercenary motives to me in the performance of my official duties.”

This plantation was located on the Pearl River, Lawrence County, in the State of Mississippi. Some years after the death of Major Martin, the land, in the absence of enrichment,

and by reason of frequent freshets, became so unproductive that, Senator Douglas, the executor of the will, made a contract with a gentleman named James A. McHatton, who owned a large and fertile plantation in another county to take the slaves and work them for a certain portion of the profit. The Martin plantation was then sold by order of court, largely upon credit. The war followed soon after, in which the records of the county were destroyed, and the greater part of the payments were never recovered. The slaves of course were emancipated.

During the occupation³⁵³ of Gen. Ransom's Brigade the Federal troops captured large quantities of cotton which included all that belonged to the Douglas children. When attack was feared, as it was presently, Gen. Ransom used cotton bales for breastworks and when his troops left the country, very much of it had been burned. Of the remainder, part was carried away and sold by the cotton agents for the Government.³⁵⁴

At a subsequent period, the matter was brought before the Court of Claims for adjustment. That court disallowed all claim for cotton destroyed and held a recovery down to the actual amount of money received for its sale and turned into the treasury, which was \$58,000. Even that amount was allowed only after a nine year law-suit which ate up the greater part of the recovery in fees and costs.

This subject should not be dismissed without proper notice of the secret feelings of Douglas on this point of indirect interest in slaves. When Wade brought the subject up squarely in the Senate, he knew well enough it would cause Douglas annoyance. It of course would never appear on the surface in a reply, but he knew reference would be a troublesome subject back in Illinois. It did bother Douglas so much that he penned to his old and faithful friend, C. H. Lanphier of the Springfield Register:—

³⁵³ R. M. Douglas.

³⁵⁴ While before Vicksburg, Gen. Grant personally interceded for the heirs.

“Confidential.

Washington, August 3d, 1850.

Dear Sir:—I herewith send you a manuscript in strict confidence. If you deem it wise & prudent you can modify it to suit you & copy it & publish it editorially. I leave it entirely to your discretion, but to be shown to no one else. I desire you to destroy this copy in my handwriting. You have doubtless seen the article in the Quincy Whig to which I refer. It will undoubtedly be published in all whig and abolition papers in the state. You can rely implicitly upon the law of the case as stated in the article I send, can find the laws of Mississippi to the same effect (in) the office of Secy of State. I believe the article was got up in Springfield or by Baker here & sent to Bledsoe who formerly edited the Journal & now is a professor in a college in Miss. I am not certain on this point so it will not do to charge it direct. It is true that my wife does own about 150 negroes in Miss & a cotton plantation. My father-in-law in his lifetime offered them to me & I refused to accept them. *This fact is stated in his will*, but I do not wish it brought before the public as the public have no business with my private affairs, and besides everybody would see that the information must have come from me. My wife has no negroes except those in Miss. We have other property in North Carolina, but no negroes. It is our intention however to remove all our property to Illinois as soon as possible. I put these facts in your possession & trust entirely to your discretion.

I will close this letter here & write you another by this mail about politics.

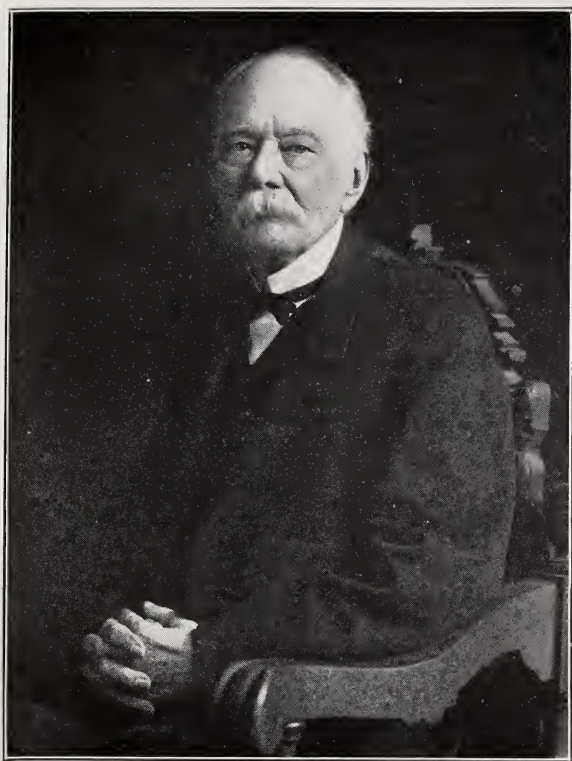
Your friend,

S. A. Douglas.”

C. H. Lanphier, Esq.”

The manuscript enclosed in the preceding letter

“The Quincy Whig and other whig papers are publishing an article purporting to be copied from a Mississippi paper abusing Judge Douglas as the owner of 100 slaves, and at the same time accusing him of being a Wilmot Freesoiler. That the article originated in this state, and was sent to Mississippi for publication in order that it might be republished



CHARLES H. LANPHIER,
EDITOR ILLINOIS STATE REGISTER.

here we shall not question nor take the trouble to prove. The paternity of the article, the motive that prompted it, and the misrepresentations it contains are too obvious to require particular notice. If it had been written by a Mississippian he would have known that the statement in regard to the ownership of the negroes was totally untrue. No one will pretend that Judge Douglas has any other property in Mississippi than that which was acquired in the right of his wife by inheritance upon the death of her father, and anyone who will take the trouble to examine the statutes of that State in the Secretary's office in this city will find that by the laws of Mississippi all the property of a married woman, whether acquired by will, gift, or otherwise, becomes her separate and exclusive estate and is not subject to the control or disposal of her husband nor subject to his debts. We do not pretend to know whether the father of Mrs. Douglas at the time of his death owned slaves in Mississippi or not. We have heard the statement made by the whigs, but have not deemed it of sufficient importance to inquire into its truth. If it should turn out so, in no event could Judge Douglas become the owner or have the disposal of or be responsible for them. The laws of the State forbid it, and also forbid slaves under such circumstances from being removed without or emancipated within the limits of the State. But one chief object in referring to the article in question was to correct a gross misrepresentation in regard to Judge Douglas's opinions upon the slavery question. He is charged with pretending to be a Freesoiler and a Wilmot Proviso man. There is not a man in the (state) who does not know this charge to be utterly false. He also voted against the Wilmot Proviso from the time it was first introduced until it was finally killed in the Senate by the ratification of the treaty. He has always advocated the right of the people in each State and Territory to decide the slavery question for themselves. When he voted for the prohibition of slavery in the territorial bills this session he declared that he did so in obedience to instructions and that the vote was the vote of those who gave the instruc-

tions and not his own. His opinions and principles have been uniform and consistent upon this question. The Whigs combined with the Freesoilers to pass the instructions and now denounce him for yielding obedience to them."

The stock objection to the course of Douglas with regard to slavery, has been that he would not believe nor say that slavery was wrong fundamentally. Douglas did believe that slavery was wrong fundamentally. But with a constitutional recognition of it staring him in the face, the plan of Douglas for its ultimate extinction was the wisest. The Kansas experiment proved that it could be crowded out.

With Whig and Democratic conventions of 1852 agreed the beginning of the end was in sight and Rufus Choate the leader of the New England bar and the spokesman of the Whig convention exclaimed:—"With what instantaneous and mighty charm they calmed the madness and anxiety of the hour!"³⁵⁵

The Dred Scott decision came along. Rampant Calhounism was revived. Douglas broke with the President. He was read out of his party,—because he was for the Union and against the slavery section.

On November 20, 1856, Douglas married Miss Adele Cutts, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of J. Madison Cutts, then Second Comptroller of the Treasury.

As a princely entertainer, Douglas may be said to have reached his highest fame after this second marriage. His new house became the rendezvous for committee meetings, and friends who desired to make plans. Without doubt, it was the most popular house in the City of Washington,³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ Address, April 23rd, 1913, of Judge Frank L. Fish, delivered before the students of Norwich University at Northfield.

³⁵⁶ Mr. William W. Hoppin in "The Peace Conference of 1861," page 6, read before the Rhode Island Historical Society notices of the Douglas House as follows: " . . . and the beauty and cleverness of Mrs. Senator Douglas caused her parlors to be thronged by those whose loyalty was outspoken or whose disloyalty was not yet avowed. The 'Little Giant,' too, as a host was most charming, as anyone who had the privilege of being his guest will testify. The recollection comes very distinctly of the portrait of the beautiful Mrs. Cutts, painted by Benjamin West, which hung in the dining-room, as Senator Douglas directed the attention of his guests to what seemed the capital of a pillar in the background of the picture, but which, on further examination, turned out to be the sharp profile of the artist, the explanation of which, as Mr. Douglas gave it, if my recollection serves me right, was, that thus West had determined to immortalize himself on the same canvas with this beautiful woman."



ADELE CUTTS DOUGLAS,
SECOND WIFE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.



RESIDENCE OF S. H. KERFOOT, CHICAGO.

next to the White House. Douglas loved to follow in the social swim just as well, and John W. Forney was constrained to say of the exactions which society made upon him, "When he read was always a mystery. He was social to a degree, dining out almost daily when not entertaining friends at his own hospitable home, visiting strangers at their hotels, leading in debate or counseling in committee, yet he was rarely at fault for a date or a fact. He was a treasure to an editor, because he possessed the rare faculty of throwing new light upon every subject in the shortest possible time."³⁵⁷

So soon as the first vacation permitted, Douglas brought his bride to the old Lake View House on the North Side, for one reason that the location was ideal, but principally for the reason that it was immediately contiguous to the old S. H. Kerfoot homestead, whose owner was one of the closest friends Douglas had in Chicago. Between those two houses a fence ran which, to oblige Mrs. Douglas in her frequent trips to and from the Kerfoot homestead, was opened and a gate supplied which was designated as the Mrs. Douglas gate. The Tremont House later became their home in Chicago.

The story is told of Douglas and Kerfoot upon the opening night of the old Lake View House: Douglas, Cassius M. Clay and many other celebrities had been invited to assist in the dedicatory exercises. Kerfoot sat next to Clay, who had been noticed in close conversation with Douglas just before taking his seat. When soon after, Mr. Clay was called to respond to a toast, he proceeded to say that he wished it understood "he did not believe all the wisdom of the world was covered by gray hairs. Beneath the deep brown hair of many a younger man . . ." With that, Clay's left hand which had been gyrating suspiciously over Kerfoot's head, descended slowly but surely and lifted from its nicely adjusted position, Kerfoot's entire crop.—He wore a wig!

But Mr. Kerfoot was not sensitive upon the subject of his wig. Upon one occasion when the two little Douglas boys were playing in the Kerfoot homestead, young Stephen took

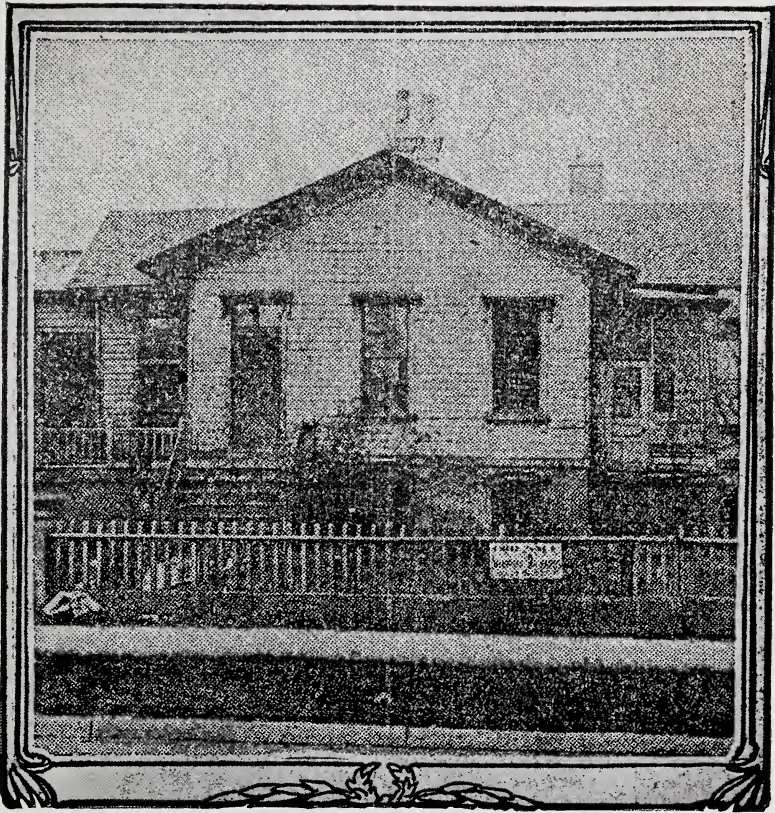
³⁵⁷ As a Regent of Smithsonian Institution, he found time to take an active interest in its affairs.

offense at something Mr. Kerfoot had done. Kerfoot apologized and to carry conviction for his regret, he asked "Steeney" what revenge he should choose if he were permitted to take it. "I should like to pull your hair," answered "Steeney" vigorously. "Very well," obligingly answered Mr. Kerfoot, and taking hold of one side of his wig, he presented the other to "Steeney," to pull. The child, not at all backward, pulled. "Pull harder," urged Mr. Kerfoot. "Steeney" did pull harder,—at the precise minute when Mr. Kerfoot loosened his hold of the wig and "Steeney" with the wig in hand spun backward. The little fellow stared an instant and convinced that some awful accident had befallen Mr. Kerfoot, he shot homeward, screaming at the top of his voice.

Douglas built his cottage³⁵⁸ in the midst of the grove of oak trees facing Cottage Grove Avenue, about 700 feet north of Thirty-fifth Street. It was his intention to live there until he should build his more pretentious house upon the spot where now stands his monument, facing the lake, but, fate decreed otherwise. He lived there with his family from 1853 to 1856. At a later date, the house was removed to a position on Thirty-fifth Street. But a very short while ago, it was torn down to make room for a large apartment building. It has been said that in the cottage, he penned his reply to Lincoln, but this is a mistake. He wrote the first reply in the Tremont House.

The domestic relations of Douglas were singularly fortunate. His second wife traveled the country over with him in his campaigns, submitting cheerfully to the inconveniences of country taverns, irregular hours of sleep and a still greater irregularity of meals, with a gentleness, one might say enthusiasm which can find no parallel. It is not detracting one bit from the reputation of her distinguished husband to say that Mrs. Douglas was of vast influence and assistance in his 1858 and 1860 campaigns. His every symptom of illness was anticipated. It was her constant care to mitigate his hard-

³⁵⁸ In 1853.



DOUGLAS' CHICAGO RESIDENCE, 1853-1856.



MRS. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND FRIENDS.
MRS. DOUGLAS IS WEARING A WIDOW'S CAP.

ships and as much as possible to lessen those prodigious labors which required and received artificial sustenance. No man was blest with a more devoted and exalted helpmeet and though he diminished no part of his strenuous labors and their requirements, the ministrations of Mrs. Douglas were none the less appreciated.

One child, a daughter, was born of this marriage, named Ellen, after its grandmother, Mrs. Cutts. The child lived but a short time. After remaining for a long period in widowhood, Mrs. Douglas married Gen. Robert Williams, subsequently Adjutant General of the Army. Of that marriage, there were born, Robert Cutts Williams, Capt. 13th U. S. Cavalry, Mrs. John B. Patton, whose husband was Lieut. Commander, U. S. Navy, Lieut. Commander, U. S. Navy, Philip Williams, Mrs. B. Van Doren Hedges, James C. Williams, Lieut. U. S. A., who was killed in the Philippines and Mrs. (Mildred) Walter Farwell.

Gen. and Mrs. Williams are buried at Arlington.

Large sums of money were spent by Douglas in entertainment. He also spent liberally for politics, not only to advance his own interests but to assist his party and its candidates, as well. When Buchanan ran for President, he paid for printing large numbers of pamphlets and public documents, out of his own means; in more than one instance, ordering 100,000 at a time.

In charity, too, Douglas bestowed with liberality, though many times it came to his attention that he had been imposed upon. Though it be true that he coveted fame, loved power, was fond of flattery and sacrificed much for triumph, those foibles were all forgotten when away from the glare of the public spot-light. If a friend disappeared from his notice, it was the habit of Douglas to start an inquiry about the friend and the cause of his absence and if he met with what is denominated a hard-luck story, something was done for the friend immediately. The case of Leonard W. Volk, the noted sculptor, comes as near exposing the character of Douglas for kind deeds as any other we can discover. Volk had mar-

ried a cousin of Douglas', Miss Emily C. Barlow, and later had settled in Galena where Douglas visited the couple. Subsequently, they removed to Rock Island, where upon a political engagement, Douglas declined to be entertained by the central committee of Rock Island county and accepted the invitation to eat at the humble table of the Volks. At that time, Douglas adroitly questioned and cross questioned the young people until he had pumped them dry and then and there he made the arrangements and defrayed the expense of Volk's European studies which occupied his closest attention from September, 1855, when he departed, until June, 1857, when he returned to open his studio in Chicago. Into the bust of Douglas which Volk made, he threw his whole soul and the work made a great reputation for the sculptor. Incidentally it may be mentioned, that he designed the Douglas monument.

Douglas' most notable beneficence of course was his gift to the Chicago University. In the year 1854, Douglas offered to the late Rev. A. D. Eddy, and he in turn the Presbyterians of Chicago, a piece of land from his estate of Oakenwald, upon which to erect an institution of learning. The Presbyterians however did not accept the offer. At a later time Rev. J. C. Burroughs, then pastor of the First Baptist Church, took the subject in hand and proposed building a college that should be controlled by that denomination. On April 2, 1856, Douglas executed a contract with Dr. Burroughs, in and by which it was provided in effect that should Dr. Burroughs procure the organization of a board of trustees under the law of 1845 and assign to such trustees his contract, and that such board should erect a University building on the premises to cost \$100,000,—\$25,000 to be expended before May 1, 1857, \$25,000 before May 1, 1858, and the remaining \$50,000 prior to May 1, 1860, then Douglas was to convey in fee simple, the ten acres of land in question to the board of trustees. Owing, it is said, to the divided interest of the Baptists among various other institutions, the enterprise was regarded with disfavor and the board failed

to complete the foundations according to the conditions imposed. Nevertheless, Douglas extended the time, on November 10, 1856, adding the following limitations:

“This extension is granted upon the condition, and with the understanding, that the title of said land shall forever remain in said University for the purposes expressed in said agreement, and that no part of the same shall ever be sold or alienated or used for any other purpose whatever.”

During July and August, 1856, \$100,000 was subscribed, and subsequently another \$150,000, but by reason of the financial depression of 57-58, many of the subscriptions defaulted. The plans submitted by Boyington and Wheelock were adopted in May, 1857.

The design presented a main building with two wings, connected by corridors, and a bell-tower 156 feet in height; the entire structure of Athens marble, rock-faced, with mouldings; containing spacious rooms for recitations, libraries, president, professors, and societies, and two chapels, the larger capable of accommodating 800 persons. In the attic there was to be a large gymnasium, and one wing was to contain dormitories and studies for 100 students.³⁵⁹

On July 6, 1856, at a public meeting, a preliminary organization was effected and within 60 days the sum of \$100,000 was subscribed as stated. On January 30, 1857, the institution was incorporated by the legislature. The incorporators held their first meeting on May 21, 1857, at which Hon. Stephen A. Douglas was appointed president of the board of trustees; William Jones, president of the executive committee; Charles Walker and James H. Woodworth, vice-presidents; Hiram A. Tucker, treasurer; Robert H. Clarkson, recording secretary; Samuel Hoard and 29 others, trustees. The plans were adopted and on July 4, 1857, the corner stone was laid. Douglas, though too ill to speak, was present and was received with great enthusiasm.

The university seemed destined to become a child of adversity; the panic rendered collections of subscriptions im-

³⁵⁹ Andreas Hist. of Chicago, Vol. III, p. 816. Complete history follows.

possible. The trustees who met August 6, 1857, to sign contracts for the completion of the building, found themselves compelled to discontinue the work. But \$7,000 were raised and expended. Still Douglas extended his contracts in a manner most substantial and characteristic of the man; he executed an absolute deed for the premises on August 31, 1858, in order that the trustees might mortgage them for money with which to continue the buildings. A loan of \$25,000 was negotiated with which, by February 10, 1859, the south wing and corridor were finished. The university chapel was opened on June 26, 1859, and the first annual commencement exercises were held on Thursday, July 21, 1859, at which time the institution was dedicated. But though the instruction given was of the highest order and the attendance of students was large and satisfactory, financial depressions, especially the one of 1877 bore so heavily upon the institution which had gradually increased its mortgage debt, that at the foreclosure of the property in the winter of 1885, the decree of indebtedness amounted to \$320,000 and the property was permitted to go.

From deeds of charity to religious sentiment, the distance is short and it should not be difficult to deduce from what has been said upon the former point, that Douglas entertained at least a warm spot in his heart for the Christian religion.

Positive as were most characteristics of Douglas, impossible of but one interpretation, into the subject of religion, one must take two looks before pronouncing judgment thereupon. To have heard him swear upon occasion, as he did—sometimes like a pirate—would most likely incline one to put him down a rank disbeliever, but to have remarked his numberless quiet benevolences, akin to religion, and to learn from his own lips, and acts, which are supposed to speak louder than words, an altogether new and different Douglas was at once revealed.

The mother of Douglas was a member of the Baptist church and so was the first Mrs. Douglas. His sister was a

regular attendant upon Baptist church services and he was nearer that faith than any other. Many of his warmest confidants over the State, were Baptist ministers, notably the Rev. James Lemen, one of the most conspicuous of old time Illinois pioneer preachers. In the diary³⁶⁰ of that gentleman, the following entry was made: "Senator Douglas told me that, like Jefferson, he believed slavery to be an evil, but that as long as the Constitution allowed it, he thought that people in our territories who wished it, should exercise the privilege.

"On religious matters, Mr. Douglas was not a sectarian, but he said he 'was a firm believer in the Bible as being the word of God in the sense in which that expression is generally understood, and that true religion is a factor of infinite benefit to mankind.' "

In a letter to his son, Moses P. Lemen, still preserved in the family,³⁶¹ Mr. Lemen presents somewhat more fully those religious views of Douglas as well as of Lincoln. Likewise the Douglas private view of slavery:

"Collinsville, Ill., Nov. 20th, 1868.

Dr. Moses P. Lemen,
Du Quoin, Ill.

My Dear Son: I am pleased to learn that you are studying Senator Stephen A. Douglas' life history, as he was not only a remarkable man, but was a very warm friend to me. I was thrown with him and Abraham Lincoln a great deal in Springfield and elsewhere, and each was a very near and dear friend of mine. As to Abraham Lincoln, I was his confidential religious adviser for many years, and was one of the only two ministers who ever heard him pray, and I now have a copy of one of his most beautiful prayers. Lincoln's temperament and moods inclined him rather more to religious matters, but Douglas as I know from his own expressions, was a firm believer in the Christian religion and the divinity of the scriptures; but he was not a sectarian.

³⁶⁰ Owned by J. B. Lemen.

³⁶¹ J. B. Lemen.

Having answered your question as to Senator Douglas' religious views, I will now, as you wish, state his personal views as to slavery. From his declarations I know that at heart, he was anti-slavery. There was nothing in Thomas Jefferson's life he admired more than his selection of your grandfather, Rev. James Lemen, Sen., as his secret anti-slavery agent to settle in Illinois, to be ready to meet the pro-slavery contest to introduce slavery in the Northwest Territory, which included Illinois. Like Jefferson, who tolerated slavery, Douglas recognized it as a feature of the Constitution, but he believed that the southern people themselves, like Jefferson did, would eventually favor its extinction, and thus obviate all danger of war; but he held, that while the Constitution allowed the people in the states to hold slaves, if they would be of help to the people in the hardships of reclaiming a territory, and they wanted them, they should have them. I am aware that a great many people thought that Mr. Douglas was really pro-slavery at heart, but, in fact, he was opposed to it, just as Jefferson was; although the latter really held slaves. In the great conflict which wiped out slavery at last, Senator Douglas was intensely loyal and to his last hour he stood for the flag and the Union, one and inseparable forever.

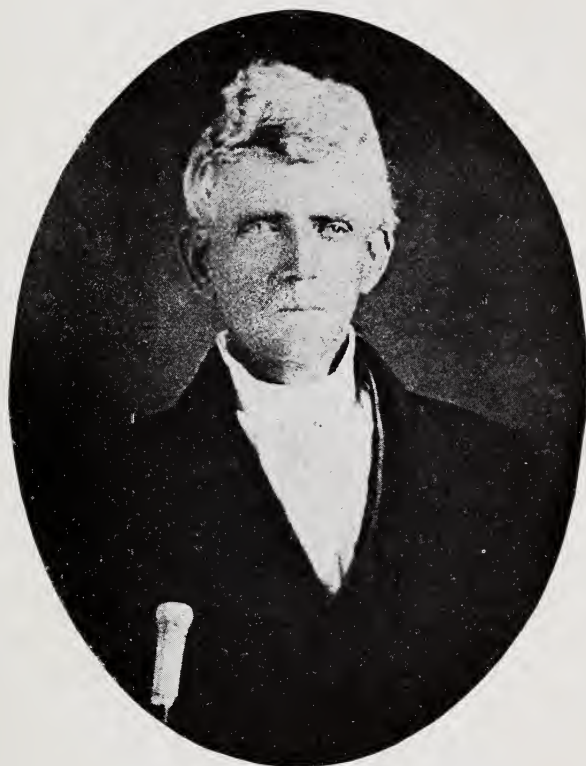
Yours affectionately,

James Lemen,"

His friendships among the clergy were particularly strong and extended through all denominations.

His immoderate profanity grew into a thoughtless habit from early association with men in the early settlements who expressed themselves in strong language very generally. His preference for brandy over lighter liquid forms of refreshment could not have been influenced while traveling on the circuit and frequenting the hospitable frontier taverns in the company of convivial spirits, because whiskey was the stimulant and the olive branch in those early days.

In the pioneer days of central and southern Illinois, the remarkable paradox existed of a strong religious sentiment



REV. JAMES LEMEN.

everywhere present in the rough backwoods man, who went to church regularly, asked a blessing upon his table three times per day and yet employed his moments of relaxation with whiskey, horse-racing and a great deal of profanity. It is not for the writer to pass judgment upon that discordant combination. It is sufficient to state it.

In all of Douglas' public utterances, you will search in vain for a word of disrespect or doubt of a Supreme Being—God. On the contrary, he has been recorded times almost without number as expressly acknowledging such existence. He may never have professed, but he died full of good deeds and in the firm belief of a future state where it is said a record of one's good deeds are noticed.

A man does not appeal to Deity in a supreme moment unless he recognizes that Deity and so with Douglas when he made the supreme appeal of his life at Springfield in urging Illinois to stand by the Union: "I believe in my conscience that it is a duty that we owe to ourselves and our children and to our God, to protect the government and that flag from every assailant, be he who he may."

Senator Toombs, who must stand forever, as one of the ranking men of the Senate and of the South, was a very warm friend of Douglas. He was a constant caller at the Douglas house in Washington and until the adoption of the Davis resolutions, he was the warm supporter of Douglas for the presidency. He was a hearty, bluff though sometimes sharp-tongued man, but a lovable one. Once asked if he thought Douglas really were a great man, he answered with characteristic heartiness, "There has been but one greater, and he the Apostle Paul."³⁶² Our Southern³⁶³ friend quoted so many times, has left another good story of Douglas while at the celebrated dinner given by Toombs to the Georgia delegation, then en route for the Cincinnati convention. Besides the delegates, there was said to be present, Douglas, Cass, Buchanan, Cobb and others of national fame. At the end of a merry

³⁶² Robert Toombs. By Pleasant A. Stovall, 165.

³⁶³ A Southerner's Estimate.

time and as the guests were about to disperse, Mr. James Gardner, chairman of the delegation, proposed the toast: Gentlemen, may you all live to be president of the United States."

On the instant, Douglas exclaimed, "Well, Cobb, here's a long life to you."

The threatened affair of honor between Douglas and Senator Fitch, of Indiana, has been made the subject of much dispute among men who claim to have witnessed essential parts of it.

George Alfred Townsend, who at all times cannot be considered an authority on matters of history, makes a very strong showing for Douglas, but the correspondence which passed between the principals rather qualifies his position. Buchanan and his immediate partisans had been bearing down upon Douglas with such aggravating pertinacity, that the position of the latter was being made almost unbearable; so much so that statements became current to the effect that Buchanan would like nothing better than to see the Illinois senator killed off. In due time it was rumored that he was to be provoked into a fit of anger and killed. "Gath" states³⁶⁴ that at one of the caucuses held at the house of Cobb, where Slidell, Jesse D. Bright, Benjamin and that faction rendezvoused, it was agreed that Slidell should insult Douglas in the Senate saloon and if he resented it, he was to be shot down. "Gath" adds that he wrote Douglas of the plot at once, warning him, but that knowing the habit of carelessness in neglecting to open his mail for days together, he sent the letter to a friend with instructions to demand that the letter be opened at once. In that letter "Gath" told Douglas, "if you are pushed to the wall, send for Tom Hawkins of Louisville."

En route, Tom Hawkins was met and upon inquiry, "Gath" discovered that Hawkins had been sent for by Douglas. Through Hawkins, who was a famous shot and a great

³⁶⁴ Washington letter to the Chicago Tribune, loaned the writer by Judge Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis.

stickler for the etiquette of the duel, the affair was settled with honor to Douglas.

Upon the other hand, we are informed that the disturbance was altogether impromptu; that Buchanan had sent to the Senate the names of many men for Illinois appointments, most of whom, naturally were avowed enemies of Douglas, among the number being that of the son of Fitch for a Chicago appointment.³⁶⁵ The insult was so apparent, that in executive session, Douglas in the course of his remarks, paid his respects to his enemies in his characteristic manner. Fitch replied and in language which Douglas could not misconstrue, and pursuant thereto, the following note was sent to Fitch by the hand of either Gen. Roger A. Pryor or Hawkins:

“Washington, D. C., January 21, 1859.

“Sir:—Today, in secret session, you offered me an affront so wanton and unprovoked and unjustifiable, that I am obliged to infer it must have been the impulse of a momentary passion and not of deliberate premeditation.

This note is written for the purpose of offering you an opportunity of saying whether or not my conclusions are correct, and further, of offering you an opportunity of retracting the offensive language you thus gratuitously and unwarrantably applied to me.

Respectfully, etc.,

S. A. Douglas.”

To Hon. Graham N. Fitch.”

Broderick, the friend of Douglas, had fallen already in a duel, the victim of conspiracy and very soon, it became noised about the city that Douglas was to follow as an administration measure. But there was nothing in such a story. Fitch acted upon his own volition.

Very soon, Judah P. Benjamin handed to Senator Douglas, the reply of Senator Fitch:

“Washington, D. C., January 22.

“Sir: Your note of yesterday was handed me this morning. In reply I have to say that yesterday you made the

³⁶⁵ U. S. District Attorney of Chicago.

charge that the lately appointed Federal officers in Illinois, were dishonest and corrupt men, or words to that effect. You knew my son to be one of those officers, and you could not expect me to hear such a charge without prompt denial of its truth. I pronounced it to be to your knowledge untrue. You subsequently so modified it as to satisfy me that you excepted my son from the general charge, though you did not name him, and I made no further issue with you on that subject. When, at a subsequent period of your remarks, you attributed to me statements I had not made, I requested that in quoting me, you should do so truthfully.

These remarks certainly were not deliberately premeditated, but they cannot be qualified correctly as the impulse of momentary passion. The first was prompted by a determination to defend the honor and character of my son, as dear to me as my own, against an attack so general in its terms as necessarily to include him, and the second was the exercise of my right to rectify misrepresentations of my own remarks.

G. N. Fitch."

To Hon. S. A. Douglas."

There was no retraction in this reply and if Douglas had considered it possible to drive his enemy to cover as he had so many others, his expectations must have received a shock. Nothing remained for Douglas but to send to Fitch a challenge. But, upon the advice of his friends, Pryor and Hawkins, he substituted for the challenge which he had written, a more conciliatory letter:

"Washington, D. C., January 22, 2:30 P. M.

"Sir: Your note of this date has just been placed in my hand. I admit without hesitation your right and duty to do justice to the reputation of your son. At the same time I maintain my right in the discharge of my duty as Senator to comment freely and fully on the character of Executive appointments, especially in my own state.

I deny, however, that my general remarks in relation to the Illinois appointees confirmed by the Senate during my

absence could be fairly interpreted to embrace your son. When you seemed so to construe them, I promptly replied that what I had said of the Illinois appointments, was true as a general rule, but that there were exceptions, among whom I recognized some of my own friends.

Alluding to your son, I added that I had nothing to say in regard to the merits of his appointment, choosing to leave that question where I had placed it by the remarks to the Senate during the last session in your presence, at the time of his confirmation.

You now admit that you understand the explanation to exempt your son from the application of my general remarks, and yet you have failed to withdraw the offensive language; but, on the contrary, at a subsequent stage of the debate, when apologizing for a breach of senatorial decorum, you expressly declared you had nothing to retract, thus appearing in my apprehension, to reaffirm the objectionable words.

As to the other ground of offensive language, admitted in your reply to my note, have to say, that I did not understand you to correct me in quotation of your language as I was unconscious of making any such citation but to repeat the original offense in another form, otherwise I should have made a proper response on the instant.

This explanation, which is due alike to us both, on the points presented in your reply affords you another opportunity of withdrawing the offensive words which you admit you applied in yesterday's debate. Respectfully, etc.,

S. A. Douglas."

To Hon. G. N. Fitch."

"Washington, January 23.

"Sir:—Your note of yesterday evening was handed me at 12 o'clock today.

Your explanation in regard to my son being non-explicit, I have no hesitation in saying that if you had excepted him from your charge, or not have made it general, I would not have deemed myself warranted in repelling it in the manner you complain of as offensive, and which, in consequence of

your explanation, I now withdraw. I am also informed by your note that if you had not been mistaken as to my remarks on the subject of your misrepresentations of my sentiments, you would at the instant have made proper response. This likewise enables me to say that in my closing remarks, explanatory to the Senate of my share in our exciting debate on a subject not relevant to anything before that body, and the responsibility for the introduction of which rested solely with you, I would have withdrawn, as I now do, the second offensive remarks, if you had made the same satisfactory explanation then you have now made. Respectfully, etc.,

G. N. Fitch."

To Hon. S. A. Douglas."

"Washington, January 24, —

"Sir:—Your note of yesterday has been received, and, while I accept your withdrawal of the word to which I have taken exception, I owe it to myself to protest against the idea you seem to entertain that my note of Saturday was intended as a precedent and inducing condition of the redress which I solicited, instead of being, as I certainly designed it, merely responsive to the specifications in your reply to my first communication. In regard to the introduction and relevancy of the matter in the debate, out of which this difficulty arose, I cannot think that a proper subject of discussion in the present correspondence. Respectfully, etc.,

S. A. Douglas."

To Hon. G. N. Fitch."

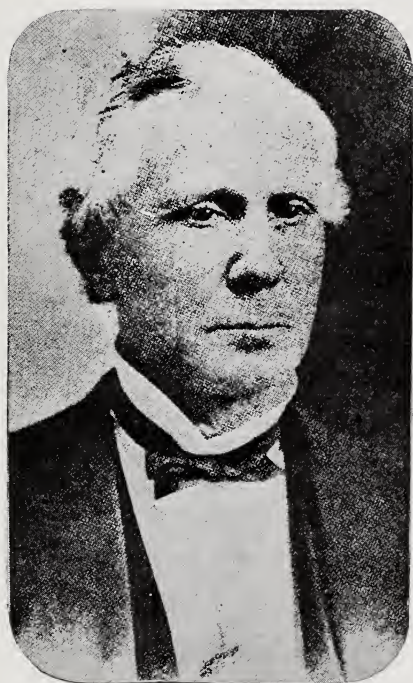
"Washington, January 24,—

Sir:—Your note of today was received at 11:30 A. M. It is not for me to judge of the motives which dictated yours of the 22d. I can only say that my answer was predicated upon the explanations it contained. If your explanations are disavowed, my withdrawal must likewise be disavowed.

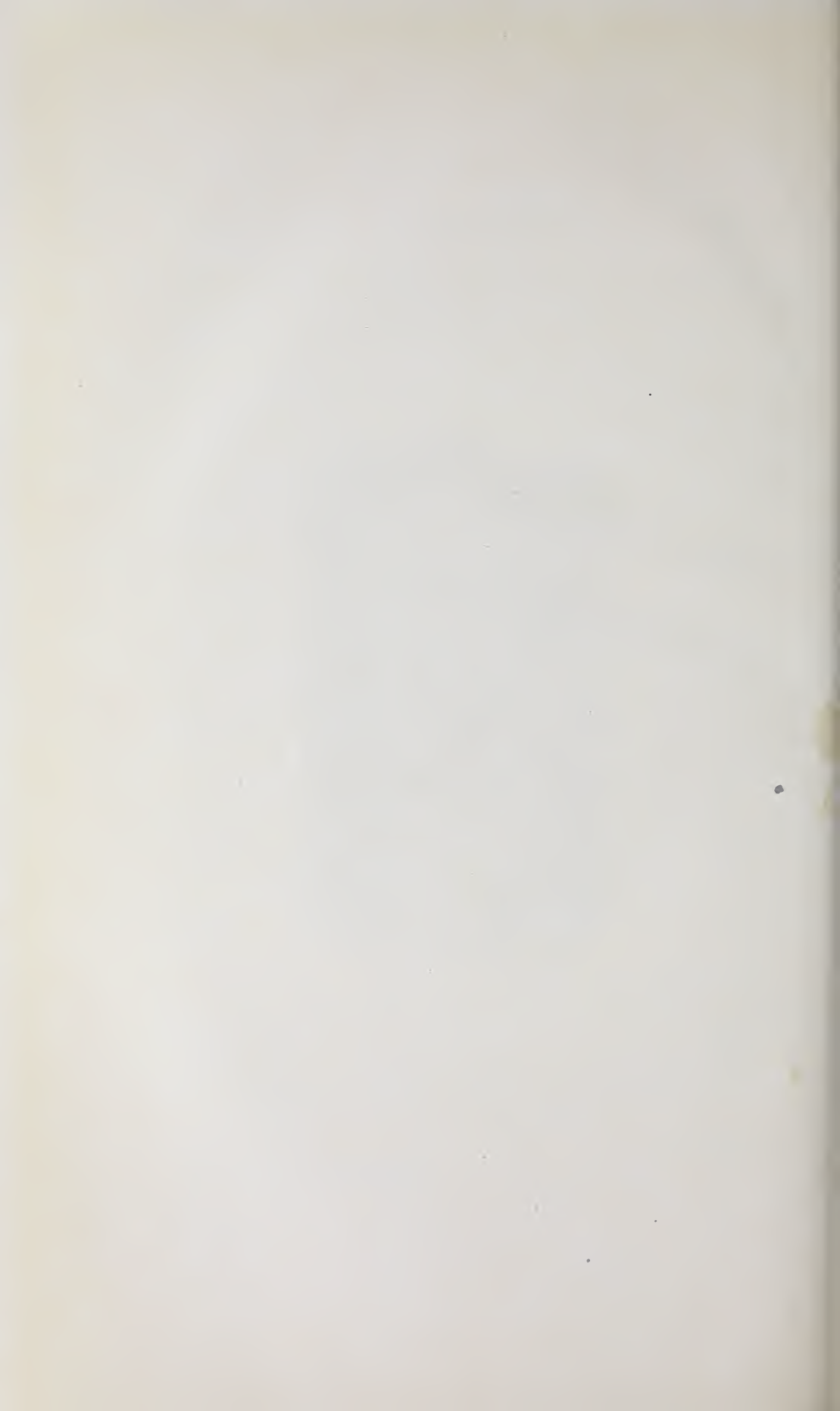
Respectfully,

G. N. Fitch."

To Hon. S. A. Douglas."



DR. GRAHAM N. FITCH.



“Washington, January 24, 1859.

Sir: I am averse to prolonging this controversy after gaining the substance of my demand, but I cannot close without answering to your last note by saying it is immaterial to me upon what you predicate your withdrawal, since I have guarded against any misapprehension of my position.

Respectfully, etc.,

S. A. Douglas.”³⁰⁶

To Hon. G. N. Fitch.”

Desiring to test the accuracy of these newspaper items, Hon. W. B. Douglas of St. Louis, a distant kinsman, wrote a letter to Hon. Roger A. Pryor, whose name was mentioned in the columns of the papers. To that inquiry, Gen. Pryor replied as follows:

“18 Wall Street, New York.

November 14th, 1885.

My dear sir:—I regret, very sincerely, my inability to give you the information you solicit. The length of time elapsed since the transaction, and the multitude of incidents, that have meanwhile engaged my attention, have left on my mind only the most general impression of the event.

Major Tom Hawkins, of Kentucky, and myself, were the friends of Senator Douglas, and of course I was cognizant of every circumstance of the affair. But, I remember this only; that for words spoken in debate by Senator Fitch of Indiana, Judge Douglas felt himself aggrieved; that through Major Hawkins and myself he demanded an apology; that the late Senator Benjamin was the friend of Mr. Fitch, and that an apology was made which Senator Douglas, under the unanimous advice of his friends, accepted as satisfactory. The terms of the apology of course I cannot recall, but I recollect that it was all we demanded. Throughout the affair, Senator Douglas conducted himself with the courage which was a distinguishing element of his character. Indeed, I

³⁰⁶ Correspondence in *Globe-Democrat* of Aug. 4, 1885, copied from the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, communicated to the latter from Indianapolis, July 31, 1885, and loaned the writer by Judge Walter B. Douglas of St. Louis.

never knew a man of more immovable firmness, or of greater indifference to personal danger, than was Senator Douglas.

I have seen neither of the newspaper accounts which you mention.

Very respectfully,

Roger A. Pryor."

Walter B. Douglas, Esq.
417 Olive St.
St. Louis, Mo."

The political conscience of Douglas was like the political conscience of other politicians; no better no worse. He expected vassalage from political vassals; but he cheerfully ran departmental errands for men who opposed him politically.

David Davis told the story³⁶⁷ of Douglas which illustrates his never failing desire to do another a good turn, and to put himself out of his way to do it, too. It likewise illustrates the difference between Douglas and Trumbull in certain particulars. About 1859, Davis went to Washington to get some patents for land he had entered, but he was told at the General Land Office that when reached in the general order of business they would be issued, and the utmost effort of Davis could not move the Commissioner. He appealed to Trumbull, who gave him a letter to the Commissioner; but that availed nothing. While standing in front of the old National Hotel, Judge Douglas came along, shook hands with Davis and asked him how long he was going to stay in Washington. Davis told him he had come to Washington to get some patents, but that he could not get them. Thereupon, Douglas called a hack, told Davis to enter, saying, "we shall see about that!" They were driven to the General Land Office where Douglas said to the Commissioner, "This is my friend, Judge Davis of Bloomington, Illinois, he has come here specially to get some patents for land he has entered," to which the Commissioner answered blandly, "The patents will be issued to him in their regular order." Though Douglas might very naturally expect such a rebuff from Buchanan, he would not

³⁶⁷ To Ezra M. Prince, who told it to the writer.

take it from one of his hirelings and very testily he stated: "No they won't. The judge has come all the way from Bloomington to get them and you must issue them at once," and after some more expostulation on the part of the Commissioner, they *were* issued as desired. From Davis, Douglas could never hope to secure political favor, yet he took every pleasure in doing the judge a favor which Trumbull, a senator of Davis' party, could not take the trouble to do.

Douglas might and did wink at political shifts and tricks, but he would not suffer the Government to be wronged to the value of a cent,³⁰⁸ for the best political friend he may have had.

If any person expected to make a speculation from his connection with the Government, he received no assistance from Douglas; on the contrary, it was more than likely that such a person would receive the vigorous opposition of the Senator.

Douglas expected to make his money from investment based upon good judgment and effort and if others of his friends desired to make money, he expected them to do the same. Politics was not regarded by him as a vehicle to carry anybody into wealth. His Chicago investments proved to be wise ones by the profit they yielded and had Douglas lived but a short while longer, his Oakenwald subdivision, just across the street from the University subdivision, would have made him many times a millionaire. As it was, with the tremendous expense thrown upon him for his 1860 campaign, without his guiding hand, it was compromised with debts and little or nothing went to his widow or children.

He had given his sister one lot, his mother another and his wife another, so that virtually, the sum Mrs. Douglas received from the legislative appropriation, was all she received. The lots of the mother and sister, sold for \$3,000

³⁰⁸ When the Illinois Central Railroad received its charter, through Douglas, the company was required to pay into the State treasury seven per cent of its gross earnings, and through Douglas' influence that company was not permitted to enjoy its land grant until the road had been built.

and were put into the subscriptions³⁶⁹ which began the erection of the monument, finished at last by the state at a total cost of \$96,350.

It cannot be said that Douglas planned many original measures or advanced original ideas to any great extent in his public life. As a close partisan all his life and as chairman of the Committee on Territories which had to do with slavery, he was found defending his party's measures, predetermined in caucus or otherwise. By carefully reading over his speeches it must be noticed that he took up measures more or less immature and with great ability, it must be admitted, he revamped them or put upon them the appearance of newness. His popular sovereignty doctrine as is well known was advocated by Cass in his Nicholson letter and with more or less ambiguity, was incorporated into the platform of 1848 upon which Cass was nominated. The Southern leaders, after the death of Calhoun, believed it would extend the life of slavery. Douglas knew it would kill it.

For his suggestion of unfriendly legislation more can be claimed for him in the way of originality. In fact in one of his first public utterances, long before he reached Congress, he included that statement. But if he lacked in the way of originality, no man ever lived who could put upon his side of the question more of originality of contention and more luminous expositions than Douglas. He was a master of logic. It must be confessed, too, that no one excelled him in sophistry and fallacy. He perceived quickly the strength or weakness of an argument and could elucidate a point to his advantage. It is true too that he knew the art of beclouding it for his opponent.

His enormous work in his Committee on Territories precluded much attention to other matters of state.

³⁶⁹ Three thousand nine hundred twenty-five dollars originally was contributed by private individuals. Three thousand dollars derived from sale of the two lots donated to the association by the mother and sister, was given the widow in addition to the \$25,000, making a total of \$28,000 received by her. The \$96,350 appropriated by the State was in addition to the two foregoing sums. The monument was unveiled and dedicated July 17, 1878. On June 3, 1868, the body was taken from the grave, and after permitting the public to view it again, it was placed in the marble sarcophagus, in the center of the tomb by the monument association.

In general, the style of Douglas' delivery was deliberate, so very deliberate, that we are told his style of oratory was disliked by many in the South where oratory appeared to be propelled by galvanic batteries of nervousness. While uttering words like "the gur-r-reat pur-r-rin-ci-pul of p-op-u-lar-r sov'reign-tee,"¹³⁷⁰ the average southern orator could tell half a story.

It was his habit in debate to repeat almost to the point of tediousness.

The habit of circumlocution clung to him in speaking and in letter writing from young manhood to death. Webster could express himself with great force and clearness, in less than one-third the number of words employed by Douglas. That fault in Douglas is noticeable in the 1858 debates with Lincoln who took first rank for brevity and perspicuity. He was much more logical than Douglas who almost in spite of himself followed his custom of selecting minor points or inconspicuous slips of the tongue of his adversary to torture them into a denial of major points. Lincoln effectually shattered many instances of that style of argument during the debates. He appeared to be able to do it with better success than Senators upon the floor; but, even Lincoln undertook some liberties of that character, particularly with the Dred Scott decision which he used for the basis of a charge of conspiracy. When constituents began to ponder and to yearn for something addressed to their conscience, Douglas' style of argument might inspire enthusiasm, but it did not seem to convince those men. Northern people fretted at the constitutional right which permitted slavery and in such a mood nothing but the argument of termination, could receive lasting impressions.

The great, growing west, youthful, lusty, impatient at the barriers of old institutions, became the potent disturber and it is scarcely just to state that the south was not nimble enough to keep up with the procession. The innovation was regarded not so much a difference of opinion, but as an

¹³⁷⁰ Bonham, 166.

effort to force opinions upon unwilling subjects without conversion. Mohammed may have worked that plan to advantage in propagating his faith, but aroused first by an antagonism and irritated by the leaders, converts south were hard to make.

Douglas should not be considered in the light of a pro-slavery man. He was not. He told Mr. Lemen whose letter has been reproduced in a former page, that he was not. He told his children, Robert M. and Stephen A. Douglas, and they have testified the point to the writer. When as has been said of him, like a wounded lion, just after the appearance of the Address, he entered the apartments of his old friend McDougall, he told George M. McConnel, that he did not believe in the institution. These were his private opinions, expressed to old friends. Had the time been propitious, he would have said the same upon the floor of the Senate. On January 23d, 1860, while speaking upon the point he said upon that floor, "If I were a citizen of Louisiana, I would vote for retaining and maintaining slavery, because I believe the good of that people would require it. As a citizen of Illinois, I am utterly opposed to it, because our institutions would not be promoted by it."

And when at last, he awoke to the belief that there rested behind the institution, a deep seated conspiracy to dissolve the Union, he then declared that he would favor just so much extension of slave territory and just so many slaves as the conspirators could hold at the point of the bayonet.

General John A. Logan went with Douglas to Springfield, to talk over the situation in Illinois, then one of much gravity. Once there Logan had his last interview in which, to quote his own words, Douglas said: "The time has now arrived when a man must be either for or against his country. Indeed so strongly do I feel this, and that further dalliance with this question is useless, that I shall myself take steps to join the army and fight for the maintenance of the Union."³⁷¹

³⁷¹ The Great Conspiracy, 268.



J. A. Mc Dougall.

\$ 167

Pay to the order of
order one hundred & sixty seven dollars

& change the sum to my order
J. Rufus Carpenter & Riggs

Washington Dec 21st 1867

St. Louis

Col. E. J. McClernand, U. S. A., son of Gen. John A. McClernand, so often mentioned in these pages, has told the writer that it was understood in the family that Douglas desired and would have entered the army.

In Vol. 8, *Atlantic Monthly*, for the year 1861, an article said to have been written by J. Howard, Jr., contains these words: "I asked Lincoln, if he intended as reported in the papers to give Douglas a Brigadier General's commission? 'No, sir,' answered Lincoln, 'I have not done so; nor had I thought of doing so until tonight, when I saw it suggested in the papers. I have no reason to believe Mr. Douglas would accept it. He has not asked it, nor have his friends. But I must say, that, if it is well to appoint Brigadier Generals from the civil list, I can imagine few men better qualified for such a position, than Judge Douglas. For myself, I know I haven't much military knowledge and I think Douglas has. It was he who first told me I should have trouble in Baltimore, and (pointing to a map) showed me the route by Perryville, Havre de Grace and Annapolis, as the one over which our troops must come. He impressed on my mind the necessity of absolutely securing Fortress Monroe and Old Point Comfort, and in fact, I think he knows all about it.' "

As a soldier, with his push, and dash and courage, tenacity as well as unusual accuracy of judgment, his career would have been as successful and brilliant in the field as in the Senate.

Of all the political rivalries of American history, not one is entitled to stand in the class of Douglas and Lincoln. Hamilton and Jefferson could never be brought together or into terms of more than civility, so tightly drawn were their relations. Clay and Calhoun hated each other cordially; it was war to the death between them. Nothing but the inflexible and powerful will of Jackson could have coped successfully against the hatred and superior genius of Calhoun. But between Douglas and Lincoln, there was present an attachment; a warm, lasting friendship. Upon the stump from 1840 to 1858, in joint debate, each would pay his political respects

to the other in no uncertain manner, but the debate over, the friendship remained undisturbed. In the contest of the latter year, personalities might have become more than usually noticeable with his terrific three cornered fight on hand, because Douglas' stock of patience was exhausted. But there abided always, his great respect for his powerful adversary.

When upon sending his son Robert to Harvard, Lincoln desired for the son attentions which might not come to the average young western man, how did Lincoln secure that coveted attention? By securing from his old friend, Senator Douglas, a letter to the president of Harvard, Dr. Walker, and therein he speaks of the young man as the son of his friend, Abraham Lincoln, "with whom I have lately been canvassing the State of Illinois."³⁷²

"When this letter now so curious in history, was read, Lowell said to my friend, who tells the story, 'I suppose I am the only man in this room who has ever heard of this Abraham Lincoln, but he is the person with whom Douglas has been traveling up and down in Illinois, canvassing the state in their new western fashion, as representatives of the two parties, each of them being the candidate for the vacant seat in the Senate.' What is more, my friend says it is probably true that at the moment when this letter was presented by young Robert Lincoln, none of the faculty at Harvard College, excepting Lowell, had ever heard of Abraham Lincoln."³⁷³

Endowed with ability equal to that possessed by Douglas, Lincoln never could reconcile himself to the prodigious distance which grew between him and Douglas in political fame and influence. The ambitions of both men were aimed at the same objects. Beginning with 1840, Lincoln camped upon the trail of Douglas in every political campaign, and yearned to overtake him. His remarks of 1856 put the case honestly and much more sweetly than another could do it.

³⁷² Edward Everett Hale, "James Russell Lowell and His Friends," 201.

³⁷³ Quoted by Lucia A. Stevens in Vol. II, *Publication Illinois Historical Library*, 284.

Never did Douglas underestimate the quality of Lincoln. When informed that Lincoln had been chosen to make the race against him for the Senate in 1858, Douglas said to a group of Republicans at the capital: "Gentlemen, you have nominated a very able and a very honest man."

At another time when not speaking for publication, he is credited with saying: "Of all the damned Whig rascals about Springfield, Abe Lincoln is the ablest and the most honest."

He also repeated to John W. Forney: "I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party—full of rich facts, dates, and the best stump speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the west. He is as honest as he is shrewd; and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won."³⁷⁴

And when that celebrated canvass was finished and Douglas, a victor over Buchanan as well as over Lincoln, he told Henry Wilson, in reply to the question as to what he thought of Mr. Lincoln: "He is an able and honest man, one of the noblest men of the nation. I have been in Congress sixteen years, and there is not a man in the Senate I would not rather encounter in debate."³⁷⁵

When later, in a spirit of ugliness, it was proposed to offend Mr. Lincoln in his new office, Douglas said with spirit: "I shall be there and if anyone attacks Lincoln, he attacks me too."³⁷⁶

In reply to a question, Douglas is also recorded as saying with reference to his treatment of secession sympathizers in Washington:

"If I were President, I'd convert or hang them all within forty-eight hours. However, don't be in any hurry. I've known Mr. Lincoln a longer time than you have, or than the country has; he'll come out all right and we will all stand by him."³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Quoted by Martha J. Lamb, *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Vol. XII, 481.

³⁷⁵ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. II, 577.

³⁷⁶ (J. Howard, Jr.) *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. VIII, 205.

³⁷⁷ *Id.*

When at the inauguration ball it had been intimated that Mrs. Lincoln was to be snubbed by Washington society absents itself, Douglas a social favorite, let it be known at once that the Douglas's would undertake to spoil the little plot and to the utmost of his ability he did, by escorting Mrs. Lincoln to the ballroom upon his arm.³⁷⁸

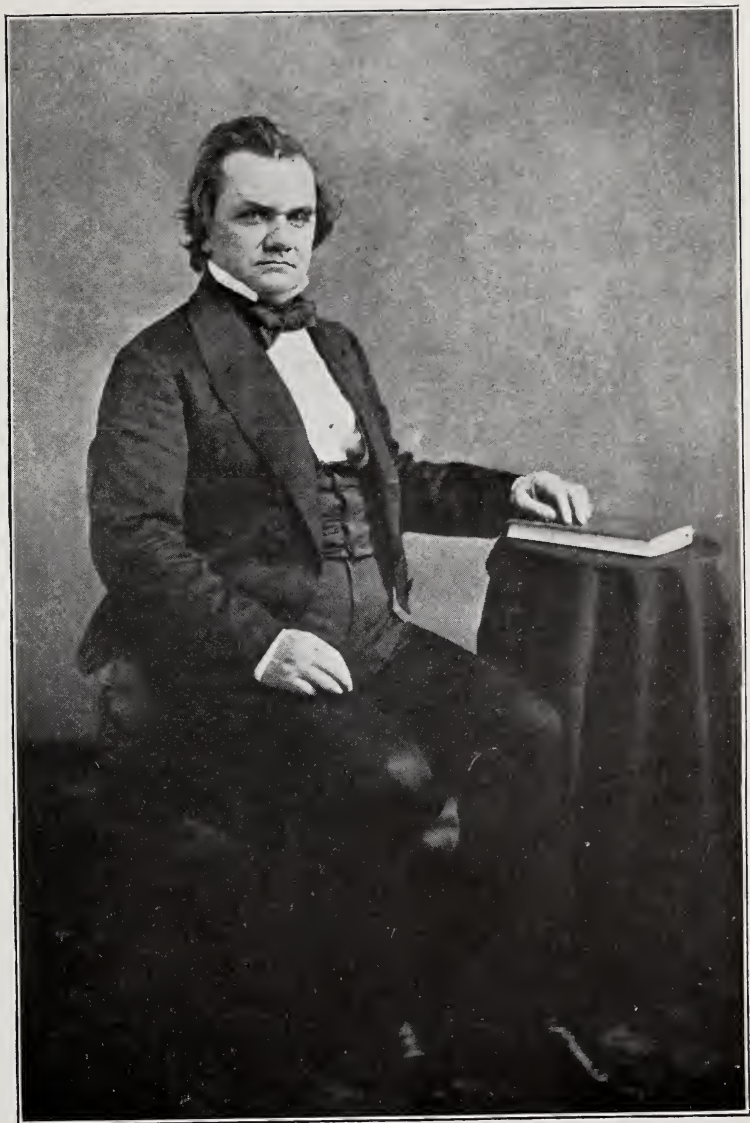
But the crowning manifestation of that sincere friendship, was exhibited quietly, almost innocently at the delivery of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration speech when Lincoln ascending the rostrum of steps, awkwardly enough, was looking for a place to lay his tall silk hat. Douglas noticed the embarrassment and as though expected of him, he reached for it and held it during the delivery of the speech to which he listened intently. It was the speech of his friend and neighbor; his great and successful rival and in it he felt an interest which he manifested by frequent nods of approval and such exclamations as "Good!" "That's fair!" "No backing out there!" "That's a good point!"³⁷⁹

What a reversal of fortune! Lincoln sweetly, pathetically, alluding to the giddy heights Douglas in 1856 had reached—now Douglas holding the hat of his humble rival of other days!

It was a tender little tribute which could come only from a friendship, strong and enduring, born amidst the happy hardships of rude pioneer life, where friendships are as strong as the men who build states. Indeed Lincoln was fortunate in the presence of so many of those old time frontier friends. Hardin, the victim of the Mexican bullets, was in his grave, but of the old Tenth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, there sat Douglas, holding his hat. Edward D. Baker, now a Senator from the state of Oregon, introduced him; Richardson, recalled to Congress, stood near, nodding sentiments of sympathy and support. McClernand had been returned to Congress. Though old Dr. John Logan, could

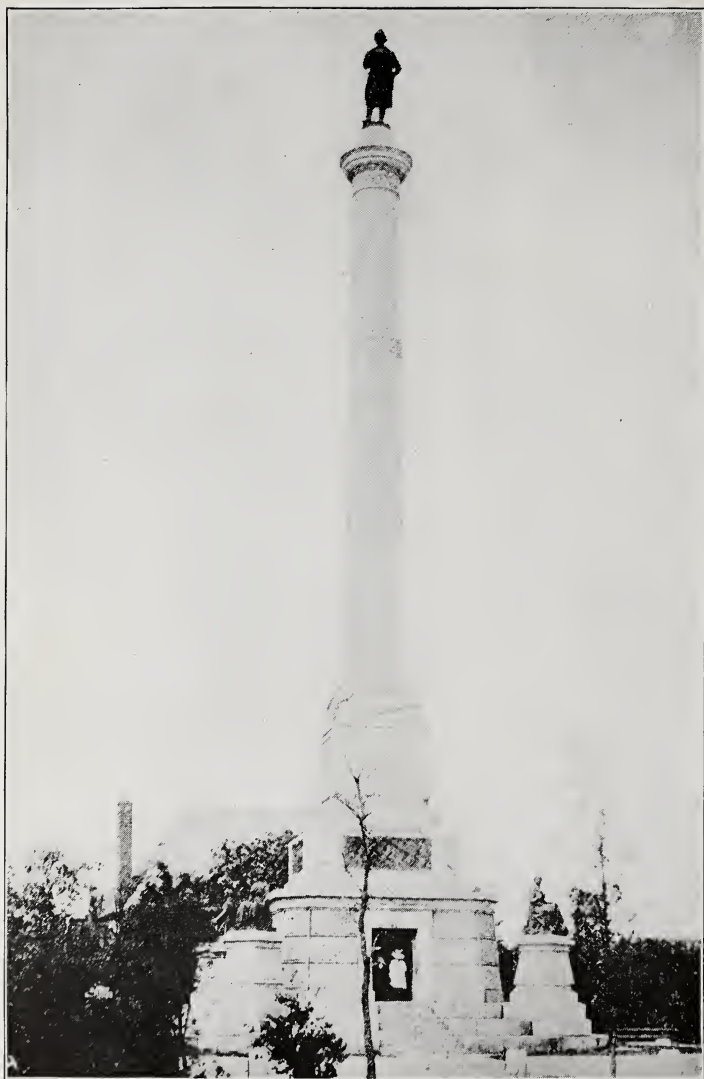
³⁷⁸ (J. Howard, Jr.) *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. VIII, 205, who asserts that the act won the Lincolns many friends.

³⁷⁹ *Id.*



LAST PICTURE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,
TAKEN AT AURORA, ILL.





THE STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS MONUMENT, CHICAGO, ILL.

not be present, his son, John A. Logan, had been sent to Congress, and McDougall, now a Senator from California, the old Jacksonville friend, was near.

And when later, Douglas died, we are told by his sister that tears ran down the cheeks of the surviving gladiator; tears of bitter grief for the loss of a very dear personal friend and for the loss of a firm support to the nation.

Upon his Oakenwald estate, within a few feet of the Illinois Central railroad which he projected, Douglas stands today in bronze, high in the air. Facing the east, he is made the first to welcome with outstretched hand the dawn of each new day when the sun deploys its rays over the horizon to see if all is well. Patiently Douglas has been waiting to greet them and ask their blessing upon the land behind his back; the land Douglas loved so well.

How well indeed time has observed that request, sixty-three years have answered in growing crops, overflowing granaries, enormous commercial enterprises, banks full of money, great institutions of learning and beautiful churches. And when at dusk that sun departs behind the western horizon, its last retreating ray stops long enough at the Golden Gate to stoop in homage and kiss the grave of the martyr senator, Edward D. Baker, the early friend of Douglas and member of that famous old Tenth General Assembly of the State of Illinois.

